



BLACKIE'S
COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.



Drawn by J. L. Williams

Engraved by W. Ridgway.

FROM THE PICTURE
IN THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, WESTMINSTER.

BLACKIE'S
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OF
ENGLAND



QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, was born at Greenwich Palace, 7th September, 1533. Three years afterwards her mother was beheaded and the child, along with her half-sister Mary, was declared to be illegitimate. From that time Elizabeth grew up in retirement at Hatfield, where she received excellent teaching and discipline from the famous Roger Ascham. She inherited the physical robustness of her father, as also his fiery temper, determination, and love of display, while to her mother she was probably indebted for the cunning and jealous traits which formed part of her complex character. On the death of her half-sister Mary, in November 1558, Elizabeth ascended the throne amid the acclamations of the Protestant party in England. Then began those "golden days of Good Queen Bess" in which the Reformed religion was established, the Spanish Armada defeated, and the power of England extended. The most sinister act in all her long reign was the part she took in bringing Mary Queen of Scots to the scaffold. Elizabeth died on 24th March, 1603.



BLACKIE'S
COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND

CIVIL AND MILITARY,
RELIGIOUS, INTELLECTUAL, AND SOCIAL.

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD
TO THE JUBILEE OF VICTORIA, QUEEN AND EMPRESS.

*ILLUSTRATED BY A SERIES OF FINELY ENGRAVED HISTORICAL PICTURES,
AND ABOVE 1000 ENGRAVINGS IN THE TEXT.*

DIVISIONAL-VOLUME III.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD VI. TILL THE DEATH OF JAMES I., 1547-1625.



BLACKIE & SON, LIMITED,
LONDON, GLASGOW, EDINBURGH, AND DUBLIN.

1894.

158V-84876

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THE
COMPREHENSIVE
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ALTHOUGH King Henry had breathed his last at an early hour on the morning of Friday, the 28th of January, it is remarkable that the parliament, which, as the law then stood, was dissolved by his death, met, pursuant to adjournment, on Saturday the 29th, and proceeded to business as usual. In fact, the demise of the crown was kept concealed till Monday the 31st, when it was announced to the two houses, assembled together, by the Chancellor Wriothesley. The news, according to the *Lords' Journals*, "was unspeakably sad and sorrowful to all the hearers, the chancellor himself being almost disabled by his tears from uttering the words." They soon, however, "composed their lamentations and consoled their griefs" by calling to mind the promise of excellence already held out by the youthful successor to the throne. The

same rapid transition "from grave to gay," the ordinary formality on such occasions, was observed in like manner at the first meeting of the privy council with the new king.

It is hard to believe that, either in high places or in low, any other feeling than a sense of relief and of freer breathing could have been produced by the dissolution of so terrible a tyranny as that of Henry VIII. had latterly become. It has been the fashion with our historians to hold forth this king, the storm of whose selfish passions fortunately chanced to throw down or to shake some old and strong abuses that might not otherwise have been so readily got rid of, as the object of the love and pride of his subjects, as well as of the respect of foreign nations, to the last. His position and the circumstances of the time must have always given him an importance abroad, and made his movements be watched with considerable anxiety, which would not be dimin-

ished by his extreme wilfulness, and the suddenness of those gusts of temper and inclination that chiefly determined his course, although the very same causes impaired his real power of being either serviceable or formidable to his neighbours. But, at home, no higher sentiment than one of self-interest can well be supposed to have attached anybody to so sanguinary and heartless a despot; and it is evident that an oppressive fear and bewilderment was the state into which his ferocious rule had thrown the generality of men in all classes. We see this alike in the prostrate servility of the parliament, and in the silent, despairing submission, after the failure of one or two convulsive local revolts, of the great body of the people. His son Edward, indeed, has set it down in his Journal,¹ that when "the death of his father was showed in London," the same day on which the announcement was made to parliament, there "was great lamentation and weeping;" and he had no doubt been informed that such was the case, or, possibly, with a simplicity natural to his age and station, he took it for granted that it could not have been otherwise. But it would have been interesting to be told by which of the two great parties that divided the population Henry was thus regretted — by the adherents of the Roman church, or by the friends of the new opinions. The former could hardly have remembered him with any feelings that would find their vent in tears; to the latter the accession of the new king was the dawning of a fresh day from which they had everything to hope.

Edward, when the crown thus descended upon his head, had entered his tenth year, having been born, as before related, on the 12th of October, 1537. He had been "brought up," as he tells us himself, "till he came to six years old, among the women." He was then placed under the tuition of Dr. Cox and Mr. Cheke, "two well-learned men, who sought to bring him up in learning of tongues, of the Scripture, of philosophy, and all liberal sciences." Another of the persons intrusted with the direction of his education,

according to Strype, was Sir Anthony Cook, "famous for his five learned daughters." He had also masters for the French language and other accomplishments. In all these studies he had made an uncommon progress for his years, and had been distinguished for a docility and diligence that would have been remarkable even in one who was not a prince and heir to a throne. "He was so forward in his learning," says Burnet, "that, before he was eight years old, he wrote Latin letters to his father, who was a prince of that stern severity that one can hardly think that those about his son durst cheat him by making letters for him."² All Prince Edward's tutors were favourers of the Reformed opinions in religion, to which also his mother had been attached; and they had been perfectly successful in instilling their own views into the mind of their pupil, who, even in his early boyhood, was already a very zealous if not a learned theologian.

Edward, when his father died, was residing at Hertford,³ whither his uncle, the Earl of Hertford, and Sir Thomas Brown, master of the horse, immediately proceeded, and, having brought him to Enfield, there announced the event to him and his sister Elizabeth.⁴ The grief of the new king did not last long, any more than that of his sub-

jects. He entered London on the afternoon of Monday, the 31st, on the morning of which the news of Henry's decease had been made public and his own accession proclaimed, and, amid a great concourse of the nobility and others, took his way straight to the Tower.⁵ The next day, Tuesday, the 1st of February, the greater part of the nobility, both spiritual and temporal, assembled about three o'clock in the afternoon, in the presence chamber, where, after they had all knelt and kissed his majesty's hand, saying every one of them, "God save your Grace!" the lord-



EDWARD VI.—After Holbein.

² Some of the early Latin letters of Prince Edward to his father and others may be found in Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, and are reprinted in Sir Henry Ellis' *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*. Others are in Fox's *Martyrology*, and in Fuller's *Church History*.

³ So he tells us himself, in his Journal. Holinshed, whom some late writers have followed, says he was at Hatfield.

⁴ Life and Reign of Edward VI. in Kennet, ii. 275.

⁵ *Eccles. Mem.* ii. 21. Strype quotes as his authority for these details an official record in the Herald's College.

¹ Printed by Burnet, in his *History of the Reformation* (Appendix of Records to vol. ii.), from the original, in the king's own hand, preserved in the British Museum, Cotton MS. Nero, C. 10.

chancellor proceeded to declare the purport of the deceased king's last will and testament, which, however, had been in part read to the parliament the day before. It appeared that Henry had nominated the following sixteen persons to be his executors, and to hold the office of governors of his son and of the kingdom till Edward should have completed his eighteenth year:—Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; Thomas Wriothesley, Baron Wriothesley, the lord-chancellor; William Paulet, Baron St. John, master of the household; John Russell, Baron Russell, lord privy-seal; Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, lord great-chamberlain; John Dudley, Viscount Lisle, lord-admiral; Cuthbert Tonstal, Bishop of Durham; Sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse; Sir William Paget, secretary of state; Sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations; Sir Edward Montague, chief-justice of the Common Pleas; Thomas Bromley, one of the justices of the King's Bench; Sir Anthony Denny and Sir John Herbert, gentlemen of the privy chamber; Sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais; and Dr. Nicolas Wotton, dean of Canterbury. To these were added twelve others, under the name of a privy council: they were, Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel; William Parr, Earl of Essex; Sir Thomas Cheyney, treasurer of the household; Sir John Gage, comptroller; Sir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain; Sir William Petre, secretary of state; Sir Richard Rich; Sir John Baker; Sir Ralph Sadler; Sir Thomas Seymour; Sir Richard Southwell; and Sir Edmund Peckham. These latter, however, were to have no real power or authority, their functions being limited to the simple right of giving their opinion or advice when it was asked for. After he had recited the names of the council of government, the chancellor made an announcement which was more important, and must have made a greater sensation among his hearers than anything he had yet communicated.

From the first prospect of the new reign, the Earl of Hertford, the uncle of the young king that was to be, had begun to intrigue and lay his

plans for securing to himself the chief place in the government. The following anecdote is related by Strype:—"While King Henry lay on his death-bed in his palace at Westminster,¹ Sir Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, and Sir William Paget, among others, were at court; and Paget, being secretary of state, was much about



THE HOLBEIN GATE, OLD WHITEHALL.¹—After Holst.

his person, whom, being a man wise and learned, and well versed in the affairs of state, both by reason of his office and his several embassies abroad, the earl prudently made choice of for his inward friend and counsellor. By the king's desperate condition the earl, well perceiving the crown ready to fall upon Prince Edward's (his nephew's) head; before the breath was out of his body, took a walk with Paget in the gallery, where he held some serious conference with him concerning the government. And immediately after the king was departed, they met again, the earl devising with him concerning the high place he was to hold, being the next of kin to the young king. Paget at both meetings freely and at large gave him his advice, for the safe management of himself and of the mighty trust likely to be reposed in him; and the earl then promised him to follow his counsels in all his proceedings more than any other man's."² At the first meeting of the executors after the king's death, Hertford had succeeded in achieving the object of his ambition. When it was proposed that, for the

¹ The palace at Westminster called Whitehall, where Henry VIII. died, was bounded on one side by the park which reaches to St. James' Palace, and on the other side by the Thames. It was originally called York House, from its being the palace of the Archbishop of York. Cardinal Wolsey was the last archbishop who resided in it, and when he lost the royal favour, it was taken possession of by Henry VIII. After Henry had appropriated to himself this episcopal residence, he built a magnificent gatehouse in front of it, opposite the entrance into the

tilt-yard. He received the design of this gatehouse from Holbein, the celebrated painter, and a universal genius, who had been introduced to him by Sir Thomas More, and whom he immediately took into his service. It was "constructed of small square stones and flint builders, presenting two different colours, glazed and disposed in a tessellated manner." Having been almost reduced to ruins by fire during the reign of James I., the palace was rebuilt by that monarch, and was the residence of Charles I., Cromwell, Charles II., and James II. ² *Eccles. Mem.* ii. 16.

more convenient despatch of business, one of their number should be appointed merely to be a sort of representative or mouth-piece of the whole, such an arrangement was objected to by the Chancellor Wriothesley, who contended that it would be a violation of the will, which made them all equal, but who at the same time probably hoped to be able, without any formal appointment, to get into his own hands the chief power in the government by means simply of the eminent office he filled. He was also well aware who the president would be if one should be elected, and that with such a choice the whole policy of the government would be turned against the interest to which he attached himself; for Wriothesley was now accounted the head of the Catholic party, as Hertford was the strength and hope of the Protestants. The chancellor, however, seems to have stood alone, or nearly alone in his opposition; on seeing which he gave up the point, and consented to go along with his colleagues; and in the end, after short debate, the Earl of Hertford was unanimously nominated Protector of the Realm and Governor of the king's person, the paramount authority implied in, and necessarily conveyed by these high titles being, however, vainly enough, attempted to be limited by the condition that he should not do any act without the advice and consent of the majority of the executors. The chancellor now announced to the nobility assembled around the king in the presence chamber that all the executors had agreed "that the Earl of Hertford should be governor of the young king during his nonage." "Whereupon all the said lords made answer in one voice, that there was none so meet for the same in all the realm as he; and said also that they were well content withal."¹ The boy-king then returned them thanks, from himself, by which he may be understood to have intimated his assent to what the executors had done.

Hertford and his associates, however, had a great deal more to do for themselves than they had yet accomplished. A strange clause appeared in Henry's will, requiring them to make good all that he had promised in any manner of way; and it was affirmed that he had reiterated this injunction verbally, with great earnestness, to those of them who were in attendance upon him while he lay on his death-bed. When the matter came to be inquired into, it was found that these unperformed engagements, or rather intentions (for in most cases they do not seem to have amounted to promises), of the deceased king, nearly all regarded certain additional honours and other good things which he meant to bestow upon the executors themselves. Such at least was the testimony of Paget, Denny, and Herbert,

to whom alone it appeared that he had communicated the particulars. Burnet gives the following account:—"Paget declared that when the evidence appeared against the Duke of Norfolk and his son the Earl of Surrey, the king, who used to talk off in private with him alone, told him that he intended to bestow their lands liberally; and since, by attainders and other ways, the nobility were much decayed, he intended to create some peers, and ordered him to write a book of such as he thought meetest." Paget then proposed that the Earl of Hertford should be made a duke, and named, besides, a number of other persons who should be ennobled, or raised to a higher rank in the peerage. He "also proposed a distribution of the Duke of Norfolk's estate; but the king liked it not, and made Mr. Gates bring him the books of that estate, which being done, he ordered Paget 'to tot upon the Earl of Hertford' (these are the words of his deposition) 1000 marks; on the Lords Lisle, St. John, and Russell, £200 a-year; to the Lord Wriothesley, £100; and for Sir Thomas Seymour, £300 a-year; but Paget said it was too little, and stood long arguing it with him. . . . And he, putting the king in mind of Denny, who had been oft a suitor for him, but had never yet in lieu of that obtained anything for Denny; the king ordered £200 for him, and 400 marks for Sir William Herbert, and remembered some other likewise." Some of the persons that were mentioned for promotion, however, on being spoken to, desired to remain in their present ranks, on the ground that the lands the king proposed to give were not sufficient for the maintenance of the honours to be conferred on them; and other circumstances also induced the king to change his mind as to some points. At last, after many consultations, the matter was finally settled as follows:—"The Earl of Hertford to be earl-marshal and lord-treasurer, and to be Duke of Somerset, Exeter, or Hertford, and his son to be Earl of Wiltshire, with £800 a-year of land, and £300 a-year out of the next bishop's land that fell void; the Earl of Essex to be Marquis of Essex; the Viscount Lisle to be Earl of Coventry; the Lord Wriothesley to be Earl of Winchester; Sir Thomas Seymour to be a baron and lord-admiral: Sir Richard Rich, Sir John St. Leger, Sir William Willoughby, Sir Edward Sheffield, and Sir Christopher Danby, to be barons, with yearly revenues to them and several other persons. And having, at the suit of Sir Edward North, promised to give the Earl of Hertford six of the best prebends that should fall in any cathedral, except deaneries and treasurerships, at his (the duke's) suit, he (the king) agreed that a deanery and a treasurership should be instead of two of the six prebendaries." Pa-

¹ Styrpe, *Eccles. Mem.* ii. 21.

get's testimony was confirmed in all points by Denny and Herbert, who said, that when the secretary left the chamber the king had told them the substance of what had passed between them, and had made Denny read the particulars as set down in writing. "Whereupon," it is added, "Herbert observed, that the secretary had remembered all but himself; to which the king answered, he should not forget him; and ordered Denny to write £400 a-year for him." Thus one of these disinterested friends was always at hand, at the moment of need, to help another. The executors now resolved to fulfil their late master's intentions, both, as Burnet puts it, "out of conscience to the king's will, and for their own honours"—that is, we must suppose, for the sake of the honours and profits that would thereby accrue to them. They were in some difficulty about finding the means of paying the various pecuniary allowances, being unwilling, it seems, to sell the royal jewels or plate, or otherwise to diminish the king's treasure or revenue, in case of a war with France or the emperor; but they eventually found a resource in the sale of the chantry lands. Most of the new peerages designed by Henry were conferred, only in most cases other titles were chosen. Essex became Marquis of Northampton; Lisle, Earl of Warwick; Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton; Sir Thomas Seymour was made Baron Seymour of Sudley and lord high-admiral; Rich became Baron Rich; Willoughby, Baron Willoughby; Sheffield, Baron Sheffield. St. Leger and Danby declined both peerage and pension. As for Hertford, he "grew," to borrow the expression of his admirer, Strype, "an exceeding great man, swelling with titles." "This," proceeds the historian, "was his style: The most Noble and Victorious Prince Edward, Duke of Somerset, Earl of Hertford, Viscount Beauchamp, Lord Seymour, Governor of the person of the King's Majesty, and Protector of all his Realms, his Lieutenant-general of all his armies both by land and by sea, Lord High-treasurer, and Earl-marshal of England, Governor of the Isles of Guernsey and Jersey, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter." "*Because* he was thus great," it is added, however, "so he also was a very generous and good man, and a sincere favourer of the gospel; he was entirely beloved of those that professed it, and for the most part by the populace; and, therefore, was commonly called *The Good Duke*."¹ Burnet admits, that "when it was known abroad what a distribution of honour and wealth the council had resolved on, it was much censured; many saying that it was not enough for them to have drained the dead king of all his treasure, but that the first step of their proceed-

ings in their new trust was, to provide honours and estates for themselves; whereas it had been a more decent way for them to have reserved their pretensions till the king had come to be of age." He even goes the length of insinuating



PROTECTOR SOMERSET.—After Holbein.

that there was much reason for doubting the whole story of Paget and his fellow-deponents, inasmuch as the will on which they pretended to found it bore date on the 30th of December, whereas their account appeared to imply that it was not drawn up till nearly a month later, when Henry was on his death-bed.²

The ceremonies of burying the old, and crowning the new king, were the first affairs that occupied the government. King Henry, after lying in state at Whitehall till the 14th of February, was removed to Sion House, and thence to Windsor, where he was interred in St. George's Chapel, on the 16th, with extraordinary magnificence.³ Four days after the funeral of Henry, the coronation of his son took place in Westminster Abbey, in a manner varied in some respects from the ancient form, partly, as it was declared in the order or programme, "for the tedious length of the same, which should weary and be hurtful to the king's majesty, being yet of tender age, fully to endure and bide out; and also for that many points of the same were such as by the laws of the realm at this present were not allowable." The most material innovation, however, was in the commencing ceremony, in which, instead of the king, as heretofore, first taking the oath to preserve the liberties

² Dr. Lingard has advanced the same objection, without noticing that he had been anticipated by Burnet.

³ See the account printed by Strype at full length, in *Eccles.* Mem. vi. 266-291.

of the realm, and being then presented to the people, who were asked by the archbishop if they were willing to accept him and obey him as their liege lord, the order of the oath and the presentation was reversed—the former not being administered till after the king had been shown by the archbishop, whose address to the people also, as Burnet has observed, was couched “in such terms as should demonstrate he was no elective prince; for he, being declared the rightful and undoubted heir, both by the laws of God and man, they were desired to give their good-wills and assents to the same, as by their duty of allegiance they were bound to do.” As usual, a general pardon for state offenders was proclaimed, from which, however, were excepted, along with a few other names, those of the Duke of Norfolk and Cardinal Pole.

The “Good Duke,” with all his eminence of station and sounding titles, was far from being yet satisfied with the position he had attained. So long as the chancellor continued a member of the council, Somerset must have felt that his exercise of supreme power would be subject to a constant check; and the crafty Southampton (Wriothesley), on the other hand, seems to have been by no means thrown into despair, or any thought of abandoning his post, by his discomfiture in their first trial of strength. In fact, it may be said to have been the eagerness with which he allowed himself to be carried away and absorbed by his political functions, that brought about his ruin. “Resolving,” as Burnet says, “to give himself wholly to matters of state,” in order that he might have time to attend the daily meetings of the council, on the 18th of February, without consulting his colleagues in the government, he put the great seal to a commission in the king’s name, empowering four masters of his court, or any two of them, to hear all manner of causes in his absence, and giving to their decrees the same force as if they had been pronounced by himself, on condition only that they should be signed by him before their enrolment. This act of imprudence was immediately pounced upon by the opposite party; the subject was referred to the judges, who declared that the chancellor had committed an offence against the king which was punishable at common law with the loss of office, and fine and imprisonment at the royal pleasure. Southampton, after an attempt to maintain the legality of the commission, offered to submit to have it revoked, if it were deemed illegal; but these terms of accommodation were of course rejected; and, at last, on the 6th of March, the council resolved that the great seal should be taken from him, and that he should, in the meantime, be confined to his residence at Ely House, and be fined as should be afterwards thought

fitting. He remained a prisoner in his own house for nearly four months, and was only then discharged after he had entered into a recognizance of £4000, to pay whatever fine should be imposed upon him. “Thus fell the lord-chancellor,” says Burnet; “and in him the Popish party lost their chief support, and the protector his most emulous rival.” Burnet acknowledges that the proceedings against him “were summary and severe, beyond the usage of the privy council, and without the common forms of legal processes.”

The next measure of the protector was to take into his own hands the entire power of the executive government. A week after the ejection of Southampton, by a commission running in the king’s name, and signed by himself and his friends Cranmer, St. John, Russell, Northampton, Cheyney, Paget, and Brown, the duke was declared governor of the king and protector of the kingdom, without any participation on the part of the council, which was indeed dissolved, by the members being united in a new council with the twelve persons who had been appointed to be their advisers by Henry’s will, and the whole being now constituted a mere council of advice, the protector being at the same time empowered to add to their numbers to any extent he pleased. In other words, Somerset was invested with the whole of the royal authority, and, in everything save the name, made King of England.

The frame of the government at home being thus settled, the attention of the protector was immediately called to foreign affairs. The treaty of Campes (7th June, 1546), had, as already related, both established peace with France and suspended active hostilities with the Scots, although Henry had continued to keep up a secret intercourse with the Protestants in Scotland, as the party opposed to the government of the Earl of Arran, and had, after the murder of Cardinal Beaton, openly sent supplies to the authors of that atrocity, whom Arran was in vain endeavouring to dislodge from the castle of St. Andrews. Henry, on his death-bed, is said to have enjoined the lords of his council that they should leave nothing undone to bring about the marriage between his son and the infant Queen of Scots, on which he had so strongly set his heart; and his desire no doubt was that they should pursue that object, as he himself would have done had he lived, either, as opportunity and circumstances might seem to invite, by negotiation and intrigue, or by a “rougher wooing.” Somerset, accordingly, now addressed a letter to the Scottish nobility, strongly urging upon them the policy as well as the obligation of fulfilling “the promises, seals, and oaths, which, by public

EDWARD VI.

Edward VI., son of Henry VIII. by Jane Seymour, his third Queen, was born at Hampton Court on 12th October, 1537. His childhood was passed in seclusion among women, during which period his studies were somewhat limited and formal. For this reason, perhaps, he ever afterwards exhibited the primness and self-consciousness which were fostered by his early teachers. At the age of ten he succeeded his father as king, with his uncle Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, as Protector. From a description by the Milanese physician Cardano, who resided at the English court for some time, we learn that the young king was below the usual height, had gray eyes, a fair complexion, and a dignified bearing. Physically he was somewhat weak, but mentally the lad was of a shrewd, logical, and obdurate character. As a king his power was exceedingly limited, for he was at first dominated by his uncle, and then by John Dudley, Earl of Warwick. After a reign of six years the young king died on 6th July, 1553, of pulmonary consumption, accelerated by the quack remedies of the period.



Drawn by J.L. Williams.

Engraved by T. Brown.

FROM THE PICTURE
IN THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT WESTMINSTER

authority, had passed for concluding this marriage.¹ This appeal, however, produced little effect upon the party that now predominated in Scotland. In fact, immediately after this, hostilities between the two countries recommenced, with an encounter between an English vessel called the *Pansy*, commanded by Sir Andrew Dudley, brother to the Earl of Warwick, and the *Lion*, "a principal ship of Scotland."²

Both countries were already making preparations for a war on a greater scale, when an event happened that materially affected their position towards each other. Francis I. died at Rambouillet on the 31st March; thus surviving by little more than two months the King of England, with whom he had been so constantly connected, either as a friend or an enemy, for more than thirty years. Since the accession of Edward, however, arrangements had been made for having the late alliance between the two crowns renewed; and the treaty had, in fact, been concluded at London, and wanted only to be formally ratified by Francis at the time of his death. That heaviest blow, as it was considered at the moment, that could have befallen the Protestant cause on the Continent, enabling the emperor, as it did, to carry everything before him for a time both in Germany and in Italy, soon appeared likely to be no less disastrous to the same interest in Scotland. Henry II., the son and successor of Francis, preserved for a little while a show of amicable intercourse with England; but it was sufficiently evident from the first what course he was about to take. Under the control of the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, the brothers of the queen-dowager of Scotland, who now, along with Arran, stood at the head of the Catholic party and of the established government in that country, the politics of the new King of France immediately evinced a complete return to the old system of a close alliance with the Scots, as affording the most effective means of annoying and embarrassing England. When the treaty of London was presented to Henry II., he refused to sign it; and soon after he openly took part in the war on the side of the Scottish government by sending a fleet of sixteen galleys, under the command of Leo Strozzi, prior of Capua, to assist the regent in reducing the castle of St. Andrews. Arran, after lying for

five months before this fortress, had made a truce with the garrison in February: and when the French galleys arrived, in the end of June, he was engaged on a plundering expedition beyond



REMAINS OF THE CASTLE OF ST. ANDREWS.—From a drawing by J. Oliphant.

the western marches, from which, however, he hastened home, bringing with him, according to the Scottish historians, a great booty, as soon as he heard that the foreign auxiliaries had made their appearance. Meanwhile, the holders of the castle in the beginning of March had concluded two treaties with the English protector, by which they bound themselves by every means in their power to procure the marriage of the infant Queen of Scotland with King Edward, and engaged to give their best aid to an English army which should be forthwith sent to Scotland to obtain possession of the queen. It was also stipulated, that as soon as that object should be effected they should deliver the castle to the commissioners of the English king. But the force that was now brought against them soon put an end to all hope of their continuing to hold out. A blockade by sea, cutting off their usual supplies, was now added to a much more skilful and effective bombardment from the land than Arran's Scottish engineers had been able to direct against them in the former siege. At last, on the 29th of July, a great breach was made, and on the following day the besieged, among whom, to add to their other straits and sufferings, a pestilential sickness had for some time been making considerable ravages, agreed to capitulate on condition only that their lives should be spared, and that they should be conveyed to France. Arran recovered his eldest son, whom the murderers of the cardinal had found in the castle, and whom they had detained in captivity during the fourteen months they had held the place. Among the prisoners carried to France was the famous

¹ See an abstract of the letter in *Haycard*.

² *Ibid*.

John Knox, who had joined Norman Lesly and his companions after the truce made with Arran in the preceding February. The castle of St. Andrews was demolished by order of the Scottish privy council. It has ever since remained a ruin.

The English protector had been for some time busy collecting an army for the invasion of Scotland; and by the end of August he was ready to set out for the north at the head of a well-appointed force, which appears to have amounted to above 20,000 men, of whom 6000 were cavalry; a fleet of sixty-five vessels, of which thirty-five were ships of war, and the remainder laden with ammunition and victuals, being equipped to accompany the expedition, under the command of the Lord Clinton. A journal of this invasion of Scotland is extant, written by a person who served in the protector's army, which is not only one of the most minutely curious records of that age, but one of the most vivid pictures of the realities of war ever drawn.¹ The author, W. Patten, was conjoint judge-marshal of the army along with the afterwards celebrated William Cecil, and his work is dedicated to Paget, whom he styles "his most benign fautor and patron." He is, of course, a professed worshipper of his grace of Somerset, upon whom he heaps his laudation throughout with unbounded prodigality. Yet, allowance being made for some courtly embellishment, he evidently, in the main, sets down what he saw with his own eyes, and he tells his story with a hearty gossiping relish that of itself betokens a keen and quick-sighted observer.

The army having been collected at Newcastle, the protector rode thither from London, and was met six miles from the town on Saturday, the 27th of August, by Warwick, the lord-lieutenant, and Sadler, the master-treasurer. The next day a muster of the whole force was held; and on Monday, the 29th, they set forward for the Borders. Reaching Berwick on Friday, the 2d of September, they found there Lord Clinton with the fleet, which immediately put to sea, while the army rested a day, and then, on the Sunday, set forward on its march close along the shore. Having made their way, on the 5th, across the deep glen or valley of the Peaths, or the Pease (as it is commonly pronounced), at

Cockburnspath, the invaders began the work of war by sitting down before Douglas Castle, a hold belonging to Sir George Douglas. The captain, Matthew Hume, the son of a brother of Lord Hume, made no vain show of resistance, but soon came forth, "and brought with him," says our journalist, "his band to my lord's grace, which was of twenty-one sober (poor) soldiers, all so apparelled and appointed that, so God help me (I will say it for no praise), I never saw such a bunch of beggars come out of one house together in my life." Six of the most decent of these scarecrows were detained; the rest were allowed "to gea their gate,"—that is, to go their way,—with an admonition that they would be hanged the next time they were caught. The castle was afterwards blown up with gunpowder, as were also Thornton and Anderwick, two other peels or strongholds belonging to Lord Hume.

The invading force continued its march close to the German Ocean, and, passing within gunshot of Dunbar, encamped for the night in the neighbourhood of Tantallon Castle. Here they received the first certain intelligence of the position of the enemy. The next day, Wednesday, the 7th, turning to the west, they crossed the small river Lynn, the horse taking the water, the infantry passing over by Linton bridge. A number of Scottish prickers, or horse, were now seen on a rising ground not far from Hailes Castle, belonging to Earl Bothwell, some of whom appeared to be making towards the river, with the intention probably of picking up stragglers or attacking the rear of the English cavalry, whom a sudden mist had enveloped while they were yet crossing the water.

A communication was now established with the fleet, which lay over against Leith; and, the lord-admiral having come on shore, it was arranged that the ships of war should fall down the Frith, and take their stations opposite to the town of Musselburgh, near to which the army lay. On the evening of the same day, Friday, the 8th, the English encamped in the neighbourhood of Salt Preston, now called Prestonpans.

The two armies were now separated by a distance of little more than two miles, and each camp was to be seen from the high grounds in the neighbourhood of the other. Both had the sea to the north, while on the south, and about midway between them, rose, facing the west, the eminence called Falside, or Fawside Brae, the termination of an inconsiderable range of hills extending in a direction parallel to the sea. Upon this elevation, which was surmounted by "a sorry castle, and half a score houses of like worthiness by it," all the morning of Saturday, the 9th, the Scottish horsemen were seen "pranking" up and down; but in the afternoon a party

¹ "The Expedition into Scotland of the most worthily fortunate Prince Edward Duke of Somerset, uncle to our most noble Sovereign Lord the King's Majesty Edward the VI., Governor of his Highness' Person, and Protector of his Grace's realms, dominions, and subjects; made in the first year of his Majesty's most prosperous reign, and set out by way of Diary. By W. Patten, Londoner." This narrative, which was first published at London in 1548, was reprinted in (Dalrymple's) *Fragments of Scottish History*, 4to, Edin. 1798, of which work, however, the whole impression amounted to only 200 copies. Patten's Diary, therefore, is still a tract of great rarity.

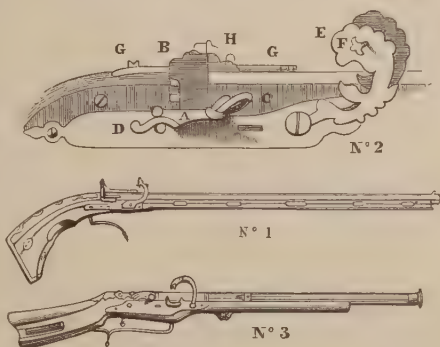
of English cavalry, having set out to attack them, succeeded in compelling them to retire, though not till after a sharp skirmish, in which several

and a trumpeter came to the English camp: the former professed to come from Arran with a proffer of honest conditions of peace, while the latter brought a personal challenge from his master, the Lord Huntly, to Somerset, whom the Scottish earl asked to fight him, either singly, or with ten or twenty more on each side, and so to decide the contest without further effusion of blood. The protector, as might have been, and no doubt was expected, declined both propositions.

It was now resolved to occupy the hill on which stood St. Michael's Church, and for that purpose, on the following morning, that of Saturday, the 10th—long popularly remembered in Scotland as the *Black Saturday*—the army was put in motion by eight o'clock. Upon coming in sight of the ground,

persons were slain and taken prisoners on both sides; among others, the son and heir of Lord Hume fell into the hands of the English, and that lord himself, though he escaped, was severely hurt, and put *hors de combat* by a fall from his horse. After this affair, Somerset, Warwick, and others of the captains, attended by a guard of 300 horse, proceeded to the hill to take a view of the Scottish camp. There, on the lower ground between them and the declining sun, glittered the white tents of Arran's numerous host, disposed in four long rows running from east to west, and about an arrow-shot asunder, "not unlike to four great ridges of ripe barley." Ripe, indeed, it might have been added, was the living harvest for the sickle! The position of the Scots, however, was a very strong one: the sea, as already mentioned, skirted them to the north; a great marsh covered their opposite or right flank; while their front was strongly defended by the river Esk flowing northward into the sea, with no great volume of water, indeed, but yet with banks so steep and rugged as almost to defy the approach of an enemy. The ancient bridge over this river they had taken possession of and "kept well warded with ordnance;" it stood within twelve score paces of the sea; and in front of the bridge, on the narrow space of ground between it and the sea, they had also planted two field-pieces, and stationed some hackbutters or musketeers, under a turf wall. Between Fawside Brae and the Esk stood another little insulated eminence, crowned by the parish church of St. Michael's of Inveresk. A herald

they were greatly amazed to find that the Scots had crossed the river, and were there before



HACKBUT AND PETRONEL OF THE PERIOD.¹—From specimens in the Tower Armoury.

them; for that Arran would have quitted the advantageous position he held, and have thus left all his strong natural defences behind his

1 Figure No. 1 represents a hackbut. No. 2, an enlarged figure of the lock of a hackbut, in which A is the pan to contain the priming; B, slide or shield to cover the priming, mounted with checks to prevent its incidental return; C, thumb-holes, which being pressed at the time of pulling the trigger (see Nos. 1 and 3), uncovered the pan by means of a spring, D; E, fork to hold the quick match, F, screw for compressing the sides of the fork upon the match; G, G, the sight; H, guide, moveable along the barrel. No. 3 is a petronel—a firearm of similar contrivance: the stock contains a box for holding the charges, which had been secured by a slide. This weapon, which belonged to Henry VIII., is of beautiful construction, and ornamented with great elegance. It bears the royal arms, and the initials H. R.

back, was the last thought that could have entered their heads. It should appear, however, that the Scots were afraid of their invaders escaping them, and that their intention was, if they had not been thus encountered in the intermediate space, to have attacked Somerset in his camp. When they saw the English approaching, they advanced at a round pace; but their course was immediately checked by a discharge of artillery from the admiral's galley, which was so effective as to kill between twenty and thirty of them, their line of march, in consequence of the situation of the bridge by which they had passed over, being close upon the sea. This slaughter, Patten affirms, so scared a body of 4000 Irish (that is, Highland) archers brought by the Earl of Argyle, "that whereas, it was said, they should have been a wing to the forward (vanguard), they could never after be made to come forward." The whole advancing host now moved away to the right, with the object of gaining Fawside Brae; but here the English were before them, and succeeded not only in occupying the brow of the hill, but in planting several field-pieces upon its summit, so as to fire over the heads of the men below. For this they were indebted principally to their great superiority in cavalry. As for the Scots, Patten notices it as a remarkable circumstance, that "in all this enterprise they used for haste so little the help of horse, that they plucked forth their ordnance by draught of men."

When they saw the English in possession of the hill-side, the Scots suddenly stopped, in a fallow field, where a great ditch or slough still divided them from the enemy. Undeterred by this obstacle, however, the Lord Gray proceeded to attack them, and, though many of his men stuck in the slough, and they were also impeded by the cross ridges of the ploughed field, he dashed on and made his way up to the Scots, who stood still to receive the attack, only when their assailants were near upon them, "striking their pike points, and crying 'Come here, louns (rascals), come here, tykes (dogs), come here, heretics; and such like.'" It is affirmed that the left wing of the Scots was at first compelled to give way; but this seems to have been only for a moment; the English soon turned round in a body to regain the hill. The flight, in fact, seems to have been general, in so far as the common troopers were concerned; the gentlemen alone for a few moments tried to make a stand; in the vain attempt no fewer than twenty-six of them were slain; Lord Gray himself was severely wounded in the mouth; and the Scots rushing up to the royal standard actually got hold of it, and in the struggle succeeded in carrying away a part of the staff.

Patten's description of what he calls "the countenance of the war," up to this time, bears vivid traces of the alarm and confusion in which he and his countrymen found themselves. Another old English historian admits that "albeit encounters between horsemen on the one side and foot on the other, are seldom with the extremity of danger, because as horsemen can hardly break a battalion on foot, so men on foot cannot possibly chase horsemen; yet hereupon so great was the tumult and fear among the English, that had not the commanders been men both of approved courage and skill, or haply had the Scots been well-furnished with men-at-arms, the army had that day been utterly undone." Warwick, in particular, exerted himself in restoring the self-possession of the men, assuring them that if they would only follow their officers, the day was still their own. It was now seen that the impetuosity of the Scots had involved an inconsiderable part of their force almost within a complete inclosure of their enemies; on which, we proceeded, says Patten, "to compass them in that they should no way escape us—the which by our power and number we were as well able to do as a spinner's web to catch a swarm of bees." The requisite dispositions were forthwith made by the several officers with great skill and effect. "The master of the ordnance," continues the narrative, "to their great annoyance did gall them with hail shot and other out of the great ordnance directly from the hill-top, and certain other gunners with their pieces afank from our rearward, most of our artillery and marine engines there wholly with great puissance and vehemency occupied thus about them. Herewith the full sight of our footmen, all shadowed from them before by our horsemen and dust raised, whom then they were ware in such order to be so near upon them. And to this the perfect array of our horsemen again coming courageously to set on them afresh." The tide and current of the "heady fight" were in a moment turned. The Scots, staggered and bewildered, first fell back, and then began to take to flight. Arran himself, their general, is said to have been the first to put spurs to his horse—after him Angus; then the Highland archers, who had never yet been engaged, fled in a body. "Therewith then turned all the whole rout, cast down their weapons, ran out of their wards, off with their jacks, and with all that ever they might, betook them to the race that their governor began. Our men had found them at the first (as what could escape so many thousand eyes), and sharply and quickly, with an universal outcry, They fly! they fly! pursued after in chase amain; and thereto so eagerly and with such fierceness, that they over-

took many, and spared, indeed, but few. The torrent chiefly rolled itself along three great lines; one multitude took the way by the sands to Leith; another made for Edinburgh, either by the highroad, or through the enclosed ground called the King's Park; a third, and that the most numerous, sought Dalkeith, by crossing a marsh, through which the English horse found it difficult to pursue them."

Many thousands, however, were slaughtered in the flight, the protector's people giving hardly any quarter. The prisoners taken amounted, in all, only to about 1500—little more, according to Patten's account, than a tithe of the slain. The most distinguished among those that fell alive into the hands of the English was the Earl of Huntly, lord-chancellor of the kingdom, whom, notwithstanding his ostentatious message to Somerset by the trumpeter, the Scottish writers loudly accuse of treachery; the same authorities also assert that the Masters of Buchan, Erskine, and Graham, were put to death in cold blood, "after having rendered themselves on quarter promised."¹ Soon after five o'clock, however, the lord-protector being, if we may believe his judge-marshal, moved with pity at the sight of the dead bodies, and rather glad of victory than desirous of slaughter, staid the pursuit. But by this time it seems to have extended up to the walls of Edinburgh, and no more fleeing enemies were anywhere to be seen for the sword to cut down. The victorious army then returned to plunder the Scottish camp. It stood, according to Patten's description, in a field called Edmonston Edges, half a mile to the west of Musselburgh, and four miles from Edinburgh; the space occupied by the tents being about a mile in compass. Here, as soon as the English arrived, they set up a universal shout of gladness and victory, the shrillness of which is affirmed to have been heard as far as Edinburgh. As for the spoil, there was found in the tents good provision of white bread, ale, oaten cakes, oatmeal, mutton, butter in pots, and cheese; and also, in those of the principal persons, good wine and some silver plate. Then they fell to stripping the bodies of the multitudinous dead. As many hands make light work, observes our journalist, it was wonderful to see in how short a time all the bodies were stripped stark naked throughout the whole space over which the pursuit and slaughter had extended. He expresses great admiration of the athletic forms of the Scottish soldiers; their tallness of stature, clearness of skin, bigness of bone, and due proportion in all parts, he says, were

such, that, unless he had seen them, he would not have believed the whole country had contained so many well-made men. All the day, during the fight and the subsequent slaughter, the sky had been cloudy and lowering; but now, when the earth lay covered with the naked dead, a heavy rain fell for an hour, lightening the laden atmosphere, and refreshing the face of nature. About seven o'clock the English pitched their camp for the night on the neighbouring height of Edge-buckling-brae, otherwise called Pinken-cleugh, beside Pinkie Slough, about midway between their former station at Prestonpans and the spot where the battle was fought. And thus ended the greatest defeat the Scots had sustained since the disastrous day of Flodden Field, almost exactly thirty-four years before.

The army rested here only till the morning of the following day, Sunday the 11th, when it removed to the neighbourhood of Leith. The fleet now, taking advantage of the universal terror into which the country had been thrown, proceeded to sweep the sea of all Scottish vessels, and to burn and ravage whatever parts of the land it could reach. The island of Inchcolm in the firth was taken, and Kinghorn and other towns and villages along the Fife coast were plundered and set on fire. Meanwhile many of the neighbouring gentry came in to make their submission—and, for the moment, all active resistance on the part of the Scottish government and people was at an end. Both the capital, however, and its dependent seaport of Leith, still kept their gates shut against the invaders. Nor did Somerset deem it expedient to follow up his great victory by attempting to force an entrance into either of these towns. On Saturday, the 17th, it was announced to the army that the following morning the tents would again be struck, and the word given for setting out on their march back to the Borders. That same day the town of Leith was set on fire—the writer before us hesitatingly attempts to insinuate, by accident, or at least without any commission from Somerset—but the act was too much in the spirit of that commander's usual devastating and savage manner of carrying on war, to allow us to have any doubt as to its having been done by his express order. When the army set out the next morning at seven o'clock, the sky was still red with the flames that rose from the town, and also from some great ships in the harbour, that are admitted to have been designedly set on fire. As the English took their departure, Patten says that the castle of Edinburgh "shot off a peal of twenty-four pieces," but none of the shot reached them. The chief part of the army directed their march south-east across the country; "but part of us," he continues, "kept the way that the chief

¹ See Sir James Balfour's *Annals*. According to Patten, the Master of Graham was one of those killed by the volley fired from the admiral's galley at the commencement of the engagement.

of the chase was continued in, whereby we found most part of the dead corpses lying very ruefully, with the colour of their skins changed greenish, above the place they had been smitten in, as then too, above ground, unburied."

Somerset, meanwhile, pursued his way homewards without losing much more time. He had, indeed, despatched Clinton with a few ships, "full fraught with men and munition," to assault the castle of Broughty, at the mouth of the Tay; and this fortress, which was the key to that river and to the towns of Dundee and Perth, was soon compelled to surrender. The first pause which he himself made was at Hume Castle, in the Merse, before which he sat down on the 19th, and made preparations for an assault; but after two days of negotiation, Lady Hume deemed it most prudent to yield up the place, on condition of the garrison and herself being allowed to depart with their lives and whatever else they could carry away with them. He also halted for a few days at Roxburgh, and built a small fort within the inclosure of an old ruined castle there. After this, many of the persons in that part of the country came in to make their submission. It appears, however, that Arran, with a small body of cavalry, had hung upon the rear of the retreating army all the way from Edinburgh, although he did not venture to do more than watch its motions. At last, on Thursday, the 29th, the English general recrossed the Tweed, and in a few days more arrived in London, after an absence altogether of about six weeks.

It is conjectured that intelligence of certain doings on the part of a "brother near the throne," which will presently engage our attention, hurried Somerset back to the English court; but, independently of any such sudden and secret motive for his hasty return, the moment was as apt a one as he could have chosen in which to make his re-appearance. The Scottish war, indeed, of which he had undertaken the conduct, instead of being ended, was only begun; nor had he even attempted to follow up, or to gather the fruits of, his first great success. But no subsequent achievement was likely to out-dazzle the victory of Pinkie; nor could the glory of that victory be enhanced even by the most favourable and decisive results, for already it seemed not merely a battle won, but a kingdom conquered. The protector, however, was careful to return without show, and assume a demeanour of the most condescending and retarding humility. He was immediately rewarded by Edward—in other words, by himself—with a grant of additional landed estates to the value of £500 a-year. He forthwith also prepared "to meet the parliament (for which the writs had been sent out before he went into Scotland), now that he was so covered with glory, to get himself

established in his authority, and to do those other things which required a session."¹

The work of carrying forward the reformation of the church had engaged the attention of the government from the commencement of the reign. Cranmer, in the words of the right reverend historian who has just been quoted, "being now delivered from that too awful subjection that he had been held under by King Henry, resolved to go on more vigorously in purging out abuses." In these views the archbishop, besides the cordial assent of the young king, had the entire concurrence of the protector, as also, since the expulsion of Wriothlesley, of nearly all the members of the council that were of any influence or consideration. The only formidable opponent of the innovations that remained even nominally a member of the government was Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, and he was relegated on various pretexts to his distant diocese, and excluded from taking any part in public affairs. Of the other bishops, several went along with Cranmer—namely, Holgate of York, Holbeck of Lincoln, Goodrich of Ely, and especially the able and learned Ridley, who, in September of this year, was appointed to the see of Rochester. On the side of the old opinions, however, was still arrayed a vast force both of numbers and also of other elements of power. If the boy who occupied the throne was an enthusiastic Protestant, his sister, the Princess Mary, generally looked upon as the heiress presumptive, was as zealous and determined a Catholic; Somerset and his adherents of the new nobility had to maintain their position against the envy, the resentment, and the other natural antipathies of the whole faction of the ancient houses, depressed, indeed, for the present, but still deeply rooted and of great natural strength in the country; even of the heads of the church, both the greater number and the most distinguished, including, besides Tonstal, the fierce and unscrupulous Bonner of London, and the courageous, politic, and accomplished Gardiner of Winchester, were opposed to the new opinions; above all, the immense majority of the people of all classes had yet to be roused from their habitual attachment to the doctrines and the ritual of their forefathers. In these circumstances it was prudently resolved, "by Cranmer and his friends, to carry on the Reformation, but by slow and safe degrees, not hazarding too much at once."² They did not wait, however, till the parliament met, to commence what they deemed so good and necessary a work, but determined at once to proceed upon the despotic statute of the last reign, which gave to the royal proclamation the full force of a legislative enactment. They began by a repetition of

¹ Burnet.

² Ibid.

the late king's visitation of dioceses. The kingdom was divided into six circuits, to each of which were appointed three or four visitors, in most cases partly clergymen, partly laymen. These visitors were invested for the time with the supreme spiritual authority in their several districts, and with power to call before them, for examination, the clergy of all ranks, from the bishop inclusive, and even any of the laity in every parish, whose evidence, as to its ecclesiastical condition, they should deem it expedient to obtain. But their functions were not limited to the taking of evidence. A body of injunctions relating to a great variety of points of religious belief and worship was framed and put into their hands, which they were to publish wherever they went, with intimation that the refusal or neglect to obey them would be punished with the pains of excommunication, sequestration, or deprivation, as the ordinaries, whom the justices of the peace were required to assist, should answer it to the king. These orders were for the greater part the same that had been formerly issued by Cromwell; but it was an important innovation thus to conjoin the civil authorities with the bishops in the execution of them. At the same time a collection of homilies was drawn up, which were required to be read in every church on Sundays and holidays: every parish church in England was ordered to be provided with a copy of a translation made for the purpose of Erasmus' Paraphrase on the New Testament, as well as of the English Bible; the most eminent preachers of the Reformed doctrines that could be found were dispersed over the kingdom along with the visitors, that they might with the more authority instruct the people; while, by various regulations, the right of all other clergymen to preach was gradually more and more contracted, till at last it was permitted to no one, even although a bishop, who had not a license from the protector or the metropolitan.

The visitors were sent out upon their circuits about the same time that the protector set forth on his expedition to Scotland; and when Somerset returned from the north he had the satisfaction of finding that they had completed their mission apparently with as much success as himself. One of the injunctions was, that all monuments of idolatry should be removed out of the walls or windows of churches; "and those," says Burnet, "who expounded the secret providences of God with an eye to their own opinions, took great notice of this—that on the same day in which the visitors removed and destroyed most of the images in London, their armies were so successful in Scotland in Pinkie Field." Both Bonner and Gardiner, however, had stood out against the new regulations. Bonner, at first,

would only promise to observe the injunctions in so far as they were not contrary to God's law and the ordinances of the church: on this he was brought before the council, where, after offering a submission "full of vain quiddities" (as the minute characterizes it), he at last consented to withdraw his protestation unconditionally; but, nevertheless, "for giving terror to others," it was deemed proper that he should be sent for a time to the Fleet. Gardiner's case was different; the injunctions and homilies had never actually been offered for his acceptance, but he had objected to them in a letter to one of the visitors before the visitation of his diocese had commenced. Burnet, who transcribes this letter at length, being "resolved," as he says, "to suppress nothing of consequence, on what side soever it may be," cannot help speaking of it in a tone of honest commendation, which is not the less forcible for the indications of partizanship with which his admission is accompanied. "It has more," he observes, "of a Christian and of a bishop in it than anything I ever saw of his. He expresses, in handsome terms, a great contempt of the world, and a resolution to suffer anything rather than depart from his conscience; besides that, as he said, the things being against law, he would not deliver up the liberties of his country, but would petition against them." He also wrote argumentative letters against some things in the injunctions and homilies both to the protector and to Cranmer. This was all that he had done when he was summoned before the council, and required to promise that he would obey the royal injunctions. He replied that he was not bound, *then*, to say whether he would or would not, but should be prepared to make his answer to the visitors when they came to his diocese. This defence, however, availed him nothing: he also, as well as Bonner, was consigned to close imprisonment in the Fleet. In this way the two most formidable enemies of the course which the protector and Cranmer had entered upon, and were bent upon pursuing, were excluded from the parliament that was about to open.

The two houses met on the 4th of November. The day before, "the protector," says Burnet, "gave too public an instance how much his prosperous success had lifted him up; for by a patent under the great seal he was warranted to sit in parliament on the right hand of the throne, and was to have all the honours and privileges that at any time any of the uncles of the kings of England, whether by the father's or mother's side, had enjoyed; with a *non obstante* to the statute of precedence." The new parliament, however, began its proceedings with some valuable constitutional reforms, or rather restorations of the old constitution. The first bill that was

brought in (eventually formed into the Act 1 Edw. VI. c. 12) repealed the late atrocious acts which gave to the royal proclamation the force of law, erased all the additions to the law of treason that had been made since the 25th of Edw. III., and also swept away at once both the old laws against the Lollards and all the new felonies created during the last reign, including the statute of the Six Articles, and every other act concerning doctrine and matter of religion. Another act (the 1 Edw. VI. c. 1) made an important innovation in the ritual of religious worship, by ordering that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper the cup should be delivered to the laity as well as to the clergy. A third (the 1 Edw. VI. c. 2) put an end to the old form (afterwards, however, restored in the reign of Elizabeth, and still subsisting) of the election of bishops by *congé d'élire*, on the ground that "the said elections be in very deed no elections, but only have colours, shadows, or pretences of elections, serving nevertheless to no purpose, and seeming also derogatory and prejudicial to the king's prerogative royal;" and appointed that all collations to bishoprics should in future be made by direct nomination of the crown. Last in order of these measures of ecclesiastical reform, was brought in one in which many of the members of the government had a personal and pecuniary interest—the bill for making over to the crown all the chantries, colleges, and free chapels throughout the kingdom that yet remained unconfiscated. This bill, which was first brought forward in the House of Lords, was strongly opposed there, not only by the bishops attached to the old religion, but by Cranmer himself. It was vigorously pushed, however, by Henry's executors, who, as Burnet intimates, "saw they could not pay his debts, nor satisfy themselves in their own pretensions, formerly mentioned, out of the king's revenue, and so intended to have these to be divided among them;" and they had the eager assistance of every other noble lord who cherished any expectation of sharing in the plunder. The minority against the bill on the first division consisted, in fact, only of Cranmer, and six other bishops; and on the third reading the archbishop and one of the bishops were absent, while another of them abandoned his bootless and profitless opposition, and went over to the court. In short, "those that were to gain by it were so many that the act passed." It also met with much resistance in the commons from some of the burgh members, who particularly objected to the clause giving the lands held by guilds to the king; but they were pacified by an assurance that the lands in question should be afterwards restored; and the act was then quietly allowed to become law. The objects of the confiscation, as professed in the

preamble of the act, were, first, the discouragement of superstition; secondly, the converting of the funds obtained by the suppression of the chantries "to good and godly uses, as in erecting of grammar schools for the education of youth in virtue and godliness, the further augmenting of the universities, and better provision for the poor and needy;"¹ but whatever may have been gained in the former of these ways, in respect to the latter the measure proved a mere delusion. "For though the public good was pretended thereby, and intended, too, I hope," says a writer well disposed to take the most favourable view of all these proceedings, "yet private men in truth had most of the benefit; and the king and commonwealth, the state of learning, and the condition of the poor, left as they were before or worse."²

Another remarkable act, designated by the king in his journal "an extreme law," was also passed for the suppression of the still extending nuisance of mendicity, or, as it was entitled, "for the punishment of vagabonds, and the relief of poor and impotent persons."³ All the provision that was made for the latter object was merely by a clause directing that impotent, maimed, and aged persons, who could not be taken as vagabonds, should have houses provided for them, and be otherwise relieved in the places where they were born or had chiefly resided for the last three years, *by the willing and charitable dispositions of the parishioners*; but in the part of it directed against mendicity, the statute has all the ferocity of a law passed in desperation, and fearfully attests, by the barbarous severity of its enactments, the height to which the evil had arrived. It was ordered that any person found living "idly or loiteringly" for the space of three days, should, on being brought before a justice, be marked as a vagabond with a hot iron on the breast, and adjudged to be the slave for two years of the person informing against him, who, it was added, "shall take the same slave, and give him bread, water, or small drink, and refuse meat, and cause him to work, by beating, chaining, or otherwise, in such work and labour as he shall put him to, be it never so vile." If in the course of this term the slave absented himself for fourteen days, he was to be marked with a hot iron on the forehead or the ball of the cheek, and adjudged to be a slave to his said master for ever; if he ran away a second time, he was to suffer death as a felon. Masters were empowered "to sell, bequeath, let out for hire, or give the service of their slaves to any person whomsoever, upon such conditions, and for such term of years, as the said persons be adjudged to them for slaves, after the like sort and manner as they may do of

¹ Statute 1 Edw. VI. c. 14.

² Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* ii. 102.

³ Statute 1 Edw. VI. c. 3.

any other their moveable goods or chattels." A master was likewise authorized to put a ring of iron about the neck, arm, or leg of his slave, "for a more knowledge and surety of the keeping of him." By another clause, it was ordered, that, although there should be no man to demand the services of such idle persons, the justices of the peace should still inquire after them, and, after branding them, convey them to the places of their birth, there to be nourished and kept in chains or otherwise, either at the common works in amending highways, or in servitude to private persons. Finally, all persons that chose were authorized to seize the children of beggars, and to retain them as apprentices—the boys till they were twenty-four, the girls till they were twenty years of age; and if they ran away before the end of their term, the master was permitted, upon recovering them, to punish them in chains or otherwise, and to use them as slaves till the time of their apprenticeship should have expired. This law can be characterized as nothing else than the formal re-establishment of slavery in England; but it would prove no mere matter of form: from the extent to which, owing to a concurrence of causes, beggary and vagrancy had now spread, its despotic and oppressive character would be actually and severely felt by no inconsiderable portion of the people. Indeed, it helped, along with other elements of popular exasperation, to produce the result that ensued not long after this in many parts of the kingdom, where mendicancy was converted into open and general rebellion.

Parliament rose on the 24th of December, its last measure having been an act confirming the king's general pardon of state offenders, from which, however, was excluded, along with a few others, the Duke of Norfolk, who still remained a prisoner in the Tower. Cranmer, nevertheless, continued to urge on his ecclesiastical alterations with unrelaxing activity. On the representation of the archbishop, that such things were contrary to the gravity and simplicity of the Christian religion, an order was issued by the council, prohibiting the carrying of candles on Candlemas Day, of ashes on Ash Wednesday, or of palms on Palm Sunday. This innovation was far from being relished by the bulk of the nation; for "the country people," as Burnet observes, "generally loved all these shows, processions, and assemblies, as things of diversion, and judged it a dull business only to come to church for Divine worship and the hearing of sermons; therefore they were much delighted with the gaiety and cheerfulness of those rites." Another proclamation soon followed, denouncing imprisonment against whosoever should take upon him to preach, except in his own house, without a license from the king, the visitors, the Archbishop of Canterbury, or

the bishop of the diocese in which he so preached; "to the intent," as it was expressed, "that rash and seditious preachers should not abuse his highness' people." Remarks were made, Burnet tells us, upon the conduct of the council in thus going on creating new offences with arbitrary punishments, although the act was now repealed that had formerly given them such extraordinary powers. It was argued, in their vindication, that they might still issue such proclamations in the king's name, in virtue of the royal supremacy in matters ecclesiastical; "yet this," adds the historian, "was much questioned, though universally submitted to." The next order that appeared, directed the removal of all images from all churches and chapels. At the same time it was commanded that all rich shrines, with all the plate belonging to them, should be seized for the use of the king: the council, it seems, were not ashamed to add, *that the clothes that covered them should be converted to the use of the poor*.¹ Soon after this was issued a royal proclamation, setting forth a new office for the public administration of the Lord's Supper, which had been drawn up by a committee of bishops and divines: it directed that the sacrament should be given to the people in both kinds; that there should be no elevation of the host; and that the whole service should be in the English language. These regulations were soon after followed by the publication of a short English catechism by Cranmer, "for the profit and instruction of children and young people." Finally, the committee of bishops and divines proceeded to the composition of an entire new Liturgy, or book of the public services of religion, in English; but the publication of this important work was deferred till it should have received the sanction of parliament.

Meanwhile, some further trouble had been given by the dexterous opposition, or at least passive resistance, of Gardiner to these proceedings of Cranmer and the government. The act of general pardon had restored him to liberty at the end of the session; and, accordingly, on the 8th of January, 1548, he was brought before the council and discharged, with a grave admonition to carry himself henceforth reverently and obediently. He retired to his diocese, but there still appeared in his whole behaviour what Burnet calls "great malignity to Cranmer and to all motions for reformation." "Yet," it is added, "he gave such outward compliance that it was not easy to find any advantage against him, especially now since the council's great power was so much abridged." After a few months, however, he was again summoned before the council, on

¹ Burnet, however, although he mentions this order in his *History*, has not inserted it in his *Collection of Records*.

occasion of some new complaints; and this time the affair ended by his being sent to the Tower. The council here seem to have proceeded with as little regularity as legal right; for it appears that the order for the bishop's imprisonment was not signed when it was made, but only some years after; as entered on the council-book, it has attached to it the names of Somerset, Cranmer, St. John, Russell, and Cheyney; but Lord Russell had, in the first instance, subscribed himself "Bedford," till, recollecting that he had not that title at the time of making the order, he drew his pen through the word, and substituted "J. Russell!"¹ Gardiner, however, was thus once more placed where he could give no active annoyance; and he remained in close confinement throughout the reign, steadily refusing all proposals of submission or compromise, till at last he was deprived of his bishopric.

All this time the war in Scotland had not ceased to give both anxiety and occupation to the government, though the military operations that took place were not attended with any very important results. In an assembly of the Scottish nobility held at Stirling soon after the battle of Pinkie, a resolution had been adopted on the suggestion of the queen-dowager to apply for the assistance of France, and with that object to offer their infant queen in marriage to the dauphin, and even to propose to send her immediately to be educated at the French court. This was, in other words, an offer to the French king of the Scottish crown. It was at once accepted by Henry, nor did he lose a moment in making preparations for the vigorous defence of a kingdom which he might now consider as his own. On learning what had been done, Somerset published an earnest address in English and Latin, to the people of Scotland, pointing out to them all the advantages they were throwing away by the rejection of the matrimonial alliance with England, as well as the loss of their independence and the other evils that were sure to follow from the French marriage, and calling upon them to draw back from the ruinous course on which their government was leading them. This appeal was followed up by the arrival, towards the end of April, of a powerful English army under the conduct of the Lord Gray of Wilton, which advanced straightway upon the neighbourhood of the capital. The town of Haddington was taken and fortified, a garrison of two thousand men being left to hold it; some isolated castles were battered down, or compelled to surrender; Dalkeith and Musselburgh were burned; but all these terrors had no effect in damping the spirit of the Scots—buoyed up as they were by the highest hopes of the revenge they were soon to be en-

abled to take by means of the ample aid promised them by the French king. About the middle of June, the squadron conveying the expected foreign auxiliaries arrived at Leith. The force consisted of about six thousand veterans²—partly French, partly German—under the command of D'Esse D'Espanvilliers, a general of great gallantry and experience. No time was lost in proceeding to active operations. It was resolved that the first enterprise of the allied forces should be the recovery of Haddington; and accordingly an army composed of the whole of D'Esse's men, and of about eight thousand Scots, under the command of Arran, marched upon that town. It was in the camp before Haddington that the parliament or convention of estates was assembled which ratified, amid the hurry and tumult of arms, and against not a little opposition, the treaty with the French king. The fleet which had brought over the French soldiers still remained in the Firth of Forth; it now put to sea, and proceeded at first in the direction of the French coast, but as soon as it was fairly out of sight of land it changed its course, and having sailed round by the north of Scotland, entered the Clyde, and touched at Dumbarton, where it received on board the young queen with her attendants.³ Mary reached the harbour of Brest in safety on the 13th of August, and was immediately conducted to St. Germain-en-Laye, where she was contracted in the usual form to the Dauphin of France, then a child of five years of age, she herself being only a few months older. Meanwhile, Haddington remained unreduced, though still invested. At first the place had been sharply cannonaded, and various breaches had been made in the walls; but D'Esse still did not think it prudent to venture upon an assault, and resolved to trust to the hope of starving the garrison into a surrender. The strength and spirit of the latter, however, were soon after recruited by the arrival of a body of two hundred of their countrymen, who "found means one night to pass through all the watches on that side where the Scots lay, and entering the town, and bringing with them great plenty of powder and other necessaries, greatly relieved them within, and so encouraged them that they seemed to make small account of their enemy's forces." A similar attempt that was afterwards made by a troop of 1300 horse from Berwick, under the command of Sir Thomas Palmer, had a different issue. The English horse were met by the French and Scots under D'Esse and Lord Hume, and were completely environed and put to the rout. The

² Curiously translated by Sir James Balfour, into "olde beaten shouldours," in his patriotic aversion to admit that these foreign auxiliaries were of any use to his countrymen.

³ Balfour, *Annals*.

¹ Burnet.

Scottish historians assert that the slain and the prisoners on the part of the English in this affair exceeded 1000 men. Immediately upon receipt of the intelligence at the English court, orders were given for the advance across the Borders of an army of 22,000 men, which had been raised and put under the command of Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, as the lieutenant of the Duke of Somerset. Lord Clinton, at the same time, put to sea with a formidable fleet. On the approach of Shrewsbury, the besieging army retired from Haddington, and the earl entered that town, the gallant defenders of which were now reduced to the utmost extremity.¹ The earl left abundant supplies, not only of "victuals, munition, and all other things convenient," but likewise of healthy and strong men to assist in maintaining the defence. He then set forth to seek the Scots and French, whom he found posted some ten or twelve miles off, at Musselburgh. They would not, however, leave their intrenchments, and the English did not venture to attack them. In fact, the earl and his great army forthwith turned round, and began their march back to England. The only other exploit they performed was to set fire to Dunbar, as they passed by that town on their retreat. Nor were the achievements of Lord Clinton and the fleet more considerable. Balfour informs us that Clinton landed some 5000 men on the coast of Fife, to spoil the country; "but before they did much harm, they were encountered by the Laird of Wemyss and the barons of Fife, all well horsed, who rode them flat down with their horses, and having killed above 700 of them, forced the remnant to save themselves by wading in the sea to the necks, before they could gain their flat-bottomed boats, having purchured (acquired) no better booty than their backful of strokes and wet skins." They afterwards made a descent during the night at Montrose, where in like manner they were driven off by the peasantry, headed by Erskine of Dun; of 800 who had landed, scarcely one in three getting back safe to the ships. "So," it is added, "the admiral returned, having got nothing but loss and disgrace by the expedition."

After the Earl of Shrewsbury had returned home, Lord Gray, who had been left as lieutenant of the north, made an inroad into Scotland, and, without encountering any opposition, burned and wasted Teviotdale and Liddesdale for the space of about twenty miles. On the other hand, not long after this, on Tuesday the 9th of October, an attempt was made by D'Esse to surprise the town of Haddington, up to the very gate of which he had got with his men, at an early hour in the morning, before his presence was suspected. But when the assailants were on the point of complet-

ing their enterprise, a cannon that chanced to be pointed upon the gate was fired off against his countrymen by a French deserter who served within the town, which made such slaughter among them as to drive them back in disorder; and although D'Esse thrice gallantly led back his men to the encounter, they were finally foiled and beaten off with great loss. On this, the French commander retired to Leith, and fortified himself in that town.

The English parliament re-assembled at Westminster on the 24th of November, having been prorogued to that day from the 15th of October, in consequence of the plague then being in London. The first question of importance that was brought forward was that of the marriage of the clergy. A proposition in favour of this innovation having been submitted to the lower house of convocation during the last session of parliament, had been carried in that assembly by a majority of nearly two to one; and a bill to carry it into effect had been actually introduced in the House of Commons, though it was not proceeded with. A similar bill was now again brought forward, and, although it met with considerable opposition, was finally passed and sent up to the lords on the 13th of December. In the upper house it was allowed to lie unnoticed till the 9th of February, 1549; but, being then taken up, was, after it had undergone some alterations, to which the commons eventually assented, read a third time on the 19th, and passed, by a majority of thirty-nine to twelve. This was followed by an act establishing the use of the reformed Liturgy lately drawn up. Against both of these bills many of the bishops, and a few also of the lay lords, entered protests. The only other enactment of this session on the subject of religion that requires to be here noticed, is one that was passed "touching abstinence from flesh in Lent and other usual times." The preamble of this statute declares, that "one day or one kind of meat of itself is not more holy, more pure, or more clean than another;" but, nevertheless, condemns those who, "turning their knowledge to satisfy their sensuality," had, "of late time more than in times past, broken and contemned such abstinence which hath been used in this realm upon the Fridays and Saturdays, the embering days, and other days commonly called vigils, and in the time commonly called Lent, and other accustomed times." The regulations with regard to the observance of fish-days which are laid down, and which need not be detailed, are then ushered in by a statement of the considerations that had been kept in view in framing them, which "glances from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven," with a most edifying impartiality and comprehensiveness of regard.

¹ *Holinshed.*

But an affair of another kind was also brought before the parliament in the course of this session, the history of which, from its commencement nearly two years before, now falls to be related. The Earl of Hertford and his younger brother Sir Thomas Seymour do not appear to have lived on other than friendly terms down to the close of the late reign, during which the terrific temper of Henry made the fiercest and haughtiest spirits quail, and suppress the breath of their mutual animosities and rivalries. But as soon as the furious old despot was dead, and the throne came to be filled by the child, whose near relationship to the two brothers combined with his years and his disposition to throw him entirely into their hands, and to make him the puppet of whichever of the two should succeed in getting before the other in their struggle for the prize, the natural opposition of their interests, and of the circumstances in which they were placed, dashed them against each other like two meeting tides. Both were ambitious, by nature as well as by the temptations of their position; and he not the least so who, by the arrangements made on the accession of the new king, found himself without any share in the government, while the other had contrived to concentrate in himself nearly all the powers of the state. The protector tried to purchase the acquiescence of his brother, both by honours and more substantial benefits:



THOMAS, LORD SEYMOUR, OF SUDLEY, Lord High-admiral.
After Holbein.

Sir Thomas, as we have seen, was raised to the peerage, with the title of Baron Seymour of Sudley; he was also made high-admiral, the patent of that place being resigned to him by the new Earl of Warwick, who was, in turn, compensated with that of lord great-chamberlain, which

Somerset himself had held, but which he now exchanged for those of lord high-treasurer and earl-marshal, forfeited by the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk; and he was furthermore, by a royal grant, in August, 1548, put in possession of the lordship of Sudley, in Gloucestershire, and of other lands and tenements in no fewer than eighteen counties.¹ But a temper and views such as his were not to be thus satisfied. Though resembling each other in ambition and rapacity, in most of the other points that marked their characters the two brothers were very unlike. The protector, slenderly endowed either with capacity or with moral courage, and probably conscious of these deficiencies, was in the habit of trusting in all things more to his instruments than to himself, and of seeking a support for his greatness in any prop he could find to lean upon. This timidity and want of self-dependence, together with his vanity, made him on all occasions an anxious affecter of popular applause, although his whole course demonstrates him to have been in reality one of the most self-regarding men that ever lived, and one of the most unscrupulous in the pursuit of his own aggrandizement. His anxiety, however, to stand well in the public estimation, and perhaps a natural coldness of temperament, preserved him from some of those private irregularities which, more than anything else, destroy reputation, though the mischief they occasion bears no proportion in extent to that inflicted by some other vices of character which are not so immediately offensive; and there was little or nothing to be objected to in his life and conversation under any of the heads of that household morality which is very generally regarded as the whole code of morals. He was not only cautiously decent in his private demeanour within this circle of duties, but he was a conspicuous professor of religion and piety; and it is probable that he did take a considerable interest in those high questions by which all minds were more or less agitated, and certain strong views in regard to what constituted the peculiar badge and the great cementing element and life-spirit of his party. But although he was extremely cautious of doing anything likely to place him in an unfavourable light with the popular sentiment, it would be a mistake to imagine that he did not give loose to his natural temper, where there was no such risk, in the most violent fashion. While he was all subservience to the huzzaing populace, and was at home completely under the government of his wife—a proud, coarse, cunning woman—at the council-table and elsewhere, to all who were dependent upon him, not excepting the men to whom in great part he owed his elevation, he soon became the most in-

¹ See notice of the grant in Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* ii. 202.

perious and insolent of the spoiled children of fortune. The lord-admiral was certainly not a better man than the protector; but the vices of his character were for the most part of a different kind. They were not vices that attempted to assume the guise of virtues—whether that be a commendation or the reverse; they did not so far do homage to morality as to skulk out of sight: the admiral seems to have openly led a dissolute life, and was probably very regardless of imputations on the score of freedom or laxity of manners, at which his brother would have been ready to sink into the earth with shame and fear. It is doubtful to which of the two religions he belonged, but pretty certain that he neither cared, nor professed to care, much for either. In point of abilities he was reckoned far the protector's superior. The popular breath, which the elder brother so solicitously courted, the younger, as bold and reckless in this as in all things else, held in avowed contempt. Of the credit of high principle, or principle of any kind, very little can be awarded to either; each equally—the one in his adulation of the multitude, the other by his haughty aristocratic professions and bearing—pursued, in the way that his peculiar tastes and temper dictated, the path of the same selfish and rapacious ambition. What small amount of honesty may have belonged to either was, in Somerset, merely a natural attachment which he probably had to those opinions in religion which were the distinction of his party, and upon the profession of which he had taken his stand; in Seymour, the effrontery of a profligate man, of too violent passions, and too proud a spirit, even to pretend to virtues which he did not possess.

Burnet's relation of the story of the lord-admiral, upon which the accounts of later writers are principally founded, is given by him as if the particulars were either notorious, or had been obtained from some source that left no doubt as to their authenticity; but it will be found, upon examination, that the whole detail is little more than a transcript of the charges made against Seymour by his brother and the council—that is, of the mere assertions of his enemies, upon which, as we shall find, although he was condemned and put to death, he was never brought to trial, and of the truth of many things in which we have really no evidence whatever. The statement, therefore, cannot be received with perfect confidence, although it may probably, in the main, be founded in truth. It is, however, in parts, confirmed by documents that have been brought to light since Burnet wrote, especially by those contained in the collection known by the name of the *Burghley Papers*.¹

One of the lines of pursuit in which Seymour's talents, address, and personal advantages, enabled him greatly to distinguish himself, was that of gallantry: his success with women was so brilliant, that he had the popular reputation of catching hearts by art-magic. He now resolved that riches and power as well as pleasure should wait upon his victories in this career; and it is alleged that, in the first instance, he aspired so high as to have cherished the hope of gaining the hand either of the Princess Mary or of her sister Elizabeth, the two persons next in the order of succession to the throne. His views seem also to have been at one time directed to the Lady Jane Grey, in the presentiment that hers might possibly, after all, be the head upon which the crown would light. He found, however, that there were difficulties in the way of each of these projects, and for the present he contented himself with the hand of Catherine Parr, the queen-dowager—"whom you married," say the council in their charge, "so soon after the late king's death, that, if she had conceived straight after, it should have been a great doubt whether the child born should have been accounted the late king's or yours; whereupon a marvellous danger and peril might and was like to have ensued to the king's majesty's succession and quiet of the realm." In fact, Catherine appears to have thrown herself into his arms.

Seymour had a twofold object in this marriage—first, the acquisition of the wealth Catherine had accumulated while she was queen, and the dower to which she was now entitled; secondly, that he might gain the easier access to the king, and be the better able to win him over to his purposes through the influence of Catherine, to whom Edward had always been accustomed to look up with respect and affection. In the first of these expectations he was in part disappointed, by his wife being compelled to surrender certain jewels of great value, which Henry had given to her, but which the protector and the council insisted that she had no right to retain, after she had ceased to be queen-consort. In a letter to Seymour upon the subject of this and other points in which she thought she was ill-used, she seems to impute the treatment she had received to Somerset's proud and violent wife. Whether it was the loss of her jewels, however, or whether the same consequence would have followed without that provocation, poor Catherine soon became little an object of envy to any of her sex; the husband, to whom she had given herself with such preci-

Elizabeth, transcribed from papers left by William Cecil, Lord Burghley, now at Hatfield House, in the library of the Earl of Salisbury, by the Rev. Samuel Haynes, A.M., fol. London, 1740. This first volume of the *Burghley Papers* extends from A.D. 1542 to 1570; a second volume, extending from 1571 to 1596, was published by the Rev. William Murdin, fol. London, 1759.

¹ A collection of *State Papers* relating to affairs in the reigns of King Henry VIII., Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen

pitate fondness, began openly to show how tired he was become of her, and to resume his old gallantries, before many months had elapsed. In the meanwhile he had taken advantage of his opportunities to commence practising upon the young mind of his royal nephew. The object of ambition which, in the first instance at least, he had proposed to himself, seems to have been, to wrest from his brother the one of his two great offices which gave him the custody of the royal person, though it is probable enough that, if he had succeeded in that, he would not have been long in making an attempt to get into his hands the government of the kingdom also. It is charged against him by the council that, after he had agreed and given his consent in writing to the appointment of his brother as "governor of the king's majesty's person, and protector of all his realms and dominions, and subjects;" he had "attempted and gone about by indirect means to undo this order," and to get the government of the king into his own hands;—that, "by corrupting with gifts and fair promises, divers of the privy chamber," he had gone about to allure the king to condescend and agree to the same, his "most heinous and perilous purposes;"—that he had "for that intent," with his own hand, written a letter in the king's name, which he had given to his majesty to copy and sign, and which he intended to have delivered personally to the House of Commons; "and there," it is added, "with your fautors and adherents before prepared, to have made a broil, or tumult, or uproar, to the great danger of the king's majesty's person, and subversion of the state of this realm;"—that he had spoken to "divers of the council, and laboured with divers of the nobility of the realm, to stick and adhere" to him for the attainment of his purposes;—that he had said openly, that [if he were crossed in his designs] he would make that the blackest parliament that ever was in England;—that "the king's majesty being of those tender years, and as yet, by age unable to direct his own things," the admiral had gone about to instil into his grace's head, and to persuade him to take upon himself the government and managing of his own affairs;—that he had fully intended to have taken his majesty's person into his own hands and custody;—that he had corrupted with money certain of the privy chamber to persuade the king to "have a credit towards" him, "and so," the article proceeds, "to insinuate you to his grace, that when he lacked anything, he should have it of you, and none other body, to the intent he should mislike his ordering, and that you might the better, when you saw time, use his king's highness for an instrument to this purpose." In a sort of answer which was wrung from him to part of

the charges of the council, Seymour admitted that about Easter, 1547, he had said to one of the royal attendants, "that if he might have the king in his custody as Mr. Page had, he would be glad; and that he thought a man might bring him (the king) through the gallery to his (Seymour's) chamber, and so to his house; but this, he said, he spoke merrily, meaning no hurt." He owned also that, having some time after heard that, when there was formerly a lord-protector in England, the government of the king's person was put into other hands, "he had thought to have made suit to the parliament house for that purpose, and he had the names of all the lords, and totted them whom he thought he might have to his purpose, to labour them; but afterwards communing with Mr. Comptroller at Ely Place, being put in remembrance by him of his assenting and agreeing with his own hand that the lord-protector should be governor to the king's person, he was ashamed of his doings, and left off that suit and labour." These, it is to be remembered, are not his own words under his own hand, but merely those put into his mouth by the persons sent to examine him, in their report to the council of what he said. He further acknowledged that he had drawn up the letter, or "bill," as he calls it, to be laid before the House of Commons, and had proffered it either to the king or Cheke, he forgot which. This had been done, after having "caused the king to be moved by Mr. Fowler, whether he could be contented that he should have the governance of him as Mr. Stanhope had." What answer he had got either to this suggestion, or to his proposal that the king should sign the letter, he professed not to remember. To the charge of giving money to the king, and to those about him, he said that at Christmas, 1547, he had given to Mr. Cheke £40, "whereof to himself £20, the other for the king, to bestow where it pleaseth his grace amongst his servants." He had also given some money—he did not remember how much—to the grooms of the chamber. To Fowler, he admitted that he had given money for the king since the beginning of the parliament then (February, 1549) sitting, to the amount of £20. "And divers times, he saith, the king hath sent to him for money, and he hath sent it. And what time Mr. Latimer hath preached before the king, the king sent to him to know what he should give Mr. Latimer; and he sent to him by Fowler £40, with this word, that £20 was a good reward for Mr. Latimer, and the other he might bestow amongst his servants." These confessions made it apparent enough that he had sought to gain an ascendancy over the king by supplying him with pocket-money, of which it appears that his majesty was kept very bare by my lord-protector. But the

most curious evidence upon this point, as well as upon some of the other charges brought against Seymour, is supplied by the *Burghley Papers*. Here we have, in the first place, the testimony of the king himself, given in several statements drawn up and subscribed by himself. Edward, as both men and children will do when in similar circumstances, may be supposed to soften what was blameable in his own part of the business as much as possible, even if in so doing he should be led to bear a little hard upon his unfortunate uncle; but the true state of the case may be easily gathered from his self-exculpatory detail. After an account of his refusing to write some letter at Seymour's request, his majesty proceeds: "At another time, within this two year at least, he said, ye must take upon you yourself to rule, for ye shall be able enough, as well as other kings; and then ye may give your men somewhat, for your uncle is old, and I trust will not live long. I answered, it were better that he should die. Then he said, ye are but even a very beggarly king now; ye have not to play, or to give to your servants. I said, Mr. Stanhope had for me. Then he said he would give Fowler money for me; and so he did, as Fowler told me. And he gave Cheke money, as I bade him; and also to a bookbinder, as Balmain can tell; and to divers others at that time, I remember not to whom." In another paper, Edward speaks of Seymour as trying to prejudice him against the protector, by representing the expedition to Scotland, in which he was then engaged, as a very foolish and wasteful business. "At the return of my lord, my uncle," he goes on, "the lord-admiral said I was too bashful in mine own matters; and asked me why I did not speak to bear rules, as other kings do. I said I needed not, for I was well enough. When he went into his country he desired me, that if anything were said against him, I should not believe it till he came himself." That Edward, however, was not a mere passive recipient in these money dealings with his uncle, appears from another paper in this collection, being a letter written by the king's command, in June, 1547, to the lord-admiral, by Fowler. After conveying to Seymour some warm expressions of regard from his nephew, who had desired him to say, "that his mind and love, notwithstanding your absence, is toward your lordship as much as to any man within England"—the writer proceeds: "Also his grace willed me to write to your lordship, desiring you, as your lordship has willed him to do, if he lack any money to send to your lordship. His grace desires you, if you conveniently may, to let him have some money. I asked his grace what sum I should write to your lordship for; his grace would name no sum, but as it pleased your lordship to send him, for

he determines to give it away, but to whom he will not tell me as yet." "The king's majesty," it is added, in a style of some importunity, "desires your lordship to send him this money as shortly as you can; and because your lordship may credit me the better, his grace has written in the beginning of my letter himself." The paper accordingly has the following words written by Edward in his own hand, and with his name subscribed:—"I commend me to you, my lord, and pray you to credit this writer." To this we may subjoin, from the same repository, a part of the testimony of the Marquis of Dorset, afterwards Duke of Suffolk, who was examined principally touching another of the charges brought against Seymour—his undertaking to marry the king at his own will and pleasure, and endeavouring to seduce the marquis to his interests by a promise that Edward should be united to his daughter, the Lady Jane Grey. Dorset declares, "that the king's majesty hath divers times made his moan unto him, saying, that my uncle of Somerset dealeth very hardly with me, and keepeth me so strait that I cannot have money at my will; but my lord-admiral both sends me money and gives me money." These revelations illustrate the characters both of the king and Somerset, as well as the doings of the lord-admiral.

Intimation of Seymour's practices was given to his brother, while he was in Scotland in September, 1547, by Paget, who had previously remonstrated with the admiral on the course he was pursuing. It is uncertain whether there was any reconciliation between them before the parliament met in November; but soon after matters were brought to a crisis, by the lord-admiral's project of inducing the king to write the letter recommending his appointment as governor of the royal person. Burnet's narrative would seem to imply that the letter had been actually copied and subscribed by the king; but this is inconsistent both with what the admiral is made to say in his answer to the charges of the council, and with Edward's own account. When the council discovered what he was about, they sent some of their members to confer with him in his brother's name, and to urge him to proceed no farther; but he refused to listen to them; and he paid as little regard to an order of the council, which was then issued, summoning him to appear before them. When they passed a resolution, however, that he should be sent to the Tower, and deprived of all his offices, he deemed it prudent to make his submission; and, for the present, the affair ended by a seemingly perfect reconciliation being effected between the two brothers. In the course of the following year the admiral was gratified by a grant of a large addition to his revenues from the crown.

But neither this bribe nor the escape he had made drew Seymour from the path of his restless ambition. We have seen, that before the end of this same year he had again begun to practise upon the king and the persons about his majesty by secret gifts of money. For some time, however, he restrained his bold and haughty temper so far as not to commit himself in any direct attempt to upset his brother's power. While he was thus lying in wait for what the course of events might produce, his wife, the Queen-dowager Catherine, died, at Sudley Castle, on the 5th

king's majesty's person, and peril of the state of the same." The evidence contained in the *Burghley Papers*, if it does not completely sustain this charge, at least supplies a very interesting and remarkable chapter in the biography of the great Elizabeth. It should appear that Seymour, whatever were his designs upon the princess, had in his interest, or at any rate as favourably disposed to him as he could desire, no less convenient a personage than her highness' governess, a Mrs. Catherine Ashley. Thomas Parry, the cofferer of the princess' household, relates a conversation he had with this lady,

in which she admitted to him that even the Duchess of Somerset had found great fault with her "for my Lady Elizabeth's going in a night in a barge upon Thames, and for other light parts," and had told her, in consequence, that she was not worthy to have the governance of a king's daughter. On the subject of the court paid by the admiral to the princess, "I do remember also," says Parry, "she told me that the admiral loved her but too well, and had so done a good while, and that the queen (Catherine Parr) was jealous on her and him, in so much that one time the queen, suspecting the often access of the admiral to the



RUINS OF SUDLEY CASTLE.—FROM LYBONS' *Antiquities of Gloucestershire*.

day of September, 1548, seven days after having given birth to a daughter. From some expressions that fell from her in her last hours, a suspicion arose that she had been poisoned, or otherwise made away with by the act of her husband; but we are not entitled, from anything that is known of Seymour, to think it probable that he could be guilty of so black a crime as this; and the circumstances, as far as they have come down to us, do not lend any countenance to a surmise which the partiality of some modern writers to the memory of the one brother seems chiefly to have inclined them to adopt against the other.

"It is objected, and laid unto your charge," say the council, in one of their articles exhibited against the lord-admiral, "that you have not only, before you married the queen, attempted and gone about to marry the king's majesty's sister, the Lady Elizabeth, second inheritor in remainder to the crown, but also, being then let (hindered) by the lord-protector and others of the council, sithence that time, both in the life of the queen continued your old labour and love, and after her death, by secret and crafty means, practised to achieve the said purpose of marrying the said Lady Elizabeth, to the danger of the

Lady Elizabeth's grace, came suddenly upon them when they were all alone, he having her in his arms, wherefore the queen fell out both with the lord-admiral and with her grace also. And hereupon the queen called Mrs. Ashley to her, and told her fancy in that matter; and of this was much displeasure." At this time, it appears, the princess was living with the queen-dowager; but, immediately after the above incident, she either removed of her own accord, or was sent away. But Mrs. Ashley may be allowed to speak for herself, at least in so far as her somewhat naively expressed details will bear to be quoted. In her "Confession," in which of course she confesses as little as possible against herself, she states that at Chelsea, immediately after he was married to the queen, the admiral used frequently to come into the Lady Elizabeth's chamber before she was ready, and sometimes before she was out of bed. If she were up, he would slap her familiarly on the back or on the hips; "and if she were in her bed, he would put open the curtains and bid her good morrow, and make as though he would come at her; and she would go further in the bed, so that he could not come at her. And one morning he strave to have kissed her in her bed." At this last and some other instances of boldness

Mrs. Ashley professes to have been duly shocked, and to have rebuked the admiral as he deserved. Other instances of the admiral's audacity are given, but these may serve as sufficient specimens. Mrs. Ashley admits she had reason to suppose that the queen was jealous of the familiarity betwixt her husband and the princess; and "she saith also, that Mr. Ashley, her husband, hath divers times given this examine warning to take heed, for he did fear that the Lady Elizabeth did bear some affection to my lord-admiral; she seemed to be well pleased therewith; and sometimes she would blush when he were spoken of." Elizabeth also makes her "Confession" among the rest; but it relates merely to what had passed between her and Mrs. Ashley after the queen's death, on the subject of the lord-admiral's wish to marry her, and, as might be expected, contains nothing to her own disadvantage. She maintains that Mrs. Ashley never advised the marriage except on condition it should prove agreeable to the protector and the council. In a letter, however, which she wrote from Hatfield to the protector in January, 1549, while the proceedings against Seymour were in progress, she mentions a circumstance which we should not otherwise have known—namely, that rumours had got abroad that she was "in the Tower and with child by my lord-admiral." These imputations she declares to be "shameful slanders," and requests that, to put them down, she may be allowed to come immediately to court. It appears, however, that all these examinations gave her no little disturbance and alarm, though, young as she was—only entering upon her sixteenth year—she bore herself, in the delicate and difficult position in which she was thereby placed, with a wonderful deal of the courage and politic management that she evinced on so many occasions in her after life.

The lord-admiral's renewal of his pretensions to the hand of Elizabeth after the death of his queen, seems to have at once brought matters to another open quarrel between him and his brother. The Marquis of Northampton, one of the persons whom he had sought to seduce to a participation in his designs, relates in his examination, or confession, that Seymour had told him "he was credibly informed that my lord-protector had said he would clap him in the Tower if he went to my Lady Elizabeth." These threats, and the obstacle that presented itself to his schemes in the clause of the late king's will, which provided that, if either of the princesses should marry without the consent of the council, she should forfeit her right of succession, roused all the natural impetuosity and violence of his temper, and drove him again to intrigues and plots, and other measures of desperation. One Wightman,

who held an office in his establishment, stated to the council that he and others of his friends had earnestly dissuaded him "from writing of such sharp and unsavoury letters to my lord-protector's grace," but without effect. It is asserted that, seeing he could not otherwise achieve his object, he resolved to seize the king's person, and to carry him away to his castle of Holt, in Denbighshire, one of the properties he had acquired by the late royal grant; that for the furtherance of this and his ulterior designs, he had confederated with various noblemen and others; that he had so travailed in the matter as to have put himself in a condition to raise an army of 10,000 men out of his own tenantry and other immediate adherents, in addition to the forces of his friends; and that he had got ready money enough to pay and maintain the said 10,000 men for a month.¹ He is also charged with having, in various ways, abused his authority and powers as lord-admiral, and of having actually taken part with pirates against the lawful trader, "as though," says one of the articles, "you were authorized to be the chief pirate, and to have had all the advantage they could bring unto you."² All these proceedings, it is affirmed, were "to none other end and purpose but, after a title gotten to the crown, and your party made strong both by sea and land, with furniture of men and money sufficient, to have aspired to the dignity royal by some heinous enterprise against the king's majesty's person."³ The council do not venture to include in their indictment what Burnet has set down as one of the lord-admiral's chief crimes, his having "openly complained that his brother intended to enslave the nation, and make himself master of all;" as a glaring proof of which he particularly pointed to a force of lansquenets which the protector had brought over and kept in his pay. It appears, from the *Burghley Papers*, that the immediate occasion of proceedings being taken against Seymour was a confession made to the council by Sir William Sharrington, master of the mint at Bristol, who had been taken up and examined on a charge of clipping, coining base money, and other frauds. Sharrington had been, in the first instance, defended by the admiral, who, it appears, was his debtor to a considerable amount; but he eventually admitted his guilt, and informed the council, in addition, that he had been in league with the admiral to supply him with money for the designs that have just been recounted. There can be no doubt that Sharrington made this confession to save his own life; in point of fact, he was, after a short time, not only pardoned, but restored to his former appointment. But the

¹ Articles of High Treason, &c., 12-18.

² *Ibid.* 29.

³ *Ibid.* 22.

admiral was instantly (19th January, 1549) sent to the Tower.

Seymour had now no chance of escape. Abandoned by every friend on earth, he lay passive and helpless in his prison-house, while "many complaints," as Burnet observes, "being usually brought against a sinking man," all who sought to make their own positions more secure, or to advance themselves in court favour, hastened to add their contribution to the charges or the evidence by which he was to be destroyed. Attempts were made to persuade him to submit himself, by working both upon his fears and his hopes: but he would confess no part of the treasonable designs imputed to him. There is, indeed, no proof or probability whatever that his views extended to anything beyond the supplanting of Somerset; it was a struggle for ascendancy between the two brothers, and nothing more. The proceedings taken against the accused were, from the beginning to the end, a flagrant violation of all law and justice. After he had been several times secretly examined, without anything material being extracted from him, by deputations of the privy council, on the 23d of February the whole council proceeded in a body to the Tower, with the charges against him drawn out in thirty-three articles, to endeavour to bring him to submission. But to all their threats and persuasions he insisted, as he had all along done, upon an open trial, and being brought face to face with his accusers. At last he so far yielded to their importunities as to say that, if they would leave the articles with him, he would consider of them; but even with this proposal they refused to comply. The next day, "after dinner," the lord-chancellor, in the presence of the other councillors, "opened the matter to the king, and delivered his opinion for leaving it to the parliament." It is pretended that this was the first time the subject had been mentioned—at least at the council-board—to Edward; and, therefore, the greater admiration was called forth by the prompt judgment of the youthful sovereign, and the equanimity with which he consented to sacrifice his uncle to the public weal. After each of the other councillors had expressed his approbation of the course recommended by the chancellor, and, last of all, the protector, who protested "this was a most sorrowful business to him, but were it son or brother, he must prefer his majesty's safety to them, for he weighed his allegiance more than his blood," his majesty answered, "We perceive that there are great things objected and laid to my lord-admiral, my uncle, and they tend to treason; and we perceive that you require but justice to be done; we think it reasonable, and we will that you proceed according to your request." The very next day, a bill of attainder against

the lord-admiral was brought into the House of Lords; all the judges and the king's council gave it as their opinion that the articles amounted to treason; various lords, who had already made depositions against the accused repeated their evidence; and the bill was at last passed without a division. Somerset himself was present at each reading. On the same day (the 27th) it was sent down to the commons. But here it encountered, at first, considerable opposition. "Many argued against attainders in absence, and thought it an odd way, that some peers should rise up in their places in their own house, and relate somewhat to the slander of another, and that he should be thereupon attainted; therefore it was pressed that it might be done by a trial, and that the admiral should be brought to the bar, and be heard plead for himself."¹ This hesitation was at first attempted to be met by a message from the other house, repeating, what had been intimated when the bill was first sent down, that the lords who were acquainted with the facts would, if required, repeat their evidence before the commons. But it was not deemed requisite even to go through this formality. On the 4th of March a message came from the king, which stated that "he thought it was not necessary to send for the admiral;" and thereupon the bill was agreed to, in a house of about 400 members, not more than ten or twelve voting in the negative.² The parliament having been prorogued on the 14th—on which day the royal assent was given to the bill—on the 17th the council issued the warrant for the admiral's execution. Burnet notices it as "a little odd," that this order of blood should be signed by Cranmer—a thing which he says was contrary to the canon law; but he makes no remark upon what will appear to most persons a still stranger indecorum, and a violation almost of the law of nature—that the first name attached to it should be that of the condemned man's own brother!³ The Bishop of Ely was immediately sent to convey to Seymour the determination of the government, and "to instruct and teach him the best he could to the quiet and patient suffering of justice." The bishop reported to the council that the prisoner "required Mr. Latimer to come to him; the day of execution to be deferred; certain of his servants to be with him; his daughter to be with my Lady Duchess of Suffolk to be brought up; and such like."⁴ To these requests the council instructed their secretary to write

¹ Burnet.

² Strype, in his notes to Hayward, has given a full account of these proceedings from the *Journals* of the two houses, to prove "how fairly he (the admiral) was judged and dealt with in the parliament."

³ See it as published by Burnet himself in his *Collection of Records*.

⁴ Entry in *Council Book*, printed by Strype, *Eccles. Mem.*

"*their resolute answer to the said lord-admiral;*" by which appears to be meant that they put their negative upon most of them. The execution took place on Wednesday, the 20th, on Tower-hill, when Seymour died protesting that he had never committed or meant any treason against the king or the realm.¹ It should appear that he was attended, as he had requested, in his last moments by Latimer, who made some extraordinary remarks, both on his death and his life, in a sermon he preached before the king, a few days after. It was commonly observed, it seems, that the admiral had died very boldly, and that "he would not have done so, had he not been in a just quarrel." This Latimer declares to be "a deceivable argument." "This I will say," he proceeds, "if they ask me what I think of his death, that he died very dangerously, irksomely, horribly." "He was," concludes the zealous orator, "a man farthest from the fear of God that ever I knew or heard of in England. . . . I have heard say he was of the opinion that he believed not the immortality of the soul—that he was not right in the matter."² Some additional touches are given to the picture in another sermon:—"I have heard say, when that good queen (Catherine Parr) that is gone, had ordained in her house daily prayer both before noon and after noon, the admiral gets him out of the way, like a mole digging in the earth. He shall be Lot's wife to me as long as I live. He was a covetous man, an horrible covetous

man; I would there were no mo in England. He was an ambitious man; I would there were no mo in England. He was a seditious man, a contemner of Common Prayer; I would there were no mo in England. He is gone; I would he had left none behind him." In ambition and covetousness, if not in contempt of the Common Prayer, Seymour, it is to be feared, did leave at least one man behind him who was fully his match. His daughter, of whom Queen Catherine had died in childbed, was an infant of scarce six months old when she lost her second parent; soon after which event she was, as her father had requested, committed to the charge of the Duchess of Suffolk. As the child was utterly penniless, as well as an orphan, her uncle, the wealthy and powerful lord-protector, in thus consigning her to the hands of strangers, promised that an annual sum should be allowed for her maintenance, and that a quantity of plate and other furniture which she had had in her nursery should be sent along with her to the house of the Duchess of Suffolk. It will hardly be believed that neither the allowance in money, nor even the plate and other articles, could be got for many months out of the hard grip of Somerset and his duchess: indeed, it is probable they never were obtained. But if Somerset ever did make any allowance for the support of his niece, he was very soon delivered from the burden, for in a few months more the poor child followed its parents to the grave.

CHAPTER X.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1549—1553.

EDWARD VI.

Popular tumults in England—Their causes—Religious character imparted to them—Their progress in Devonshire—Their suppression—Rebellion in Norfolk—Its violence and excesses—It is suppressed by the Earl of Warwick—Peculiar character of these insurrections—State of Scotland—Quarrels between the Scots and their allies the French—Dissatisfaction against the Protector Somerset—Offence occasioned by his arrogance and rapacity—The Earl of Warwick and the nobles combine against him—He is placed under arrest—He is imprisoned, tried, and fined—Peace concluded with France and Scotland—Trial and execution of Joan of Kent—Bishop Bonner sent to prison—Ecclesiastical events—Opposition of the Princess Mary—The Duke of Somerset intrigues to regain power and office—The Earl of Warwick created Duke of Northumberland—The Duke of Somerset arrested on a charge of treason—Accusations brought against him—His trial and execution—Proceedings of parliament—Ambition of the Duke of Northumberland—He strengthens himself by family alliances—Endeavours to procure the succession to the throne for his daughter-in-law Lady Jane Grey—Edward in his last illness moved to that effect—His consent obtained—Death of Edward VI.



HE tragedy of the lord-admiral was followed by a summer of popular tumult and confusion, such as had not been known in England since the rebellion of Jack Cade, almost exactly 100 years before. Several causes of various kinds concurred at this crisis

to throw the peasantry in all parts of the country into a state of extraordinary excitability, or what may be called a predisposition to disorder and insurrection. The following passage occurs in a

¹ *Svo.*

² Latimer's Fourth Sermon, in the first edition of his sermons. *Svo.* The passage is erased in subsequent editions.

letter written by the protector himself:—"The causes and pretences of these uproars and risings are divers and uncertain, and so full of variety almost in every camp (as they call them), that it is hard to write what it is; as ye know is like to be of people without head and rule, and that would have they wot not what. Some crieth, Pluck down inclosures and parks; some for their commons; others pretend the religion; a number would rule another while, and direct things as the gentlemen have done; and, indeed, all have conceived a wonderful hate against gentlemen, and taketh them all as their enemies. The ruffians among them and the soldiers, which be the chief doers, look for spoil. So that it seemeth no other thing but a plague and a fury amongst the vilest and worst sort of men."¹ The discontent of the people, in fact, as usually happens, appears to have originated in their actual sufferings, although it may have been blown into a flame by provocations addressed chiefly to their fancies and prejudices, and, of course, would then be apt to catch at whatever principle or arrangement chanced to come in its way in any part of the whole machine of government or of society. One leading cause of the economical embarrassment and distress in which the kingdom was at this time involved, appears to have been the excessive depreciation which the currency had undergone in the course of the late and the present reigns. This must necessarily have enhanced the nominal prices of the necessaries of life, and, if wages did not rise in proportion, must have pressed with cruel severity upon the labouring classes. But the rise of the remuneration for labour which, in a natural and healthy state of things, would have accompanied the rise of the money prices of all other things, is asserted to have been prevented in the present case by certain peculiar circumstances, which acted partly so as to diminish employment or the demand for labour, partly so as to augment the numbers of persons dependent upon labour. The cause that principally diminished the demand for labour is affirmed to have been the conversion of land from tillage to pasturage, which was promoted by the increasing price of wool. It is certain that this change in the agriculture of the country was a subject of general complaint throughout a great part of the sixteenth century; and repeated attempts were even made by the legislature to restrain its progress, so that we must believe it to have actually, or at least apparently, taken place to some extent. But we are inclined to think that its real effect upon the market of labour was greatly exaggerated in the popular imagination. It is, at least, not very easy to reconcile the alleged evil of diminished

employment thence arising, with the nearly equally loud and frequent complaints which are at the same time made of the diminution of the population, which is asserted to have followed from the same cause. We may observe, that the number of persons having the commodity called labour to dispose of had, from a succession of causes, been on the increase in England for the last two centuries. So long as the system of villanage subsisted in its integrity, there could, properly speaking, be no market of labour, in so far at least as regarded the business of agriculture, then constituting the great field of the national industry; the labourer then stood in the relation of a mere machine, requiring, indeed, like other machines, to be fed and maintained, but having nothing more to do with the disposal of his labour than a modern steam-engine. The decay, and eventually the extinction of villanage, first gave birth, as has been already shown, both to freedom of labour and to pauperism—called into being at once the two classes of labourers for hire, and paupers or beggars, which are really only the two divisions of one great class, that of the persons whose only exchangeable possession is their labour; the former being those who have been able to dispose of this commodity, the latter those who have not. Every change that afterwards snapped any of the old attachments that had kept men practically fixed to the land, though not perhaps by any absolutely legal bond, added to the number of both of these sections of the population. This was one of the effects of the breaking up of the old Norman feudalism in the reign of Henry VII., by the new facilities given to the great landholders of alienating their estates. It was also one of the effects of the overthrow of the old ecclesiastical system in the last and the present reign. The numerous monastic establishments all had, as well as the great landholders, their crowds of retainers and dependants—partly tenants and servants who lived upon their estates, partly paupers and mendicants, who were fed by their charity. There were also the inmates of the religious houses themselves, male and female, a far from insignificant addition. All these persons, or at least by far the greater number of them, were thrown loose from tenures of shelter and maintenance, which might, in the case of each of them, be considered more or less fixed and sure, and were sent to swell the overflowing stream of that labour which had nothing but the chances of the market to trust to. And along with the other causes contributing to the same state of things, may be mentioned even the uprooting of old feelings, habits, and connections, by the mere ferment excited in men's minds by the preaching of the new opinions in religion—fiercely resisted by many, eagerly received by others, and by not

¹ Printed by Burnet in *Collection of Records*, from original in Cotton M.S. Galba B. xii.

a few carried out into all the extravagances of fanaticism and even of licentiousness. It could not be but that this general state of excitement, amounting in many cases to enthusiasm or delirium, should have made numbers of people impatient of all sober and regular industry, and set them adrift on the sea of life without either chart or aim. It is easy, from all this, to understand how the present insurrection took the shape and the spirit it did. Its chief cry soon came to be the restoration of the old religion, and vengeance against those who had wrought and profited by its downfall. The priests, of course, and other leaders of the Popish party, found it easy to turn the gaze of the exasperated people upon the most immediate and obvious sources of their sufferings, or what could be plausibly represented as such; and did not neglect so favourable an occasion of stirring up their most energetic feelings in behalf of the ancient system and against the innovations, which seemed only to have benefited a few of the upper classes at the expense of the great mass of the nation.

From Holinshed's account, it would appear that a proceeding on the part of the protector, of very questionable wisdom, or, at any rate, managed with but little discretion, was the spark that kindled the flame. This was a proclamation which he issued "against inclosures, and taking in of fields and commons that were accustomed to lie open for the behoof of the inhabitants dwelling near to the same, who had grievously complained of gentlemen and others for taking from them the use of those fields and commons." It is probable enough that some landholders may have acted in a harsh and oppressive manner in thus improving their estates; but it does not appear that any legal rights were generally violated; and, at all events, if they were, this royal proclamation itself was as illegal and unjust as anything that the landlords could have done. It settled the matter in a very summary way indeed—simply commanding that all commons that had been inclosed should, under a penalty, be laid open again by a certain day. "But how well soever," proceeds the chronicler, "the setters forth of this proclamation meant, thinking thereby, peradventure, to appease the grudge of the people that found themselves grieved with such inclosures, yet verily it turned not to the wished effect, but rather ministered occasion of a foul and dangerous disorder. For whereas there were few that obeyed the commandment, the unadvised people presuming upon their proclamation, thinking they should be borne out by them that had set it forth, rashly without order took upon them to redress the matter; and assembling themselves in unlawful wise, chose to them captains and leaders, broke open the enclosures, cast down

ditches, killed up the deer which they found in parks, spoiled and made havoc after the manner of an open rebellion." The narratives of the commencement of the disturbances are singularly various and contradictory. In fact, the convulsion, which probably broke out in different places nearly at the same time, seems to have rapidly spread in all directions, till it had extended itself over the greater part of the kingdom. According to Burnet, the protector's proclamation against the inclosures, which was "set out contrary to the mind of the whole council," appeared *after* the first risings in Wilts and elsewhere; it was designed to pacify the people, and was accompanied with another, indemnifying or pardoning the insurgents for what was past, provided they should carry themselves obediently for the future. "Commissions," proceeds the historian, "were also sent everywhere, with an unlimited power to the commissioners to hear and determine all causes about enclosures, highways, and cottages. The vast power these commissioners assumed was much complained of; the landlords said it was an invasion of their property, to subject them thus to the pleasure of those who were sent to examine the matters, without proceeding in the ordinary courts according to law." A more illegal and arbitrary act, indeed, than the issuing of these commissions never was attempted in the most despotic times. Nor, prompted as it was by a weak or interested craving after popularity, did it succeed in the only object it proposed to have, and for which all other considerations were disregarded—the satisfying of the popular clamour. "The commons," proceeds Burnet, "being encouraged by the favour they heard the protector bore them, and not able to govern their heat, or stay for a more peaceable issue, did rise again, but were anew quieted. Yet the protector being opposed much by the council, he was not able to redress this grievance so fully as the people hoped. So in Oxfordshire and Devonshire they rose again, and also in Norfolk and Yorkshire."¹

It seems to have been in Devonshire that the religious cry was first raised. Here the commons, besides "Humphrey Arundel, Esq., governor of the Mount," and other laymen, had for their captains a number of Popish priests, by whose "instigation and pricking forward" they are said to have been chiefly excited and directed in their proceedings. Their rising began on the 10th of June, on which day they assembled in armed array to the number of nearly 10,000 men. "At court," says Burnet, "it was hoped

¹ See a long and interesting letter remonstrating with Somerset on the course he had taken in this instance, from his friend Paget, then ambassador at the court of the emperor, in *Strype's Eccles. Mem.* vi. 419-427. The writer points out, in strong terms, the ruinous tendency of the protector's mode of proceeding, and does not spare some explicit enough allusions to his motives.

this might be as easily dispersed as the other risings were; but the protector was against running into extremities, and so did not move so speedily as the thing required." At last, after the rebels had sat down before Exeter, and had begun to assault that city, Lord Russell was sent to encounter them with a small force; but either he found them in too great strength to be prudently attacked, or he was restrained by his instructions from adopting decisive measures, and, keeping at a respectful distance from the insurgent camp, he announced that he was ready to receive any complaints they had to make, and to transmit them to the council. On this, Arundel and his followers drew up their demands, first in seven, and afterwards in fifteen articles; the most material points of which were, that all the decrees of the general councils should be observed; that the statute of the Six Articles should be again put in force; that the mass should be in Latin; that the sacrament should be hanged up and worshipped, and that those who refused to worship it should suffer as heretics; that the sacrament should only be given to the people at Easter, and in one kind; that holy bread, holy water, and palms should be again used, and that images should be set up, with all the other ancient ceremonies; that the priests should "sing or say, with an audible voice, God's service in the choir of the parish churches, and not God's service to be set forth like a Christmas play" (so they express their notion of the new Liturgy); that all preachers in their sermons, and priests in the mass, should pray for the souls in purgatory; that the Bible should be called in; that Cardinal Pole should be made one of the king's council; that every gentleman should be allowed only one servant for every 100 merks of yearly rent that belonged to him; that the half of the church lands should be given back to two of the chief abbays in every county; and, finally, that other grievances, more particularly affecting themselves, should be redressed, as the king should be advised by Arundel and the mayor of Bodmin, for whom they desired a safe-conduct. These articles, which certainly do savour of priestly inspiration, were transmitted to the council, at whose command Craumer, whose department they seemed principally to concern, drew up a formal and elaborate reply to them, in which they were not only rejected in the mass, but severally argued against as contrary to right reason and the Scriptures. The insurgents then reduced their demands to eight articles, being, in substance, a selection from their former propositions, with the addition of one, which it is strange should have been omitted in the first instance, insisting that priests should "live chaste without marriage." To these a long and eloquent answer

was sent in the king's own name. Edward was made to begin by dilating in strong and large terms, but still in the tone of persuasion, upon the greatness of the royal authority, and the obligation that lay upon the subject to yield it all obedience. Some parts of the exposition he gave of the kingly office are curious and characteristic. The rebels had proposed that the settlement to be then made should stand till the king was of full age. In demonstration of the folly of this notion, Edward informs them that, although "as a natural man and creature of God he had youth, and by his sufferance should have age, yet as a king he had no difference of years." They are afterwards asked to consider the folly they were committing in making it necessary that their king should spend that force upon them which he had meant to bestow upon their foreign enemies—"to make a conquest of our own people, which otherwise should have been of the whole realm of Scotland." The message can hardly be said to be "all penned," as Burnet describes it, "in a high threatening style," but it must be allowed that it rises to that at the close. "If ye provoke us further," it concludes, "we swear by the living God, ye shall feel the power of the same God in our sword, which how mighty it is, no subject knoweth; how puissant it is, no private man can judge; how mortal, no Englishman dare think." But the rebels, who by this time had been a whole month in arms—for the paper is dated the 8th of July—were neither to be moved by its threats nor by its reasonings. The citizens of Exeter, however, persisted in keeping their gates shut against them, although from the closeness with which they were beleaguered, they were at length reduced to the most distressing extremities. The rebels were provided with ordnance, which they planted against the several gates of the town; and eventually they burned the gates, and "broke up the pipes and conduits, as well for the taking away of the water coming to the city, as also to have the lead to serve for their shot and pellets." On this the citizens erected ramparts within the openings thus made, which were found much more effective for defence than the wooden gates could have been. The besiegers next attempted to undermine the walls; but in this also they were foiled by the vigilance of the citizens, who, having discovered the trains, made them useless by deluging them with water. One great difficulty that the magistrates had to contend with was the existence of a powerful Popish faction among the inhabitants. These having been prevented by the authorities from admitting the rebels, endeavoured, by many private communications and stratagems, to favour their enterprise, and counteract the efforts that were made to oppose them. And, what was

still more perplexing, a division at one time broke out in the Protestant party, in consequence of a difference of opinion as to the measures to be adopted between two of their leaders, John Courtenay and Barnard Duffield, which rose to great violence. Want of victuals also at length began to pinch them, so that while the citizens were reduced to loaves of bran and other unsavoury trash, the prisoners in the jail were forced to feed upon horseflesh. All this while Lord Russell had been prevented from taking any measures for the relief of the place by the extraordinary neglect or procrastination of the government, which, full of the conceit of pulling down the rebels by manifestoes or sermons, would neither send him a reinforcement of men nor any other supplies. When he sent Sir Peter Carew to the court, that gallant person, who had acted with great promptitude and decision at the first breaking out of the revolt, and would probably have suppressed it at once if he had received any support from the government, was absurdly charged by Somerset with having been the sole occasion of it, the ready tongue of Rich, the chancellor, echoing his patron's accusation. Russell having long looked for the supplies in vain, "was daily more and more forsaken of such of the common people as at the first served and offered their service unto him. And having but a very small guard about him, he lived in more fear than he was feared." At last some money was obtained by certain merchants of Exeter, who happened to be in the camp, pledging their credit to those of Bristol, Lynn, Taunton, and other towns. By this time the rebels were actually on their march to attack the king's troops, which were now stationed at Honiton; but Russell, whose spirits were raised by the supply of money, on hearing of their advance, marched forth to oppose them, and the two armies met at Fennington bridge, where the rebels, in the end, sustained a complete overthrow. Shortly after, Lord Gray, with a troop of horse, and a band of 300 Italian infantry under Spinola, at last arrived from the capital, and, thus strengthened, Russell marched upon Exeter; and, after defeating the rebels in another engagement, effected his entrance into the famished city on the 6th of August, and raised the siege, which had now lasted five weeks. Before this success was achieved, however, a deplorable affair happened. Lord Gray, espying a multitude assembled on a height, by whom he apprehended that he might be attacked, ordered the prisoners he had already taken—of whom the number was very considerable—to be all killed, which was done immediately, every man despatching those he had in charge. The dispersion of the insurgents was followed by the same conduct on the part of the

royal army, as if they had put to route a foreign enemy in his own country; "for the whole country was then put to the spoil, and every soldier sought for his best profit." Gibbets were also set up in various places, on which great numbers of the ringleaders in the rebellion were hanged. Others, and especially Arundel, the chief captain, were carried to London, and there executed. It was reckoned that about 4000 in all perished, by the sword or by the hands of the executioner, of those engaged in this Devonshire insurrection.

"About the same time," continues the chronicler, "that this rebellion began in the west, the like disordered hurles were attempted in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire; but they were speedily suppressed by the Lord Gray of Wilton." Elsewhere, also, both in the southern and eastern parts of the kingdom, similar attempts were made, and many disorders committed; but the only other quarter where the commotion rose to a serious height was in Norfolk. The Norfolk rebellion assumed a character altogether different from that of Devonshire, the complaints and demands of the people running, not at all, or very little, upon religion, but chiefly upon grievances affecting their worldly condition and points of temporal politics. They were first roused in the early part of the summer by the rumours of what had been done by the commons of Kent in throwing down ditches and hedges, and opening inclosures. The first general rising of the people took place on the 6th of July, at Wymondham or Windham, about six miles from Norwich, on occasion of a public play, "which play had been accustomed yearly to be kept in that town, continuing for the space of one night and one day at the least." They began, in imitation of the Kentish men, by throwing down the ditches (or dikes) around inclosures; and, while they were thus employed, it is said that "one John Flowerdew of Hetherset, gentleman, finding himself grieved with the casting down of some ditches, came unto some of the rebels, and gave to them forty pence to cast down the fences of an inclosure belonging to Robert Ket, alias Knight, a tanner of Wymondham, which they did."¹ The tanner, however, was more than a match for the gentleman at this sort of work: he without difficulty induced the same mob that had torn down his fences to accompany him the next morning to certain pasture grounds belonging to Flowerdew, which were also surrounded with hedges and ditches. Flowerdew tried to persuade them to withdraw, but he could not rule or extinguish the flame so easily as he had blown it up. "Ket, being a man hardy and forward

¹ Ket, though a tanner, was wealthy, and the owner of several manors in the county of Norfolk.—*Strype, Eccles. Mem. ii. 281.*

to any desperate attempt that should be taken in hand, was straight entered into such estimation with the commons thus assembled together in rebellious wise, that his will was accomplished; and so those hedges and ditches belonging to the pasture grounds of Mr. Flowerdew were thrown down and made plain. Hereupon was Ket chosen to be their captain and ringleader, who, being resolved to set all on six and seven, willed them to be of good comfort, and to follow him in defence of their common liberty, being ready in the commonwealth's cause, to hazard both life and goods." By accessions from all parts of Norfolk and Suffolk, the rioters, thus provided with a suitable leader, rapidly increased, till "there were assembled together into Ket's camp to the number of 16,000 ungracious unthrifts, who, by the advice of their captains, fortified themselves, and made provision of artillery, powder, and other habiliments, which they fetched out of ships, gentlemen's houses, and other places where any was to be found; and withal spoiled the country of all the cattle, riches, and coin on which they might lay hands."¹

As time passed and nothing was done to put them down, the congregated multitude of course grew more audacious, and proceeded to worse outrages. From spoiling the gentry of their goods, they proceeded to seize their persons, and to carry them off prisoners to their camp. "To conclude," says the chronicler, "they grew to such unmeasurable disorder, that they would not in many things obey neither their general captain, nor any of their governors, but ran headlong into all kind of mischief; and made such spoil of victuals which they brought out of the country adjoining unto their camp, that within few days they consumed (beside a great number of beeves) 20,000 muttons, also swans, geese, hens, capons, ducks, and other fowls, so many as they might lay hands upon. And, furthermore, they spared not to break into parks, and kill what deer they could." Meanwhile, the government stood by, and for the space of nearly a month allowed the insurrection to grow and prosper undisturbed. At last, on the 31st of July, a herald came from the council to the rebel camp, "and pronounced there, before all the multitude, with loud voice, a free pardon to all that would depart to their homes, and laying aside their armour, give over their traitorous begun enterprise." But the only effect of his offer seems to have been to draw off some of the better sort, who had only joined the mob from compulsion or fear, and who now saw some prospect of being protected by the government. Ket himself, and the great mass of his followers, kept their attitude of defiance, or at least of refusal to submit, declaring that they needed no

pardon, since they had done nothing but what belonged to the duty of true subjects. They even forced their way into the city of Norwich, and carried off to their camp all the guns, artillery, and ammunition they could find in it. When the herald made another proclamation at the market-place there, repeating the former offer, but threatening death to all who should not immediately accept the king's pardon, they bade him get him thence with a mischief; for they made no account of such manner of mercy. After this, every day swelled the number of Ket's followers. The herald's report convinced Somerset and the council that they would never put down the rebellion by proclamations; and then, at last, it was resolved to send against the Norfolk tanner a force of fifteen hundred horse under the Marquis of Northampton, together with "a small band of Italians (also mounted), under the leading of a captain named Malatesta." The marquis took up his quarters in the town of Norwich, which, in the first instance, he succeeded in clearing of the rebels; but the next day they forced their way back, drove out the king's troops, killing the Lord Sheffield and many other gentlemen, as well as taking many other prisoners; and finished their exploit by plundering and setting fire to the city. Northampton, with the remnant of his beaten force, made all haste to London. It was now seen by the council that the business must be set about in another fashion: an army of about 6000 men was in readiness to serve in the war in the north: and "hereupon that noble chieftain and valiant Earl of Warwick, lately before appointed to have gone against the Scots and Frenchmen into Scotland, was called back and commanded to take upon him the conduction of this army against the Norfolk rebels."² Warwick with some difficulty forced his way into Norwich; but the incessant attacks of the rebels, and in part also, as it should appear, his insufficient supplies of ammunition, had made his position almost desperate, when he was relieved by the arrival, on the 26th of August, of a reinforcement of 1400 lansquenets. The next day he marched out, and falling upon the enemy, who had descended from the hill, and were encamped in a valley called Dussingdale, he had the fortune to achieve an easy and decisive victory. The rebels, at the first charge of the king's horse, turned round and fled, Ket, their great captain, or king, as he called himself, being, according to the chronicler, one of the foremost, and galloping away as fast as his horse would bear him. The chief slaughter was in the pursuit, which was continued for three or four miles; the several clusters of

² From a document which Strype has printed, *Eccles. Mem. ii.* 283, it appears that Somerset himself was, in the first instance, appointed to command the expedition against the rebels.

the unresisting multitude, as they were successively overtaken, were shorn down in heaps. It was reckoned that the number of dead bodies left on the ground exceeded 3500. This bloody day put an end to the rebellion. Ket, abandoning or deserted by all his late followers and subjects, was the next day found concealed in a barn, and forthwith brought to Norwich. The executions were not numerous; nine of the ringleaders were hanged upon the nine branches of the "Oak of Reformation;" a few others were drawn, hanged, and quartered, and their heads and limbs set up in different parts of the kingdom; and Ket himself and his brother William, after being carried to London and consigned to the Tower, where they were arraigned and found guilty of treason, were sent back to Norfolk, and there hung in chains—the one on the top of Norwich Castle, the other on Windham steeple.

In the north also, as well as in the east and the west, the same spirit of insurrection broke out among the people, but their rising was checked before it became general by the apprehension of their leaders, and by the discouraging failure of the similar attempts made in other quarters of the kingdom; for the Yorkshire men were somewhat later in stirring than their countrymen in Devonshire and Norfolk. In Yorkshire the spirit of attachment to the old religion, which animated the people of Devon and Cornwall, seems to have been combined with the same levelling notions that formed the principal incentive to the rebellion in Norfolk and Suffolk. The Yorkshire insurgents had assembled in force to the number of above 3000 men, and had committed some murders and other grievous outrages, before they were put down and dispersed.

A revolt of the labouring against the wealthier classes was probably never attempted in any country in circumstances apparently more favourable for its success than those which the present state of England presented. The king was a minor, and the government a singularly weak one; the country was entangled in a foreign war, as well as torn by internal factions; economical difficulties added to the embarrassment of new and imperfectly settled institutions; all things on the side of authority, in short, were unusually exposed and enervated: on the other side there was all the strength, if not of real grievances, of what was the same thing, deep-seated feelings of dissatisfaction and resentment, and, if not of actual combination, at least of simultaneous action, and of a diffusion of the insurrectionary spirit which, in respect of the mass of the commonalty, might be called national or universal. There was also much sympathy on the part of a large portion of the rest of the nation with one of the principal sustaining elements of the insur-

rection—the aversion to the innovations in religion; and, indeed, upon this common ground a considerable number of persons of the wealthier or more educated classes, landed proprietors, and Popish priests, met and joined the insurgent labourers, and became their counsellors and leaders. That with all these advantages the attempt should have nevertheless so signally failed—been, not without some trouble, indeed, but yet so speedily and so completely put down—affords an impressive lesson of the hopelessness, in almost any circumstances, of a contest of force waged by the class whose only strength is its numbers against the classes wielding the property, the intelligence, and the established authority of a country.

All this time the war had continued to be carried on in Scotland, though with little activity on either side, and no very important results; for the English government was too much occupied with the disturbed state of affairs at home to be able to strike any great blow; and, on the other hand, a considerable falling off had taken place in the cordiality of the Scots and their French allies, as well as in the interest which the French king had in pushing operations with any extraordinary vigour. Henry had attained his main object for the present by getting the infant queen into his hands; and, at the same time, her departure could hardly fail in some degree to open the eyes of her subjects to considerations to which the impetuosity of their feelings had till now blinded them, and to awaken some reflections not of a kind to put them in very good humour, either with their insinuating and dexterous allies or with themselves. Both the nation and the government now began to complain loudly of the insolence of D'Esse and his soldiers; nor did their mutual dislike vent itself merely in words. A short time before the French commander's last unsuccessful attempt upon Haddington, a most serious fray had happened between some of his men and the citizens of Edinburgh, in which the provost, or chief magistrate, and his son, and a considerable number more of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, were killed in the streets by the foreigners.¹ Towards the end of the year 1548 some English ships arrived in the Forth, and took and fortified the small isle of Inchkeith, but it was gallantly attacked and recovered by the French, after they had held it only sixteen days. The English were also driven out of Jedburgh; the castles of Hume and Fernihurst were retaken; and the French made an inroad across the Borders, from which they returned with 300 prisoners and a great quantity of booty. These successes, however, did not make D'Esse more popular with the Scots. According to Burnet, "the queen-mother and the governor had made great

¹ Burnet.

complaints of him at the court of France, that he put the nation to vast charge to little purpose, so that he was more uneasy to his friends than his enemies; and his last disorder at Edinburgh had, on the one hand, so raised the insolence of the French soldiers, and, on the other hand, so alienated and inflamed the people, that unless another were sent to command, who should govern more mildly, there might be great danger of a defection of the whole kingdom." In consequence, D'Esse was recalled, and the command of the French forces in Scotland given to Marshal Termes.¹ In the course of the present year (1549) the Scots recovered, by force of arms, both Fast Castle, in the south, and the more important fortress of Broughty Castle, in the north. Haddington was once more plentifully supplied with provisions by the Earl of Rutland, newly appointed one of the wardens of the marches in the room of Lord Gray; but it was, notwithstanding, eventually found necessary to evacuate that town.² Before this war against England had been declared by the French king, he had already led an army into the Boulognois, and with little difficulty made himself master of the forts of Selaques, Ambleuse, Newcastle, Blackness, and others there. He afterwards sat down before Boulogne; and though the breaking out of the plague in the camp slackened their operations, and the coming on of winter finally induced them to raise the siege, the French succeeded in completely shutting up the English within the town; and as they had in their hands all the neighbouring forts, there could be little doubt that the place would fall as soon as the season should permit it to be reinvested.

For some time past, since the scheme of the Scottish marriage was become impracticable, the protector had been desirous to make peace both with Scotland and France, and he was now willing to agree to surrender Boulogne to Henry for a sum of money, in order to facilitate that arrangement. It is probable that the last-mentioned measure, however really wise and prudent, would not have had the national voice in its favour; at any rate, Somerset, in this instance, yielded to the representations of the council, who unanimously remonstrated against the proposal as fraught with the deepest dishonour, their consciousness of having the popular feeling on their side having apparently emboldened them to assume a more spirited tone than usual.

The storm was now fast gathering around the head of the protector which was to throw him to the ground. The series of military losses and unsuccessful operations in Scotland and France

raised a mass of dissatisfaction. His management of public affairs, indeed, in everything except in the advancement of the alterations in religion—and there nothing had yet been securely settled, and whatever had been done, or attempted, was, to a great part of the nation, the very reverse of acceptable—had been, from the beginning, little else than a continued course of blundering and misfortune. If disaster and disgrace had attended the national arms abroad, at home the kingdom had been involved in all the confusion and misery of civil war. Even the reputation that was to be gained in the contest of arms with the rebels he had left to be gathered by others—and of all others by the very man by whose military talents he had already scarcely escaped from being outshone on the only occasion he had had of distinguishing himself in that way since he had been placed at the head of affairs. From the moment of the suppression of the rebellion, the protector had almost an avowed rival and competitor for the supreme power in the Earl of Warwick. Warwick's instigator, again, is affirmed by Burnet to have been the ex-chancellor Southampton, who, although brought back, as we have seen, into the council, "had not," says the right reverend historian, "laid down his secret hatred of the protector, but did all he could to make a party against him." In other quarters, the wily ex-chancellor, from a memory stored with personal and party injuries, would bring out, to undermine his old enemy, each dubious or discreditable passage of his career, as suited the occasion, or the temper and position of the parties he addressed. Above all, to the generality, and to those even whose interests attached them to the maintenance of the protector's authority, he would appeal with the blood-curdling question, What friendship, when his ambition stood in the way, could any expect from a man who had no pity on his own brother? The old nobility had hated Somerset from the first, as an upstart, and as one who laboured to build his greatness on their depression, and on the general subversion of the ancient order of things with which they were identified. But the arrogance with which he had borne himself disgusted many others, as well as those belonging to this class, with whom he had come in contact, and made him bitter and powerful enemies on all hands. The very men who had chiefly aided in making him what he was, finding their services requited only with his endeavours to kick down the props upon which he had risen, had, for the most part, in their hearts, if not openly, fallen off from him; and even in the council there was scarcely a member upon whose attachment he could count, except his friends Paget and Cramer. Nor had his late conduct even advanced him in the regard

¹ Brantôme says that D'Esse requested leave of the king to return home, in consequence of a severe jaundice he had caught in Scotland.—*Vies des Grands Capitaines François*.

² Balfour, *Annals*, l. 296

of the multitude, whose voices he had always shown himself so anxious to secure. Even his darling popularity must have suffered no little diminution by the state to which the affairs of the kingdom had been brought by his administration both at home and abroad. Then his assumption and rapacity were every day becoming more inordinate and glaring, and had now reached a height that shocked the public sense of decency as well as of justice. Burnet admits that "many bishops and cathedrals had resigned many manors to him for obtaining his favour." He had got a

patent, it seems, authorizing him to take possession of such church lands, on pretence of rewarding him for his services in the Scottish war—in which patent, by the by, drawn up of course by his own directions, the vain man had caused himself to be styled "*Duke of Somerset by the grace of God,*" as if he had been a sovereign prince. It was also said, Burnet tells us, that many of the chantry lands had been sold to his friends at easy rates, for which it was concluded he had great presents. But the most obtrusive exhibition he made at once of his vanity and of his grasping and unscrupulous practice of appropriation, was in the erection of a new palace for himself in London—the same that has bequeathed his name to the present Somerset House, in the Strand, which stands on the site that it occupied. Not only did the rise of this vast and splendid pile expose its owner to the reflection, "that when the king was engaged in such wars, and when London was much disordered by the plague that had been in it for some months, he was then bringing architects from Italy, and designing such a palace as had not been seen in England;"¹ men's indignation was excited by many arbitrary exertions of power, in violation both of public and of private rights, to which he did not hesitate to resort in rearing this superb monument of his greatness. Besides compelling three bishops to surrender to him their episcopal mansions, he had removed altogether a parish church which stood in the way of his plans, and had not only pulled down many other religious buildings in the neighbourhood for the sake of their materials, but had, with barbarous recklessness, defaced and broken to pieces the ancient monuments

they contained, and even irreverently removed and scattered the bones of the dead. It was impossible that such proceedings should not expose the protector's Protestantism to the imputation of being at least as profitable as it was conscientious.

During all the month of September (1549) there were great heats in the council; the enemies of the protector now no longer shrunk from speaking out, and avowing their determination to strip him of his exorbitant power. By the beginning of October the quarrel had arisen almost to a contest of arms. "The council," says the graphic



SOMERSET PLACE, from the River.—From a print by Hollar.

account given by the king in his journal, "about nineteen of them, were gathered in London, thinking to meet with the lord-protector, and to make him amend some of his disorders. He, fearing his state, caused the secretary, in my name, to be sent (from Hampton Court, where Edward then was, along with Somerset, Cranmer, and Paget) to the lords (of the council in London), to know from what cause they gathered their powers together; and if they meant to talk with him, that they should come in a peaceable manner. The next morning, being the 6th of October, and Saturday, he commanded the armour to be brought down out of the armoury of Hampton Court—about 500 harnesses, to arm both his and my men, with all the gates of the house to be rampired, people to be raised: people came abundantly to the house." While the protector was making these preparations at Hampton Court, Warwick and the other lords of the council were assembled at Ely Place, in London, from which they despatched orders for the attendance of the lieutenant of the Tower, and of the lord-mayor and aldermen, all of whom appeared and consented to submit to their orders.

They also wrote to the nobility and gentry in

¹ Burnet.

the different parts of the kingdom, informing them of their designs and motives. "That night," continues the king, "with all the people, at nine or ten of the clock of the night, I went to Windsor, and there was watch and ward kept every night." In point of fact, Edward was carried to Windsor by his uncle, with an escort of 500 men, both Cranmer and Paget accompanying them. Somerset's first impulse was to set his enemies at defiance; besides surrounding himself with an armed force, as here related, and securing the king's person, before leaving Hampton Court he wrote to his friend Lord Russell, who was still in the west country, calling upon him to hasten to the defence of the king's majesty in his castle of Windsor.¹ But this bold resolution speedily evaporated; the next day he wrote to the council at London, informing them, that, provided they intended no hurt to the king's majesty's person, touching all other private matters they would find him disposed to agree to any reasonable conditions they might require. The council must have seen from this humble—almost suppliant—communication that the late dictator lay at their feet. They took no notice of his proposal for an accommodation, but, proceeding to the lord-mayor's house, there drew up and forthwith published a proclamation, in which, after enumerating their several grounds of dissatisfaction with the "malicious and evil government" of the lord-protector—the late sedition of which he had been the occasion—the losses in France—his ambition and seeking of his own glory, "as appeared by his building of most sumptuous and costly buildings, and specially in the time of the king's wars, and the king's soldiers unpaid"—his having held in no esteem "the grave counsel of the counsellors"—his having sown sedition between the nobles, the gentlemen, and the commons—and his having slandered the council to the king, and done what in him lay to cause variance between the king and his nobles—they declared him to be "a great traitor" and therefore "desired the city and commons to aid them to take him from the king." The next day, the 8th, they went to the Guildhall, where the common-council being assembled, and having listened to a narrative of all that had been done, "declared they thanked God for the good intentions they had expressed, and assured them they would stand by them with their lives and goods."² Meanwhile, Somerset, quailing under the prospect that was becoming darker every hour, had made another effort to save himself by a private appeal to his great rival Warwick, whom he reminded of the friendship of their early days, and of the favours he had

since conferred upon him; but Warwick was not the man to be drawn off from his object by such sentimentalities. At length, finding all negotiation hopeless, he consented that a warrant should be sent to London, under the king's hand, inviting the council to come to Windsor. On the 12th of October, accordingly, the whole of the lords, now twenty-two in number, repaired thither: on the 13th they assembled in council, and examined Secretary Smith and others of Somerset's adherents or servants, who, as well as himself, had been previously placed under arrest; on the 14th the protector was called before them, when the treasons and misdemeanours with which he was charged were formally exhibited to him drawn up in no fewer than twenty-eight articles; and on the same day his royal nephew was conveyed back to Hampton Court, and he himself was sent to the Tower under the conduct of the Earls of Sussex and Huntingdon.

This revolution at once placed the government in the hands of Warwick, with almost the same substantial power that had been wielded by the overthrown protector. For a moment Southampton hoped to share the supreme authority with the new lord of the ascendant, whose rise he had so materially assisted—perhaps to continue to direct him as his *protégé*, or instrument; and the Popish party eagerly expected that a large share in the management of affairs would fall into the hands of one whose attachment to that interest was secured both by the pertinacity of his temper and by the whole course of his life, which had so conspicuously identified him with its maintenance and championship. But the man of intrigue proved no match, in the circumstances in which they were now placed, for the man of the sword; Southampton was not even restored to his former office of chancellor; he and Warwick soon became wholly alienated from each other; he was removed from the council in the beginning of the following year, and soon after died, either of mere vexation and disappointment, or, as it was reported, having terminated his existence by poison. Warwick, too, was held to be inclined in his heart to the old religion; but he had no principles upon this or any other subject that he would allow for a moment to stand in the way of the interests of his ambition, and he very soon not only wholly forsook the Popish party, but took up a profession of zeal for further ecclesiastical changes that outran the views of most Protestants.

The parliament re-assembled on the 4th of November; and, before the end of the year, acts were passed for the prevention of unlawful assemblies; against prophecies concerning the king or his council; and for repealing the late law on the subject of vagabonds, which had been found

¹ See the letter, with the Lord Russell's somewhat ambiguous, but on the whole discouraging, answer, in *Fox and Holinshed*.

² Burnet, from *Minutes of the Council*.

too severe to be carried into effect. It was not till the 2d of January, 1550, that the case of the Duke of Somerset was brought forward, by a bill of pains and penalties being read for the first time against him in the House of Lords, the allegations in which, being the same twenty-eight articles on which he was consigned to the Tower, were supported by a confession, signed with his own hand, which he had made on his knees before the king and the council on the preceding 13th of December. He had submitted to this humiliation, it seems, on an assurance being given to him that he should be gently dealt with if he would submit himself to the king's mercy. The bill, which inflicted deprivation of all his offices, and forfeiture of all his personal property, and of £2000 a-year of his revenue from his lands, passed both houses without opposition. He remonstrated against the heavy amount of the fine; but, on receiving a harsh reply from the council, he shrunk back immediately to an attitude of the humblest submission, and expressed his thankfulness to them and the king that they had been content with merely fining him, when they might have justly taken his life. On the 6th of February he was released from the Tower; and on the 16th of the same month he received a pardon. "After that," says Burnet, "he carried himself so humbly, that his behaviour, with the king's great kindness to him, did so far prevail, that on the 10th of April after he was restored into favour, and sworn of the privy council."

Immediately after the rising of parliament, the appointments of great master of the household and lord high-admiral were conferred upon Warwick; and the Lords Russell and St. John were created Earls of Bedford and Wiltshire, and advanced to the offices, the first of lord privy-seal, the second of lord-treasurer. In the end of March, after some weeks of negotiation, a peace was concluded both with France and Scotland; the principal condition of which was the surrender to France of Boulogne—that measure which, when proposed by the late lord-protector, the same members of the council who now assented to it had exclaimed against as the consummation of national disgrace. All that was demanded in return for this concession by England was a payment of 200,000 crowns at the time of the delivery of the town, and of as much more in five months after, under the name of a compensation for the cost of keeping up the fortifications while it had been in the possession of this country. The late French king had, in 1546, agreed to give Henry VIII. 2,000,000 crowns for the surrender of Boulogne at the expiration of eight years. The pension which Francis had bound himself to pay to Henry and his successors, with its arrears, was also now given up. In truth, how-

ever, the discredit of this treaty, though it was concluded by the present, belongs to the former government; for peace upon almost any terms had been rendered absolutely necessary by the losses already incurred, and the exhausted state to which the finances of the kingdom were reduced.

The remainder of this and the early part of the following year were principally occupied with the affairs of religion and of the church. Although no Catholic was burned in this reign, the horrid immolation of men and of women for their opinions in religion, was not altogether laid aside. The 2d of May this year witnessed the execution at Smithfield, by the customary mode of death allotted for heretics, of a female named Joan Bocher,¹ or Joan of Kent. Joan, who appears to have been a person of some education, and of a respectable rank in life, had been apprehended more than a year before for holding and disseminating certain peculiar notions about the incarnation of Christ, to the effect, as far as the expressions attributed to her are intelligible, that his body was not really, but only apparently of human flesh. Being brought before a commission appointed to examine and search after all Anabaptists and other heretics and contemners of the Common Prayer, of which Cranmer was the head, she rejected all their persuasions to recant her opinions; and was thereupon condemned as an obstinate heretic, and delivered over to the secular power. The young king, however, with the unperverted feeling natural to his years, shrunk from signing the warrant for burning her, on which Cranmer was appointed to reason him out of his scruples; but all the elaborate arguments of the archbishop failed to satisfy him; and although he at last consented, with tears in his eyes, to set his hand to the paper, he told Cranmer that, if the act was wrong, it was he (Cranmer) who must answer for it to God, since it was done only in submission to his authority. It is supposed that, struck with some uncomfortable feelings by this solemn admonition, Cranmer would gladly have escaped from the execution of the sentence; and both he and Ridley took great pains to prevail upon Joan to save her life by abjuration. But the enthusiast, courting martyrdom, treated all their exhortations with contempt; and she was at last consigned to the flames. About a year after (6th April, 1551), another heretic was burned in the same place—a Dutchman, named Von Paris, who resided in London in the practice of his profession of a surgeon; his crime was the denial of the divinity of Christ. He underwent his death with great firmness. Burnet admits that no part of Cranmer's life exposed him to more obloquy than the part he took

¹ Strype gives her name Joan Bocher, or Knel.

in these executions: "it was said he had consented both to Lambert's and Anne Askew's death in the former reign, who both suffered for opinions which he himself held now; and he had now procured the death of these two persons; and when he was brought to suffer himself afterwards, it was called a just retaliation on him."

In August, 1549, Bonner, Bishop of London, was summoned before the council, and after being sharply reprimanded for his contumacy, was directed to preach at Paul's Cross on the 1st of September, that he might give proof of his orthodoxy and submission to the established order of things both in church and state. His sermon did not give satisfaction: being appointed to appear before Cranmer, Ridley, and others, to answer for what he had said, or had omitted to say, he conducted himself with extraordinary boldness, and, indeed, set his judges at defiance; and the affair ended by sentence of deprivation being pronounced upon him, and his being consigned to the Marshalsea, where he remained a prisoner throughout the remainder of this reign. In April, 1550, the vacant see of London was filled by the transference of Ridley from Rochester. The council next proceeded to deal with the cases of three other recusant bishops who lay imprisoned in the Tower—Gardiner of Winchester, Heath of Worcester, and Day of Chichester, all of whom refused to make submission, and were eventually deprived, and remanded into confinement, as Bonner had been, in the course of this and the two following years. In most of the re-arrangements that took place in consequence of these ejections, the opportunity was taken of obtaining something more from the wealth of the church for the members of the government and their friends. Thus, when Ridley went to London, the lately established bishopric of Westminster was suppressed; its revenues, amounting to £526, were made over to the see of London, with the exception of rents to the amount of £100 reserved by the king; and the lands which had hitherto belonged to the latter see, yielding a rent of £480, were immediately granted to certain of the king's ministers and officers of the household: Lord Wentworth, the chamberlain, had £245; Sir Thomas Darcy, the vice-chamberlain, £194; and Rich, the chancellor, £39.¹

One of the new episcopal appointments occasioned for some time no little trouble and dispute—that of the celebrated preacher John Hooper, afterwards the illustrious martyr, to the see of Gloucester, to which he was nominated in July, 1550. Hooper, however, who had imbibed from an intercourse with certain Calvinistic and other foreign divines, a predilection for

those views in religion, afterwards known by the name of Puritanism, at first obstinately refused to receive consecration in the canonical habits; nor could all the logic and eloquence of Cranmer and Ridley, nor even the persuasion of his friends Bucer and Peter Martyr, who in great part shared his own peculiar opinions, for a long time induce him to yield the point. At last, in January, 1551, he was, by royal warrant, committed for his contumacy to the Fleet; and here he lay till he consented to the compromise that he should be attired in the prescribed vestments at his ordination, and when he preached before the king, or in his cathedral, or in any public place, but should be excused from wearing them upon other occasions. On these conditions he was consecrated bishop.

Another affair that considerably embarrassed the government, was the contumacy of the Lady Mary, the king's eldest sister, and the heiress presumptive to the crown. Soon after the commencement of the present reign this princess had written to Somerset, expressing her opinion that all further changes in religion, till her brother should be of age, were contrary to the respect he and his colleagues in the government owed to the memory of the late king, and could only have the effect of endangering the public peace. In reply, the protector addressed a long and earnest exhortation to her, in which he intimated that he believed her letter had not proceeded from herself.² After the passing of the statute for uniformity of worship, Mary was informed by the council (in June, 1549) that her chaplains could no longer be suffered to perform mass even in her private chapel; but after some controversy, on the interposition of her uncle the emperor, whose assistance the government was at this time soliciting, it was agreed that the new law should not be enforced in her case, at least for the present. The agitation of the subject, however, was renewed after the conclusion of the peace with France. All the applications of the emperor's ambassadors, in favour of his niece, were for many months met by the government with a peremptory refusal. It was then rumoured that she designed to quit the kingdom, on which, in August, 1550, a fleet was sent to sea to prevent her escape. In December following two of her chaplains were indicted. At last, in March, 1551, she appeared personally before the council, when her royal brother himself brought all his stores of theological learning and powers of reasoning to bear upon her obstinacy; but still her resolution remained unshaken. The next day (19th March) the imperial ambassador delivered a message from his master, that if the requested indulgence should not be granted to the princess, the

¹ Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* ii. 354.

² Burnet, *Records.*

emperor would immediately declare war. This intimation staggered the council, and at the moment no answer was returned. But, on the following day (the 20th), Cranmer, along with Ridley and Poynt, having come to the king, and, as he tells us in his journal, declared it to be their opinion that, though to give license to sin was sin, yet to suffer and wink at it for a time was excusable, Edward was persuaded to give way: "yet not so easily," says Burnet, "but that he burst forth in tears, lamenting his sister's obstinacy, and that he must suffer her to continue in so abominable a way of worship as he esteemed the mass." The attempts to induce the princess to conform were soon renewed. In August following the chief officers of her household were commanded to prevent the use of the Romish service in her family, and on their refusal to comply were committed to the Tower. After that the lord-chancellor and others of the chief members of the council were sent to hold a conference with her on the subject at her residence of Copt-hall, in Essex; but she continued, as before, immovable.

Since his liberation in February, 1550, the late lord-protector, though stripped of wealth as well as of power, had been restored to as much of court favour as his nephew could venture to show him under the rule of the new dictator. Warwick probably calculated that in reducing him to contempt he had effected his political extinction not less completely than if he had taken his life; and he appears also to have hoped that, after having thus kicked the duke down, he might even be able to make out of one so nearly related to the crown a useful prop of his own rising fortunes. An apparently complete reconciliation accordingly took place between the two; and on the 3d of June the Lord Lisle, the Earl of Warwick's eldest son, was married at Richmond, in the presence of the king, to the Lady Ann, one of the daughters of the Duke of Somerset.¹ It was impossible, however, that the fallen lord-protector and the man who had supplanted him could ever cease to be rivals and enemies at heart so long as either lived. It appears that before the expiration of this same year Somerset had begun to take secret measures for recovering his former office. Under the date of the 16th of February, 1551, the king's journal states that a person named Whaley "was examined for persuading divers nobles of the realm to make the Duke of

Somerset protector at the next parliament, and stood to the denial, the Earl of Rutland affirming it manifestly." On this investigation being instituted, Somerset's friend, Lord Gray, hastily took his departure for the north, probably with the design of making a stand there; and the duke himself was making ready to follow him, when he was stopped by being assured that no injury was intended to him, and the matter was allowed to drop. In a month or two after, however, Warwick was made uneasy by the report of the duke being engaged in new intrigues. Burnet admits that Somerset "seemed to have designed, in April this year, to have got the king again in his power, and dealt with the Lord Strange, that was much in his (the king's) favour, to persuade him to marry his daughter Jane." But the gathering storm was again dispersed for the present by the formality of a fresh reconciliation between the two parties. In May following the Marquis of Northampton was sent as ambassador to Paris to demand for Edward the hand of Henry's daughter Elizabeth; this proposal was immediately assented to by the French king: after some negotiation it was settled that the portion of the princess should be 200,000 crowns (which was only about a tenth part of what the English commissioners had asked in the first instance), and that she should be sent over, "at her father's charge, three months before she was twelve, sufficiently jewelled and stuffed."²

In the following September Warwick procured for himself the important post of warden of the Scottish marches, which enabled him to take effective measures for cutting off Somerset's retreat to the north, in case matters should again come to such a pass between them as to drive his adversary into open revolt; and in the beginning of October he got himself created Duke of Northumberland, his friends and dependants, the Marquis of Dorset, the Earl of Wiltshire, and Sir William Herbert, being at the same time made respectively Duke of Suffolk, Marquis of Winchester, and Earl of Pembroke. Five days after the announcement of these new honours, namely, on Friday the 16th of October, the capital was startled with the sudden intelligence of the arrest of the Duke of Somerset, on a charge of conspiracy and high treason, and his committal to the Tower. He was seized in the afternoon while on his way to the court at Westminster; Lord Gray and others of his friends were apprehended the same day; and the day after, the duchess, some of her female attendants, and a number of other persons, were all made prisoners.

Such of the persons apprehended as were willing to give evidence were now called before the council and examined. Among these, according

¹ On this occasion "a fair dinner" was made, which was followed by dancing, and that by foot-races between various noblemen and gentlemen. On the next day, the 4th, Warwick's third son, Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards the famous Earl of Leicester, was married to the daughter of Sir John Robart; "after which marriage," says the entry in the king's journal, "there were certain gentlemen that did strive who should first take away a goose's head which was hanged alive on two cross-posts."

² King's Journal.

to the king's journal, Palmer repeated at least so much of the story of the duke's accusers as related to a plot for a revolt in London. If the attempt upon the gendarmerie, who were to be fallen upon and killed at the first rising of the insurrection, had failed, the duke, according to the witness, was to "run through London and cry 'Liberty! liberty!' to raise the apprentices and rabble: if he could he would go to the Isle of Wight, or to Poole." On the 26th, "Crane," says the king, "confessed the most part, even as Palmer did before, and more also, how that the place where the nobles should have been banqueted, and their heads stricken off, was the Lord Paget's house. . . . Hammond also confessed the watch he (the duke) kept in his chamber at night. Bren also confessed much of this matter. The Lord Strange confessed how the duke willed him to stir me to marry his third daughter, the Lady Jane, and willed him to be his spy in all matters of my doings and sayings, and to know when some of my council spoke secretly with me: this he confessed of himself." How these depositions were procured we have no account; the king does not appear to speak of them as being taken in his presence, but rather as merely reported to him by the council. Meanwhile everything possible was done by the government to excite a strong feeling of public alarm. On the 17th "there were letters sent to all emperors, ambassadors, noblemen, men, and chief men, into countries of the late conspiracy:"¹ and on the 22d, all the crafts and corporations of the city were informed by a message from the king that the Duke of Somerset would have taken the Tower, seized on the broad seal, and destroyed the city, and were charged carefully to ward the several gates, and to appoint watches to patrol all the streets.

The indictment charging Somerset with having traitorously designed to seize on the king's person, and assume the entire government of the realm—with having, along with a hundred others, intended to have imprisoned the Earl of Warwick—and with having conspired to raise an insurrection in the city of London, was found by the grand jury at Guildhall; on which twenty-seven peers were summoned to sit as a court for his trial in Westminster Hall—the Marquis of Winchester, the lord-treasurer, being appointed lord high-steward. The trial took place on the 1st of December. Except only that an opportunity was given to the prisoner of making a public defence, it was scarcely characterized by any greater justice or fairness than had been meted out by the duke to his own brother. His judges were the very parties against whom he was said to have conspired—Northumberland,

Northampton, Pembroke, and the other leading members of the government; and the witnesses against him were not produced, but only their written depositions read. Somerset denied all the material facts with which he was charged. As for killing the Duke of Northumberland and the others, however, he admitted that he had thought of such a project and talked of it, but on consideration he had determined to abandon it: "yet," adds the notice in the king's journal, "he seemed to confess he went about their death." In truth, this black charge, which would now excite so much horror, inasmuch as it did not amount to treason, was probably regarded both by the prisoner and his judges as the lightest in the indictment. It was upon this, however, that he was condemned. The subservient court, indeed, would have voted the conspiracy to imprison or take away the life of their master Northumberland to be treason; but that nobleman himself had the grace to decline this compliment, and so Somerset was only found guilty of felony. On this verdict being pronounced he thanked the lords for the open trial that had been allowed him, "and cried mercy of the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke, for his ill-meaning against them, and made suit for his life, wife, children, servants, and debts."² As soon as he was pronounced guiltless of treason the axe was withdrawn, and he was carried back to the Tower unaccompanied by that ghastly emblem. His royal nephew appears to have been perfectly convinced of his guilt, and in that feeling to have dutifully given himself no further concern about him. Grafton, indeed, says that "he seemed to take the trouble of his uncle somewhat heavily;" but his public demeanour, at least, gave no signs of anything of the kind. While his uncle lay condemned to death he was enjoying the merry festivities and pastimes of Christmas with, to all appearance, not less relish than usual. The court having repaired to Greenwich, where open house was kept, there was, by order of the council, "a wise gentleman and learned," named George Ferrers, appointed for this year to be Lord of Misrule, "whose office," says the chronicler, "is not unknown to such as have been brought up in noble-men's houses and among great housekeepers, which use liberal feasting in that season." They did not even keep the sound of their revelry out of the hearing of Somerset in his dungeon, for part of their mummery in the shape of a land and water procession was in the immediate neighbourhood of the Tower.

Other shows and sports of the season are recorded with great uncton by the king himself in his journal. Thus, on the 6th of January

¹ King's Journal.

² King's Journal.

after a tourney in the morning, we have, at night, first a play, in which, "after a talk between one that was called Riches, and the other Youth, whether of them was better," and "some pretty reasoning," six champions on each side "fought two to two at barriers in the hall;" and "then came in two appparelled like Almains, the Earl of Ormond and Jacques Granado, and two came in like friars, but the Almains would not suffer them to pass till they had fought: the friars were Mr. Drury and Thomas Cobham. After this followed two masks—one of men, another of women. Then a banquet of 120 dishes." In the hurry of all this masking and feasting Edward had neither time nor inclination to think of his uncle, or to heed his endeavours to move him to mercy. So, as the chronicler puts it, "this Christmas being thus passed and spent with much mirth and pastime, it was thought now good to proceed to the execution of the judgment given against the Duke of Somerset. The execution took place on Friday, the 22d, under which date his nephew has coolly noted that "the Duke of Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower-hill, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning." The duke met his death with great composure. As he was repeating the name of Jesus for the third time, the axe fell, and instantly deprived him of life.¹ Many persons, to preserve a memorial of him, dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood.

Whatever may be thought of Somerset's actions, and of his general character, his guilt in respect of the charges for which he suffered death must be held to be extremely doubtful; and it is not doubtful at all that he was condemned without a fair trial, and that he was really sacrificed to the ambition of a worse man than himself. Of the persons apprehended as the accomplices of the duke, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Ralph Vane, Sir Michael Stanhope, and Sir Thomas Arundel, were also tried, convicted, and executed together on the 26th of February. They all with their last breath protested their innocence of any design either against the king, or against the lives of any of the council. Vane said, that as often as Northumberland laid his head on his pillow he would find it wet with their blood.

Parliament reassembled on the 23d of January, 1552, the day after the execution of Somerset. Acts were passed for enforcing throughout the realm the use of the Book of Common Prayer, as amended the preceding year by a committee of bishops and divines, and already sanctioned

by the convocation; for amending the law of treason, in which the important principle was introduced, that no person should be attainted under the act unless upon the evidence of two witnesses given in the presence of the accused; for maintaining the observance of the fast-days and holidays marked in the calendar; for the relief of the poor, in which the churchwardens were empowered to collect contributions for that purpose, and the bishop was directed to proceed against such parishioners as refused to contribute; for legalizing the marriages of priests and legitimizing their children; besides a few others



COURT MASK OF THE TIME.—Strutt's Regal Antiquities.

relating chiefly to subjects of trade and manufactures. Some of the questions that arose occasioned a good deal of debate, and the divisions that took place in the commons showed that the existing government could scarcely count upon the attachment or support of a majority of the members in that house. Finding them thus impracticable, Northumberland, before they had yet sat for three months, or even granted the usual supplies, not only terminated the session, but dissolved the parliament, which had now been in existence for nearly five years. This done, "it was resolved," says Burnet, "to spend the summer in making friends all over England, and to have a new parliament in the opening of next year."

On the 18th of January, 1553, accordingly, the usual warrant was sent to the lord-chancellor, directing him to summon a parliament for the 1st of March following; and then the most direct means were taken to procure a House of Commons composed, to as great an extent as possible, of the friends of the government. In several cases particular persons holding offices at the court or in the government were expressly recommended to the sheriffs in letters from the king.² When

¹ Fox, from the account of a nobleman, who was present.

² Strype, iii. 277.

the parliament met, the first bill that was brought forward was one for granting supplies. Notwithstanding the preponderance of the government party in the house, it was not passed in the commons without long and eager debate, principally occasioned, it is supposed, by the preamble, which attributed all the king's financial difficulties to the administration of the Duke of Somerset. The only other act of the session requiring to be here noticed was one suppressing the bishopric of Durham, and creating in its stead two new dioceses, one comprehending the county of Durham, the other that of Northumberland. Since the

traced illness. In the beginning of the present year he was seized with a violent cough, which no medicines would relieve; it was no doubt the consequence of disease formed in the lungs, but the suspicious credulity of the times attributed it to some slow poison that had been given to him. He was so ill when the parliament met in the beginning of March, that he could not go down to Westminster, and the two houses were assembled the first day at Whitehall. In the beginning of May he seemed rather better; but this show of amendment soon disappeared—and by the following month it became evident that

he could not live many weeks. Throughout his illness, Northumberland had sedulously laboured to win his affection and confidence by a constant attendance and every manifestation of solicitude:—he had at the same time not neglected some other necessary preparations for the project he had in hand. In the beginning of May were celebrated with great magnificence, at the duke's new residence of Durham House in the Strand, the marriages of his fourth son, the Lord Guildford Dudley, to the Lady Jane Grey, eldest daughter of the Duke of Suffolk—of his daughter the Lady Catherine Dudley, to the Lord Hastings, eldest son of the Earl of Huntingdon—



DURHAM HOUSE, from the River.—After Hollar.

failure of his attempt in the last session of parliament to effect the deprivation of Bishop Tostal by a bill of pains and penalties, Northumberland had accomplished that object by bringing the bishop before a new court erected for the special purpose—as open and daring an act of arbitrary power as if he had deprived him without any trial at all. The object of the deprivation of the bishop and the suppression of the see was soon made manifest. Parliament was prorogued on the 31st of March, and in the course of the following month the suppressed bishopric was erected into a county-palatine, which was united to the crown for the present, but was intended to be ultimately devolved, with all its regal privileges, on the Duke of Northumberland.

Meanwhile, however, a new prospect opened upon the duke's ambition. For some time past the health of the young king had been in a very infirm state, and of late it had been visibly and rapidly declining. In the spring of the last year he had been attacked first by the measles and then by the small-pox, and it is probable that, with a constitution naturally delicate, which he is supposed to have derived from his mother, he never altogether shook off the effects of that pro-

and of the Lady Catherine Grey, the Duke of Suffolk's second daughter, to the Lord Herbert, the son of the Earl of Pembroke. Two of these alliances might seem to be intended merely to aid generally in extending or strengthening his family connections and binding together the fabric of his power; but the third had a higher aim. Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, the mother of the Lady Jane Grey, whose hand was received by his son, was the eldest of the two daughters and only surviving children of the Princess Mary, daughter of Henry VII., who had first been married to Louis XII. of France, and then to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by whom she had her two daughters. After Edward, in the succession to the throne, there stood between Lady Jane, or her mother, by this descent, only the two princesses Mary and Elizabeth, both of whom, by their father's command, had been bastardized by acts of parliaments; and the descendants of Mary Tudor's eldest sister, Margaret, who married James IV. of Scotland, but who had not been recognized as having any claim in the will of her brother Henry VIII., and whose representative, the present infant Queen of Scots, certainly would have little chance of successfully asserting

any rights she might be supposed to have to the English throne. Northumberland therefore proposed to bring the crown into his own family by securing it for the head of his new daughter-in-law the Lady Jane.

Having without difficulty induced the Duchess of Suffolk to transfer her right to her eldest daughter, he proceeded to unfold his plan to the king. Before the anxious mind of the dying boy, over whom he had acquired an extraordinary influence, he placed an alarming representation of the dangers and calamities that were likely to arise from the succession of either of his sisters. Mary, the elder, was a bigoted Papist, and would certainly, the moment that she ascended the throne, proceed to undo all that had been done during her brother's reign, in the settlement of the true religion; yet she could not be set aside without urging a plea—that of her illegitimacy—which would at the same time equally exclude Elizabeth. The only safe course, therefore, was to pass by both; and in that case Edward's cousin, the amiable, accomplished, and thoroughly Protestant Lady Jane Grey, was obviously the person fittest to be named as his successor. Edward acquiesced in the force of these arguments; and assuming himself to be entitled to exercise the same powers which had been used by his father Henry, he determined upon having a new entail of the crown executed to the effect the duke had proposed. Having sketched with his own pen a draft of the instrument, and signed a fair copy of it with his name above and below and on each margin, he sent, on the 11th of June, for Sir Edward Montague, chief-justice of the Common Pleas, Sir Thomas Bromley, one of the puisne justices of the same court, Sir Richard Baker, chancellor of the augmentations, and Gosnold and Gryffyn, the attorney and solicitor general, to attend the council at Greenwich. When they came to him the next day, he received them in the presence of several of the counsellors, shortly stated to them what he had made up his mind upon doing, and the reasons that had weighed with him, and desired them to draw up the instrument in the proper legal form. They objected that the act of parliament which settled the succession could not be taken away in the manner proposed; but the king persisted in the command he had given. On the 14th they returned and intimated that, upon looking into the statutes,

they had found that to draw such an instrument as was proposed, would subject them to the pains of treason. Upon this, Northumberland came rushing into the room in the greatest fury, called Montague a traitor, and threatened him and the rest, "so that they thought he would have beaten them." He said he was ready to fight any man in his shirt, in so just a quarrel. In the end they were commanded to retire for the present; but the next day they were again sent for—and first Montague and then the others suffered themselves to be partly persuaded, partly brow-beaten, into consenting to draw the will, the king declaring that it was his intention to have it ratified in the parliament which was summoned to meet in September, and agreeing to give them under the great seal both a commission to perform the act, and a pardon for having performed it. The instrument accordingly was duly prepared, and, having been engrossed on parchment and carried to the Chancery, had the great seal affixed to it. After this, on the 21st, it received the signatures of all the lords of the council, of most of the judges, and of the attorney and solicitor general. Twenty-four members of the council, with Archbishop Cranmer at their head, had also before this, on the command of Northumberland, signed another paper, pledging their oaths and honour to "observe every article contained in his majesty's own device respecting the succession, subscribed with his majesty's hand in six several places, and delivered to certain judges and other learned men, that it might be written in full order;" to defend it to the uttermost; and if any man should ever attempt to alter it, to repute him an enemy to the kingdom, and to punish him as he deserved.

Edward survived the completion of this transaction only a few days. It is said that when his physicians declared they had no hope of his recovery, he was intrusted to the care of a woman who offered to undertake his cure. Under the woman's treatment he grew worse every day, and the physicians were soon recalled; but he still continued to sink; and on the evening of the 6th of July, while engaged in prayer, he breathed his last, having lived fifteen years, eight months, and twenty-two days, and entered upon the sixth month of the seventh year of his reign.

¹ Burnet.

CHAPTER XI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1553—1554.

MARY.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1553—DEATH, A.D. 1558.

Blunders of the Duke of Northumberland on the death of Edward VI.—Lady Jane Grey proclaimed queen—Counter-proclamation of Mary—Duke of Northumberland takes command of the army against Mary—Her cause adopted by the people—Northumberland joins in proclaiming her—He is arrested and imprisoned—Politick conduct of the Princess Elizabeth—The Popish bishops released from confinement—The Duke of Northumberland and his chief adherents tried and executed—Popery restored—Persecuting symptoms shown by Mary—Cranmer imprisoned—Mary's coronation—Worship paid to her by the Popish party—Protestantism condemned and Protestants persecuted—Protestant bishops imprisoned—The Protestant pulpits silenced—Mary's partiality for the Earl of Devon—Proposals for her marriage to Philip of Spain—The terms of the marriage treaty—It occasions Wyatt's rebellion—First successes of the rebellion—The rebels attempt to gain possession of London—They are defeated—Execution of Wyatt and his accomplices—Elizabeth arrested and examined as privy to the rebellion—Her letter to her sister Mary—Elizabeth committed to the Tower—Execution of Lady Jane Grey—Execution of the Duke of Suffolk, her father—Elizabeth released from the Tower—Arrival of Philip in England—His marriage with the queen—His attempts to win popularity in England—The fears of the holders of church lands quieted—Cardinal Pole recalled to England—Jealousy of the English at Philip's proceedings—Mary's hopes of producing an heir to the throne—Joy of the Papists on the occasion—Their disappointment.



HE talent and decision of the Earl of Northumberland were far from being equal to his ambition. Although the death of Edward must have been expected for months, that event seems to have taken him by surprise, or at least in a very unprepared state. In order to gain a little time, he determined to conceal the king's death—a common enough practice in despotic governments, and one which, as we have seen, had also been adopted on the demise of Henry VIII. He had even neglected the important measure of getting possession of the persons of the two princesses. The Lady Mary, it appears, had been summoned to attend her half-brother Edward on his death-bed; but having long been acquainted with Northumberland's secret practices, she showed no anxiety for this journey to London, where her enemies were in their full strength. The summons was now repeated, as if Edward, though in extremity, were still alive; and Mary at last moved reluctantly from Hunsdon in Hertfordshire. But the Earl of Arundel¹ despatched messengers to inform her that her brother was dead, and that Northumberland, who was plotting to place the Lady Jane Grey on the throne, only wanted to make her a prisoner. On receiving this intelligence, Mary, who had advanced within a half a day's journey of the capital, changed her route, and went to Framlingham Castle in Suffolk,

seated near the sea, whence, if fortune frowned, she might easily embark and flee to the Flemish dominions of her relative the Emperor Charles. The Lady Elizabeth was in Hertfordshire: she had been summoned to court in the like manner as her half-sister Mary, and was also warned of the real state of affairs by some personal friend, who is generally supposed to have been Sir William Cecil. She therefore remained where she was.²

Northumberland, having two days together consulted with his friends and dependants as to the best way of managing this great affair—the king's death being still kept secret—commanded the attendance, at Greenwich (where the dead body was lying), of the lord-mayor of London, six aldermen, and twelve other citizens “of chiefest account.” On the 8th of July the mayor, the aldermen, and the citizens, went down to Greenwich, where Northumberland and some of the council secretly declared to them the death of the king, as also how, by his last will, and by his letters-patent, he had appointed and ordained that the Lady Jane should be his successor in the throne and sovereignty. The deputation, being shown the royal will, swore allegiance to Lady Jane, and were bound under a great penalty not to divulge these “secret passages” until they should receive orders from the council. The long conference being thus satisfactorily ended, the duke and three other lords repaired to Sion House, announced to Jane her elevation, and tendered their homage upon their knees; but her answer to their congratulations was a flood of

¹ According to another account, the timely warning was first given by Mary's goldsmith, despatched from London by Nicholas Throckmorton, who, though a Protestant, had a great veneration for legitimacy. In many breasts the latter feeling was strong enough to overcome the religious objection. A little later Throckmorton had a narrow escape from the block.

² Stow; Holinshed; Godwin; Strype; Aikin, *Memoirs of the Court of Elizabeth*.

QUEEN MARY.

Mary I., daughter of Henry VIII. by Catherine of Aragon, his first wife, was born at Greenwich on the 18th February, 1516. As a child Mary was treated with kindness by her father, but when he divorced her mother his conduct to her was unnatural and harsh. Until Henry died and during the reign of her half-brother Edward VI. Mary lived in retirement, becoming an excellent musician, a good linguist, and a devoted adherent of the Church of Rome. When Edward died in 1553 an attempt was made to set aside Mary's claim to the throne in favour of Lady Jane Grey, but this plot failed and she entered London in triumph. During the early part of her reign Mary treated the Protestants with clemency, but after her marriage with Philip of Spain she instituted those cruel persecutions which earned for her the title of "Bloody Mary". She was probably, however, only partially responsible for the deaths of Ridley, Latimer, and the other martyrs; and in any case she deserves sympathy by reason of her ill-health, her childlessness, and the harsh treatment which she received from her husband. After an unhappy reign of five years Mary died on the 17th November, 1558.



Drawn by J. L. Williams.

Engraved by W. Brown.

FROM THE PICTURE
IN THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, WESTMINSTER

bitter tears. Grievous indeed to her was the change which transferred her from that silent mansion and her congenial studies, to the din of

ment and of elegant literature, and so accomplished that she read Plato in the original Greek.³

In the meanwhile Mary's friends had exerted themselves in Suffolk, in Norfolk, and in Cambridgeshire, where the people detested Northumberland on account of his severity in suppressing the recent rebellion in those parts. There was indeed a very strong party among them that inclined to the Reformation; but when Mary solemnly pledged herself to make no change in the religion or laws of Edward, even these men embraced her cause—the cause of legitimacy—with zeal and affection. It was a struggle between the love of hereditary right and the attachment to the new order of things in the church, and the former feeling prevailed. The council and a



STON HOUSE.—From Beauties of England and Wales.

a metropolis and the troubles of an uncertain throne. On the 10th of July, about three o'clock in the afternoon, Lady Jane Grey was conveyed by water to the Tower of London, and there publicly received as queen; for Northumberland was by this time informed not only of the flight of Mary, but of her being so well aware of all that was passing that she was summoning the nobility to her standard. In the course of the evening after Lady Jane's safe arrival at the Tower, the death of King Edward was publicly divulged for the first time, and Jane was proclaimed queen in the city, with somewhat less than the usual formality. The people of London were cold and silent, many of them whispering the name of Queen Mary, and very few of them entering into the spirit of this revolution in the order of succession. The amiable victim of the ambition of others had never entertained any sanguine hopes, and had resisted the project to the utmost. "So far was she from any desire of this advancement, she began to act her part of royalty with many tears, thus plainly showing to those who had access to her that she was forced by her relations and friends to this high but dangerous post."² She was in the bloom of her youth, graceful and pretty if not beautiful—most amiable and unaffected—quiet, modest, attached to her young husband and her domestic duty—fond of retire-

ment and of elegant literature, and so accomplished that she read Plato in the original Greek.³ In the meanwhile Mary's friends had exerted themselves in Suffolk, in Norfolk, and in Cambridgeshire, where the people detested Northumberland on account of his severity in suppressing the recent rebellion in those parts. There was indeed a very strong party among them that inclined to the Reformation; but when Mary solemnly pledged herself to make no change in the religion or laws of Edward, even these men embraced her cause—the cause of legitimacy—with zeal and affection. It was a struggle between the love of hereditary right and the attachment to the new order of things in the church, and the former feeling prevailed. The council and a



LADY JANE GREY.—After Holbein.

of high rank who were in the provinces had hastened to join Mary as soon as they learned where she was. Forces, raised to serve the Lady Jane or Northumberland, went over in a mass;

¹ This mansion, situated on the Thames about two miles above Chiswick, is named from a convent of Bridgetries, founded in 1144 by Henry V. After the suppression of the monasteries, the buildings were retained by the crown during the reign of Henry VIII., and were granted by Edward VI. to Protector Somerset, who founded on the site of the monastic building the noble residence, which has long been a seat of the Northumberland family. On the attainder of Somerset, the mansion reverted to the crown, but was shortly after granted to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and it became the residence of Lord Guildford Dudley, his son, husband of Lady Jane Gray. The estate was again for-

feited to the crown by the attainder of the Duke of Northumberland; and in 1557, Queen Mary re-established the monastery. On the accession of Elizabeth, the monastery was again dissolved; and in 1604, the house was granted to Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland. Algernon Percy, son of the above nobleman, and tenth Earl of Northumberland, had the buildings at St. Mary's thoroughly repaired under the direction of Inigo Jones. Although a structure of magnificent dimensions, the exterior of St. Mary's is without ornament. Some remains of the monastic buildings are still preserved.

² Godwin.

³ Roger Ascham.

and even a small fleet which was sent down the coast to intercept her in case she should attempt to quit England, declared against the usurpation, and hoisted her flag. On the 12th of July, Mary sent an order to Norwich for her proclamation in that important city. The municipal authorities hesitated, being *not yet* certain of the king's death; but the next day they not only proclaimed her, but also sent her men and ammunition. She had already written to the members of the council to claim the throne, which she said belonged to her by right of birth, by the decision of parliament, and by the will of her father. The council, who were at the mercy of Northumberland, replied that her claims were opposed by the invalidity of her mother's marriage, by custom, by the last will of King Edward, and by the general voice of the people! They had scarcely despatched this answer from the Tower, when they learned that Mary had moved to Kenninghall in Norfolk, and had been there joined by the Earls of Bath and Sussex, Sir Thomas Wharton, son to the Lord Wharton, Sir John Mordaunt, Sir William Drury, Sir John Shelton, Sir Henry Bedingfield, and many other gentlemen of rank and influence. Northumberland now found himself in a dilemma: he dreaded the cabals of the counsellors and courtiers if he left them behind, and he knew not whom to trust with the command of the army if he did not go himself with it. At last he thought of placing the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane's father, at the head of the forces, which were to fall upon Mary before she should gain more strength, and, if possible, get possession of her person and bring her to the Tower. But Suffolk had no great military reputation, and Northumberland was more than half afraid of trusting him alone, while the council, for their own safety, were bent upon making the chief plotter go himself. Their manœuvre was facilitated by the filial tenderness of Lady Jane, who, "taking the matter heavily," with sighs and tears requested that her dear father might tarry at home in her company. "Whereupon the council persuaded with the Duke of Northumberland to take that voyage upon himself, saying, that no man was so fit therefor, because that he had achieved the victory in Norfolk once already, and was so feared there that none durst lift up their weapons against him; besides that he was the best man of war in the realm, as well for the ordering of his camps and soldiers, both in battle and in their tents, as also by experience, knowledge, and wisdom, he could animate his army with witty persuasions, and also pacify and allay his enemies' pride with his stout courage, or else dissuade them, if need were, from their enterprise. Finally, said they, this is the short and long, the queen will in nowise grant that her

father shall take it upon him" "Well," quoth the duke, "since ye think it good, I and mine will go, not doubting of your fidelity to the queen's majesty, which I leave in your custody."¹ On the morrow, early in the morning, the duke called for his own harness, and saw it made ready at Durham Place, where he appointed all his retinue to meet. In the course of the day carts were laden with ammunition, and artillery and field-pieces were sent forward. When all was ready, Northumberland made a tender appeal to the feelings of the council who were to be left behind, telling them that he and the noble personages about to march with him would freely adventure their bodies and lives in the good cause, and reminding them that they left their children and families at home committed to their truth and fidelity. He also reminded them of their recent oaths of allegiance to the queen's highness, the virtuous Lady Jane, "who," said he, "by *your* and *our* enticement, is rather of force placed on the throne than by her own seeking and request;" and in the end he bade them consider that the cause of God, the promotion of the gospel, and the fear of the Papists, the original grounds upon which they had given their good-will and consent to the proclaiming of Queen Jane, bound them to the cause for which he was preparing to fight.² Though nearly every man present had made up his mind to declare for Queen Mary as soon as his back should be turned, they all promised and vowed to support the good cause, and Northumberland departed. But as he marched with his small army of 6000 men through the city, his spirits were damped by the manner and countenance of the people, who ran to gaze at his passage, and he could not help bidding his officers observe that of that great multitude not so much as one man had wished them success, or bade them "God speed." On the Sunday after his departure, Ridley, Bishop of London, whose whole soul was in the revolution as the only likely means to prevent the return of Papistry, preached at Paul's Cross, most eloquently showing the people the right and title of the Lady Jane, and inveighing earnestly not only against the Lady Mary but also against the Lady Elizabeth, of whose religion, it is evident, that doubts were entertained. The Londoners listened in silence. On that same Sunday, the 16th of July, the lord-treasurer stole out of the Tower to his house in the city, evidently to make arrangements for the council going over in a body to Mary. He returned in the night, and two days after, Cecil, Cranmer, and the rest of the counsellors, persuaded the imbecile Duke of Suffolk that it was very necessary to levy fresh forces and to place them in better hands—that

¹ *Stow*² *Ibid.*

is, in their own; and that, to be of full use in support of his daughter Queen Jane, *they*, her trusty and loyal council, must be permitted to leave the Tower, and hold their sittings at Baynard's Castle, then the residence of the Earl of Pembroke. The council were no sooner arrived at that house than they declared, with one voice, for Queen Mary, and instantly despatched the Earl of Arundel, Sir William Paget, and Sir William Cecil, to notify their submission and exceeding great loyalty. In the course of the same day the council summoned the lord-mayor

as they appeared, and entering his daughter's chamber, told her that she must be content to be unqueened and return to a private station. It is said that the Lady Jane expressed joy rather than sorrow, and hoped that her willing relinquishment of the honours that had been forced upon her, and her ingenuous conduct, would palliate the error she had committed. While she returned to prayer in an inner room, her father posted off to Baynard's Castle, where he joined the rest of the council, and subscribed the decrees they were issuing in the name of Queen Mary!



BAYNARD'S CASTLE.—From a print by Hollar.

and the aldermen to Baynard's Castle, and told them that they must ride with them "into Cheap" to proclaim a new queen; and forthwith they all rode together to that street, where Master Garter, king-at-arms, in his rich coat, stood with a trumpet, and the trumpet being sounded, they proclaimed the Lady Mary, daughter to King Henry VIII. and Queen Catherine, to be Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Head of the Church! "And to add more majesty to their act by some devout solemnity, they went in procession to Paul's, singing that admirable hymn of those holy fathers St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, commonly known by its first words *Te Deum*." The people seemed to triumph greatly in this triumph of hereditary right; and all were joyful except a few who were zealously attached to the new religion, and well acquainted with the fierce intolerance of Mary. The council then detached some companies to besiege the Tower; but the timid Duke of Suffolk opened the gates to them as soon

the first man there to throw up his cap and cry, "God save her!" He had scarcely played this part, in the hope of saving his neck, when he received a sharp letter from the council in London, commanding him to disband his army and return to his allegiance to the blessed Queen Mary, under penalty of being treated as a traitor. This letter was signed, among others, by Lady Jane's father, the Duke of Suffolk, by Crammer, and by Cecil. The order, as to the army, was scarcely needed, for most of the men had disbanded of their own accord, and almost all the lords and officers who had hitherto followed him, had passed over to Mary, and made their peace by accusing Northumberland as the sole author and cause of their taking up arms against their lawful queen. On the following day, while the duke was still loitering at Cambridge, not knowing whether to flee for his life or to trust to Mary's mercy, and the encouraging circumstance that some of the council, *in reality*, and all, *in appearance*, had shared in his treason, he was arrested by the Earl of

¹ This castle, situated on the banks of the Thames, was founded by Baynard, a follower of William the Conqueror. It was forfeited to the crown in 1111, by one of his descendants. Henry I. bestowed it on Robert Fitz-Richard, a grandson of Gilbert Earl Clare. To this family, in right of the castle, appertained the office of castellan and banner-bearer of the city of London. The castle was burned in 1429, and was rebuilt by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. On his death it was granted by Henry VI. to Richard, Duke of York. The castle was repaired or rebuilt

by Henry VII. According to an old view, it included a square court with an octagonal tower in the centre, and two in the front, between which were square buttresses rising the whole height of the building, with the windows in pairs one above the other. It had access to the river by a bridge and stairs. The castle was possessed by the Earl of Shrewsbury, when it was destroyed in the great fire of 1666. A vestige of one of the octagonal towers may still be seen in the river wall of a wharf which now occupies its site, near the western extremity of Thames Street.

Arundel, who hated him to death, though a little before he had professed a wish to spend his heart's blood in his service. The duke, who was utterly devoid of greatness of mind, fell on his knees before the earl, and abjectly begged for life; but Arundel, who rejoiced in his ruin and abasement, carried him off to London and lodged him in the Tower, even as Queen Mary had commanded. The Lady Jane, having, "as on a stage, for ten days only personated a queen," was already in safe custody within those dismal walls; and the Earl of Warwick, Lord Ambrose, and Lord Henry Dudley, the three sons of the Duke of Northumberland; Sir A. Dudley, the duke's brother, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir John Gates, his brother Sir Henry Gates, and Dr. Edwin Sandys, vice-chancellor of the university of Cambridge, who had impugned Queen Mary's rights from the pulpit, were very soon lodged in the same fortress; and two days after these committals Sir Roger Cholmley, lord chief-justice of the King's Bench, Sir Edmund Montague, chief-justice of the Common Pleas, the Duke of Suffolk, and Sir John Cheke, were added to the list of state prisoners: but on the 31st of July the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane's father, was discharged out of the Tower by the Earl of Arundel, *and soon after obtained the queen's pardon.* On the 30th day of this same busy month, the Lady Elizabeth rode from her palace in the Strand (where she had arrived the night before) through the city of London, and then out by Aldgate, to meet her sister Mary, accompanied by 1000 horse, of knights, ladies, gentlemen, and their servants. At this difficult crisis the conduct of Elizabeth, which is supposed to have been prescribed by Sir William Cecil—afterwards her own great minister Lord Burghley—was exceeding politic, and at the same time bold. When waited upon in Hertfordshire by messengers from the Duke of Northumberland, who apprized her of the accession of the Lady Jane, and proposed that she, Elizabeth, should resign her own title in consideration of certain lands and pensions, she replied that her elder sister Mary was first to be agreed with, and that, during her lifetime, she could claim no right to the throne. She determined to make common cause with her sister against those who were bent on excluding them both; she called around her a number of friends to prevent her seizure; she waited the course of events; and, at the right moment, hurried to the capital, whence, as we have seen, she set out, well attended, to welcome Mary and give strength to her party.¹

The queen travelled by slow journeys from Norfolk to Wanstead, in Essex, where she arrived on the 1st of August, and was congratulated

on her happy success by Elizabeth. The greater part of her army, which had never exceeded 13,000 men, and which had never drawn a sword, was disbanded; and on the 3d of August, attended by a vast concourse of the nobility, Mary made her triumphant entrance through London to the Tower, where the old Duke of Norfolk, Edward Courtenay, son to the Marquis of Exeter, beheaded in the year 1538, Gardiner, late Bishop of Winchester, and Anne, Dowager-duchess of Somerset, presented themselves on their knees—Bishop Gardiner, in the name of them all, delivering a congratulatory oration, and blessing the Lord, on their own account, for her happy accession. It was, indeed, a time of triumph for all of the Catholic party! The queen courteously raised them, kissed each of them, saying, "These are all my own prisoners," and gave orders for their immediate discharge from the Tower. A day or two after, Bonner, late Bishop of London, and Tonsal, the old Bishop of Durham, were released from the harsh imprisonment to which they had been committed by the Protestant party, and immediate measures were adopted for restoring them and several of their friends—all zealous Papists—to their respective sees.²

On the 18th of August, John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, his eldest son John, Earl of Warwick, and William Parr, Marquis of Northampton, were arraigned at Westminster Hall, where Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, high-steward of England, the recently liberated captive—the survivor of his accomplished son, the Earl of Surrey—presided at the trial. The Duke of Northumberland pleaded that he had done nothing but by the authority of the council, and by warrant of the same under the great seal of England; and he asked whether any such persons as were equally culpable with him, and those by whose letters and commandments he had been directed in all his doings, might be his judges, or sit upon his trial as jurors? The latter query did him no good: the members of the council averred that *they* had acted under peril—that *they* had been coerced by the duke—and Suffolk (the father of Lady Jane!) Cranmer, Cecil, and the rest, continued to sit in judgment, and with very little loss of time proceeded to pass sentence. The duke hesitated at no meanness to avert his doom; but self-prostration was of no avail. When sentence was passed he craved the favour of such a death as was usually allowed to noblemen; he besought the court to be merciful to his sons, on account of their youth and inexperience; and then, as a last hope of gaining the queen's pardon by apostasy, he requested that he might be per-

¹ Heylin; Holinshed; Speed; Godwin.

² Stow; Godwin. Bonner had been a prisoner in the Marshalsea, Tonsal in the King's Bench.

mitted to confer with some learned divine for the settling of his conscience, and that her majesty would be graciously pleased to send unto him four of her council, to whom he might discover certain things that nearly concerned the safety of her realm. His son, the Earl of Warwick, showed a higher spirit, hearing his sentence with great firmness, and craving no other favour than that his debts might be paid out of his property confiscated to the crown. The Marquis of Northampton pleaded that, from the beginning of these tumults, he had discharged no public office, and that, being all that time intent on hunting and other sports, he had not partaken in the conspiracy; but the court held it to be manifest that he was a party with the duke, and passed sentence on him likewise. On the next day Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, Sir Henry Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were condemned as traitors in the same court.¹ On Tuesday, the 22d of August, the Duke of Northumberland, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were brought forth to Towerhill, for execution. When the duke met Sir John Gates he told him that he forgave him with all his heart, although *he and the council* were the great cause of his present condition. Gates replied that he forgave the duke as he would be forgiven, although *he and his high authority* were the original causes of the whole calamity. From the scaffold Northumberland addressed the people in a long and contrite speech, in which he told them that they should all most heartily pray that it might please God to grant her majesty Queen Mary a long reign. After he had spoken to the people, he knelt down, saying to those that were about him, "I beseech you all to bear me witness that I die in the true Catholic faith;" and then he repeated the

psalms of *Miserere* and *De Profundis*, his *Pater Noster*, and six of the first verses of the psalm *Inte, Domine, speravi*, ending with, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." Then bowing towards the block, he said that he had deserved a thousand deaths, and laying his head over it, his neck was instantly severed.² They took up his body, with the head, and buried it in the Tower, by the body of his victim the late Duke of Somerset, so that there lay before the high



INTERIOR OF ST. PETER'S CHAPEL IN THE TOWER.³—Drawn by T. S. Boys, from his sketch on the spot.

altar in St. Peter's Chapel two headless dukes between two headless queens—the Duke of Somerset and the Duke of Northumberland between Queen Anne Boleyn and Queen Catherine Howard, all four beheaded and interred in the Tower.⁴ The head of Sir John Gates fell immediately after that of Northumberland. Gates also made a long penitential speech on the scaffold, telling the people that he had lived as viciously and wickedly all the days of his life as any man;⁵ that he had been the greatest reader and worst observer of Scripture of any one living. Sir Thomas Palmer was next beheaded, and in his dying speech he thanked God who had made

It contains some ancient tombs, the earliest of which is that of Sir Richard Cholmondeley, Lieutenant of the Tower in the reign of Henry VII. In addition to those illustrious personages mentioned in the text, there are buried in this chapel, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; Sir Thomas More; Cromwell, Earl of Essex; Margaret, Countess of Salisbury; Lord-admiral Seymour, of Sudley; the Protector Somerset; Lady Jane Grey, and her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley; and numerous other persons of historical note.

⁴ *Stow*

⁵ *Holinshed; Stow.*

¹ *Heylin; Holinshed; Stow; Strype.*

² Godwin says that Northumberland spoke and acted thus, "by the persuasion of Nicholas Heath, afterwards Bishop of York." But it was usual (as we have shown repeatedly) to die in strict conformity to the will of the court.

³ This church was founded by Edward III., and dedicated in the name of "St. Peter in Chains," commonly called "St. Peter ad Vincula within the Tower." The building is simple and without ornament, but has been so disfigured by successive alterations and additions that little of the original structure remains.

him learn more in one little dark corner of the Tower, than in all his many travels.

On the day after these executions, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was made chancellor; and, on the Sunday following, the old Catholic service was sung in Latin in St. Paul's Church. It was fully expected that the active Gardiner, would proceed at once to extremities against the Protestant party; but for a short time there was an awful pause. The Emperor Charles, whom she consulted on all affairs of importance, strongly advised the queen to proceed in everything with the utmost caution—to wait the effect of time and example on the religious faith of her people—to punish only her principal enemies, and to quiet the apprehensions of the rest, who might be driven to desperation by over-severity.¹ Mary replied, "God, who has protected me in all my misfortunes, is my trust. I will not show him my gratitude tardily and in secret, but immediately and openly."² She was fain, however, to issue a public declaration that she would constrain nobody in religious matters, but must only insist that her people should refrain from the offensive expressions of "Papist" and "heretic." But the spirit of the zealot was not to be wholly repressed by any considerations of political expediency. It was only nine days after the issuing of the proclamation that she had caused mass to be sung in the first church in the city of London; and she proceeded to establish a most rigorous censorship of the press, and to prohibit all persons from speaking against herself or her council, *because all that they did, or might do, was for the honour of God and the welfare of her subjects' immortal souls*. There can be no doubt that Mary was sincere in her convictions: she was an honest fanatic, but her fanaticism was only the more dangerous from her honesty, and the persuasion which she held in common with other zealots, that all her plans were for the service of the Almighty. Even the darkest and fiercest passions were in her case masked by religion, and by filial piety; and it appeared to her a sacred duty to avenge on the reforming party the wrongs and sufferings of her mother Catherine. Mary's youth had been passed in gloom and in storms; her father had alternately threatened to make her a nun and to take off her head; he and his ministers had forced her to sign a paper in which she formally acknowledged that the church she adored was a cheat, and that the mother who bore her had never been her father's lawful wife. From the time of the marriage of Anne Boleyn she had been persecuted, insulted, and driven from place to place, almost like a common criminal and vagabond. A woman of an angelic temper might, by miraculous exertion, have forgiven

all these wrongs; a *young* woman, with a sound constitution, and its concomitant—a light and cheerful spirit, might have forgotten them gradually in the full sunshine of prosperity; but Mary was thirty-seven years old, an age at which it is difficult to erase any deep impressions; and partly through the effects of long years of grief and fear, and partly through the defects of her original formation, her constitution was shattered, and the ill-humour and moroseness of the confirmed valetudinarian were superadded to the other fertile causes which were to make her a curse to the nation.

This unhappy woman, with an unhealthy mind in an unsound body, had all along considered Cranmer as the greatest enemy of her mother, whose divorce he had pronounced. After being left at large from the day of her entrance into London to the 14th or 15th of September, the archbishop was suddenly arrested and committed to the Tower, with Latimer and some others. There is an immediate cause assigned by some writers for his arrest at this moment. Men remembered Cranmer's conduct in the days of King Henry, when he sat at the head of tribunals which sentenced Protestants to the flames; he was generally believed to be deficient in that extreme courage which braves torture and death; and it was reported of him, that, in order to pay court to this most Catholic queen, he had engaged to restore the rites of the old church, and to officiate personally in them. He had certainly never shown such courage before, and he could not be blind to the great risk he was running; but, being assisted by the learned Peter Martyr, he wrote and published (it is said) a manifesto of his entire Protestant faith, and his abhorrence of masses and all other abominations of the Popish superstition.³ A few days after his arrest, Queen Mary went to the Tower by water, accompanied by the Princess Elizabeth and other ladies. This was preparatory to the coronation. On the last day of September the queen rode in great state from the Tower, through the city of London, towards Westminster, sitting in a chariot covered with cloth of gold. Before her rode a number of gentlemen and knights, then judges, then doctors, then bishops, then lords, then the council: after whom followed the knights of the Bath in their robes; the Bishop of Winchester, lord-chancellor; the Marquis of Winchester, lord high-treasurer; the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Oxford, bearing the sword of state; and the lord-mayor of London, bearing the sceptre of gold. After the queen's chariot Sir Edward Hastings

³ It is certainly by no means clear that Cranmer ever published such a bold manifesto. Some accounts seem to say that certain declarations of his were *treacherously* put into the queen's hands. But Mary wanted no additional provocation to hurt him to infamy and death.

¹ *Ambassades de Renaué*, quoted by Raumer.

² *Ibid.*

led her horse in hand; and after her horse came another chariot covered all over with white silver cloth, wherein sat side by side, with smiling faces, the Princess Elizabeth and our old fair-complexioned and contented friend THE LADY ANNE OF CLEVES! On the morrow the queen went by water from Whitehall to the old palace of Westminster, and there remained till about noon, and then walked on foot upon blue cloth, which was railed on each side, to St. Peter's Church, where she was solemnly crowned and anointed by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who took good care not to omit any of the ancient rites.¹

Five days after the coronation a parliament assembled at Westminster, and both lords and commons soon gave melancholy proofs that they had made up their minds to float with the prevailing current, and to make no efforts for the protection of anything except the estates of the church that had fallen into their own hands. As there was scarcely a member in the upper house but had shared in the spoil in the time of Henry and Edward, and as it was known that their only anxiety was for the preservation of what they had gotten, no apprehension was entertained of any serious opposition on the part of the peers; and as for the commons, they had long been timid

and subservient in the extreme, and on the present occasion, out of a prudent regard to their personal safety, those who were not Papists had contrived to keep away from parliament. The very first act of the new parliament was decisive: proceedings were opened in each of the houses by celebrating high mass; and the men who, a few years before, had voted the observance to be damnable, all fell on their knees at the elevation of the host. Only Taylor, Bishop of Lincoln, refused to kneel; for which he was harshly treated, and kicked or thrust out of the House of Lords. The first bill that was passed, in imitation of what was done by the Protestant party at the accession of the late king, abolished every species of treason not contained in the statute of

Edward III., and every species of felony not set down in the statute-book previously to the first year of Henry VIII. They next declared the queen to be legitimate, and annulled the divorce of her mother pronounced by Cranmer, greatly blaming the archbishop for that deed. Then, by one vote, they repealed all the statutes of the late reign that in any way regarded religion, thus returning to the point at which matters stood in the last year of the reign of Henry VIII., when most of the offices and ceremonies of the Roman church, the doctrine of transubstantiation, the celibacy of the clergy, and other matters odious to Protestants, were fully insisted upon. The queen neither renounced the title of supreme head of the church—a title most odious, frightful, or ridiculous to Catholic ears—nor pressed

for a restitution of the abbey lands; though, to give proof of her own disinterestedness, she prepared to restore of her own free-will all property of that kind which had been attached to the crown. It was quite certain that the lords, who were so compliant in matters of doctrine and faith, that concerned their souls, would have offered a vigorous resistance to any bill that touched their estates or their goods and chattels; and Mary had been well warned on this point.² Gardiner, who had already dismissed all such



QUEEN MARY.—After Zuccherò.

of the Protestant bishops as would not conform or enter into a compromise, now summoned the convocation, to settle once more all doubts and disputations concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. With the exception of a few words spoken by John Ailmer, Richard Cheney, John Philpot, James Hadden, and Walter Philips, the Papists had it all their own way. Harpsfield, the Bishop of London's chaplain, who opened the convocation with a sermon, set no limits to his exultation; and, in the vehemence of his joy and gratitude, he compared Queen Mary to all the females of greatest celebrity in Holy Writ and the Apocrypha, not even excepting the Virgin Mary. It would scarcely be expected by people of ordinary imagination that it was possible for any one to surpass the hyperbole of Harpsfield; and yet this feat seems fairly to have been performed by Weston, the prolocutor.

¹ At this coronation the Princess Elizabeth carried the crown. It is said that she whispered to the French ambassador, Noailles, that it was very heavy; and that he replied, "Be patient; it will seem lighter when it is on your own head."

² *Parl. Jour.; Despatches of Noailles; Burnet.*

After these orations the convocation proceeded to business, and in some matters came to important decisions without waiting for the authority either of the queen or the parliament, being sure of the one and entertaining a well-merited contempt for the other. They declared the Book of Common Prayer to be an abomination; they called for the immediate suppression of the reformed English Catechism; they recommended the most violent measures against all such of the clergy as would not forthwith dismiss their wives, and adopt the Catholic opinion as to the real presence. In London and the great cities, where the Protestant doctrine had taken deeper root, the change, though rapid, was somewhat less sudden; but in the rural districts generally, where the population had never been properly converted, the mass re-appeared at once, and every part of the Reformed service was thrown aside even before any express orders to that effect from court or from convocation. Hosts of priests, and particularly the residue of the abbeys and monasteries, who had conformed to save their lives or to obtain the means of supporting themselves, declared that they had acted under compulsion, and joyfully returned to their Latin masses, their confessions, their holy water, and the rest. Many again, who really preferred the Reformed religion, were fain to conform to what they disapproved of, just as their opponents had done in the preceding reign, and from the same worldly motives. But still there were many married priests who would on no account part with their wives, or receive, as the rules of salvation, tenets which, for years, they had condemned as the inventions of the devil. Some, also, there were who had made to themselves, by their intolerance in the days of their prosperity, bitter enemies among those who were now in the ascendent. The prisons began to fill with Protestant clergymen of these classes; and others of them, being deprived of their livings, were thrown upon the highways to beg or starve, as the monks had been in the days of Henry VIII., their condition being so much the worse as they had wives and children.

About half of the English bishops, bending to the storm, conformed, in all outward appearances, with the triumphant sect.¹ Those who did not, or who were peculiarly obnoxious to the dominant party, were deprived of their sees and whatever they possessed, and cast into prison. We have already seen Cranmer and Latimer sent to the Tower. Shortly after, Holgate, Archbishop of York, was committed to the same state prison for marriage; and Ridley, Bishop of London, for

preaching at Paul's Cross in defence of Queen Jane's title, and for "heretical pravity;" Poynt, who had held the bishopric of Winchester during Gardiner's deprivation and imprisonment, was also committed to prison for being married. Taylor, Bishop of Lincoln, who had refused to kneel at the elevation of the host in the House of Lords, was deprived "for thinking amiss concerning the eucharist;" Hooper, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, for having a wife, and other demerits; Harley, Bishop of Hereford, for wedlock and heresy; Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, for the same offences; Bird, Bishop of Chester, for marriage. Coverdale of Exeter, the translator of the Bible, was also ejected and thrown into prison, where he lay two years, not without danger of being burned. Barlow of Bath and Wells, and Bush of Bristol, voluntarily resigned their sees.²

On the 13th of November Cranmer was brought to trial for high treason, together with the Lady Jane Grey, her youthful husband Lord Guildford Dudley, and his brother Lord Ambrose Dudley. They were all condemned to suffer death as traitors, by the very men who a short time before had acted with them, and had sworn allegiance to Jane; but the youth of three of these victims to the ambition and imbecility of others excited a lively sympathy in the nation, and the queen sent them back to the Tower, apparently with no intention of ever bringing them to the block. Even the fourth victim, Cranmer, was respited, and was pardoned of his treason; but he was sent back to the Tower on the equally perilous charge of heresy. He was strongly advised by his friends, both before his apprehension and also now, to attempt to escape out of the kingdom, but he is said to have replied, that his trust was in God, and in his holy word, and that he had resolved to show a constancy worthy of a Christian prelate. He repeatedly professed to have a great desire to be admitted to a private audience of the queen; but Mary had no inclination to receive the man who had sealed her mother's dishonour, and the party about her seconded this strong and natural feeling of aversion.

Before parliament was dissolved the attainder of the old Duke of Norfolk was legally reversed, it being declared, with some reason, that no special matter had been proved either against him or his son the Earl of Surrey, except the wearing of part of a coat-of-arms. On the 21st of December, a few days after the dissolution of parliament, the church service began to be performed in Latin throughout England. At the same time the Lady Jane had the liberty of the Tower granted her, being allowed to walk in the

¹ In this number were some who were really Catholics all along, and who had strained their consciences by conformity in the last reigns. Insincere then, they were sincere now.

² Strype; Collier: Soames, *Hist. Reform.*; Elmsl.

CRANMER ENTERING THE TOWER AT TRAITOR'S GATE.

Upon the accession of Queen Mary in 1553 the authority of Rome was again established in England, while those who had promoted the Reformation were denounced as traitors and heretics. Among the most notable of these was Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. He was first brought to trial upon a charge of high treason, for which he received pardon, and was then sent back to the Tower as a heretic. At his trial before the Papal Commissioner he bore himself bravely, but afterwards signed, in his weakness, several forms of recantation. Yet notwithstanding his submission he was condemned to die. At the stake he regained his courage, refused to read his recantation, but instead thrust his right hand into the flame exclaiming: "This hath offended! Oh this unworthy hand!"

CRUICNER AND THE PURITANS



queen's garden and on the hill; the Lord Guildford Dudley and his brother were treated more leniently than they had been; and the Marquis of Northampton was set at liberty altogether. This moderation was a matter of marvel in those days, nor did the queen fail in making a favourable impression by remitting the subsidy voted to her brother by the preceding parliament: but other circumstances sufficiently indicated that Mary was determined not only to re-establish the Roman church, but to prevent the teaching and preaching of the Reformed doctrine. There was scarcely by this time a pulpit in the kingdom that was not silenced; and Gardiner, Bonner, Tonstal, Day, Heath, Vesey, and others of the now restored Catholic bishops, were not likely to permit them to be eloquent again. The men of Suffolk, whose loyalty had placed her on the throne, ventured to recal to her mind her solemn promises given to them on that occasion, that she would not change the Reformed religion as established under her brother. One of these remonstrants, who was bolder than the rest, was set in the pillory; the others were brow-beaten and insulted. Judge Hales, who had defended the queen's title with a most rare courage, was arbitrarily arrested and thrown into a noisome prison as soon as he showed an opposition to these illegal, rash, and dangerous proceedings. The upright judge was treated with such severity that his body and mind became alike disordered—he fell into a frenzy, and attempted suicide by cutting his throat. He was at length liberated, but it was too late; insanity had taken a firm hold of him, and he terminated his life by drowning himself.¹

Mary, who had been affianced in her infancy to the Emperor Charles, to the French king, to the dauphin, and who, in the course of the last two reigns, had been disappointed of several other husbands, now determined to marry, in order, it appears, to make sure of a Catholic succession. It should seem, however, that she was not wholly devoid of the tender passion, for it is said, on good authority, that she conceived an affection for the son of the Marquis of Exeter—murdered in her father's days—the handsome and accomplished young Edward Courtenay, whom she had liberated from the Tower on her first coming to London.² Upon this kinsman, whose flourishing youth and courteous and pleasant disposition delighted the whole court, she lavished many proofs of favour: she hastened to restore to him the

title of Earl of Devon, to which she added the whole of those patrimonial estates which his father's attainder had vested in the crown; and when people spoke or whispered of the wisdom and fitness of an English queen marrying a great English nobleman, descended (as she was herself by her grandmother) from the royal house of York, her countenance relaxed instead of increasing its habitual severity. But the accomplished Earl of Devon soon became suspected of indulging in anti-Catholic notions, and, what was almost as bad, he betrayed, as is said, a preference for the queen's half-sister Elizabeth. If there had been little affection between the royal ladies before, this circumstance was not likely to increase it; and a few months after Mary's accession, we find Elizabeth retiring to her house of Ashridge in Buckinghamshire, attended by Sir Thomas Pope and Sir John Gage, who were appointed by the queen to keep a watchful eye over her.

The Emperor Charles, who had been solemnly affianced to her himself nearly thirty years before, was now most anxious to secure the hand of Mary for his son, the proud, the bigoted, the crafty, and cruel Philip, who then happened to be a widower. As Mary consulted her mother's nephew in all her difficulties, Charles was enabled to press this suit for his son with good effect. The imperial ambassadors had constant access, by night as well as by day, to the royal but elderly maiden; and one night, within three months after her accession, before any public negotiation had taken place, and without so much as consulting her council, Mary solemnly promised to marry Philip. For some time this engagement was concealed, but when it was whispered abroad it excited almost universal discontent, for the character of Philip, though not yet fully developed in action, was well known; and it was reasonably suspected that the once free kingdom of England would be wholly enslaved and made dependent upon Spain and the emperor. With these views the match was odious even to most of the Catholics, whose patriotism rose triumphantly above their bigotry. In the face of these feelings it was judged prudent to proceed slowly and with caution. The match, however, was spoken of in parliament, and the commons even petitioned against it—a circumstance which is supposed to have hurried on the dissolution.

Early in January a splendid embassy arrived from Spain, and, on the 14th of the same month, Bishop Gardiner, as chancellor, in the presence chamber, made to the lords, nobility, and court gentry, an "oration very eloquent," setting forth that the queen's majesty, partly for old amity, and other weighty conside-

¹ *Strype; Stow; Holinshed; Godwin; Nares, Life of Lord Burghley.*

² From the age of fourteen to that of twenty-six this victim of tyranny had been doomed to exilate, in a captivity which threatened to be perpetual, the involuntary offence of inheriting, through an attainted father, the blood of the fourth Edward.—*Aikin, Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth.*

rations, had, after much suit on the emperor's and Prince of Spain's behalf, determined, with the consent of the council and nobility, to match herself with the said prince "in most godly and lawful matrimony." After this exordium Gardiner explained the conditions of the treaty,



STEPHEN GARDINER, Bishop of Winchester.—After Holbein.

which, to disarm opposition in England, had been made wonderfully mild, moderate, and generous on the part of Philip, who, of course, would reserve to himself the right of altering it thereafter as he should see occasion and find means for so doing. It was agreed that though Philip should have the honour and title of King of England, the government should rest wholly with the queen, he (Philip) aiding her highness in the happy administration of her realms and dominions; that no Spaniard or other foreigner should enjoy any office in the kingdom; that no innovations should be made in the national laws, customs, and privileges; that the queen should never be carried abroad without her free consent, nor any of the children she might have, without consent of the nobility (there was no mention made of the commons, nor indeed of the parliament). It was further agreed that Philip, in the unlikely case of Mary's surviving him, should settle upon her a jointure of £60,000 a-year; that the male issue of this marriage should inherit both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's son by his former marriage, should die and leave no issue, the queen's issue, whether male or female, should inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and other dominions attached to the Spanish monarchy.¹ On the next day the lord-mayor of London, with his brethren the alder-

men, and forty citizens of good substance, was summoned to court, where Gardiner repeated his oration, desiring them all to behave themselves like good subjects, with humbleness and rejoicing for so happy an event. On this same day Robert Dudley, one of the sons of the late Duke of Northumberland, was condemned as a traitor, the Earl of Sussex pronouncing sentence that he was to be drawn, hanged, bowelled, and quartered.²

But if the treaty of marriage had been tenfold more brilliant in promises, it would have failed in satisfying the English people. Within five days the court was startled by intelligence that Sir Peter Carew was up in arms in Devonshire, resolute to resist the Prince of Spain's coming, and that he had taken the city and castle of Exeter. This news was followed, on the 25th, by intelligence that Sir Thomas Wyatt had taken the field with the same determination in Kent; and the mayor and aldermen, who had so recently been commanded to rejoice and make glad, were now told to shut the gates of the city, and keep good watch and ward, lest the rebels should enter. Sir Thomas Wyatt, son of the poet of that name, who has been associated in glory with the Earl of Surrey, was a very loyal knight of Kent, and, apparently, a Papist;³ but he had conceived a frightful notion of the cruel bigotry and grasping ambition of the Spanish court. Although connected by blood with the Dudleys, he had refused to co-operate with the Duke of Northumberland in the plot for giving the crown to Lady Jane Grey, and had even been forward to proclaim Queen Mary in the town of Maidstone, before knowing that she had been proclaimed elsewhere. Wyatt appears to have been a brave and honest, but rash man; and the majority of those who had engaged to co-operate with him, from different parts of the kingdom, were either scoundrels without faith, or cowards. The highest name of all was both: this was the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane Grey's father, who, to the astonishment of most men, had been liberated from the Tower, and pardoned by Queen Mary. On the 25th of January, the very day on which it was known that Sir Thomas Wyatt had risen in Kent, this duke fled into Warwickshire, where, with his brothers the Lord John Grey and the Lord Leonard Grey, he made proclamation against the queen's marriage, and called the people to arms; "but the people inclined not to him." The plan of the conspirators seems to have been, that Wyatt should endeavour to seize the Tower, where Lady Jane and her husband lay, and get possession of the

¹ Stow.

² He was a commander at Henry VIII's siege of Boulogne, and made himself conspicuous by his daring.

³ Rymer.

city of London; that the Duke of Suffolk should raise the midland counties, and Carew the west: but in execution they proceeded with a miserable want of concert and arrangement. On the 29th the old Duke of Norfolk, with the Earl of Arundel, marched from London against Sir Thomas Wyatt, who had advanced to Rochester, and taken the castle. When the royalists reached Rochester bridge they found it defended with three or four double cannons, and by a numerous force of Kentish men. Norfolk sent forward a herald with a proclamation of pardon to all such as should quietly return to their homes, but Wyatt would not permit the herald to read this paper to the people. Norfolk then ordered an assault; but when five hundred Londoners—the trained bands of the city—led by Captain Brett, reached the head of the bridge, they suddenly stopped, and their captain, turning round at their head, and lowering his sword, said, "Masters, we go about to fight against our native countrymen of England and our friends, in a quarrel unrightful and wicked; for they do but consider the great miseries which are like to fall upon us, if we shall be under the rule of the proud Spaniards; wherefore, I think no English heart ought to say against them. I and others will spend our blood in their quarrel." He had scarcely finished, when the band of Londoners turned their ordnance against the rest of the queen's forces, shouting every one of them, "A Wyatt! a Wyatt!" At this defection the Duke of Norfolk and his officers turned and fled, leaving ordnance and all their ammunition behind them. The Londoners crossed the bridge, and three-fourths of the regular troops, among whom were some companies of the royal guard, went after them, and took service with Sir Thomas Wyatt and the insurgents.¹ When the intelligence reached London all was fright and confusion, especially at the court, where almost the only person that showed fortitude and composure was the queen herself. Wyatt ought to have made a forced march upon London during this consternation, but he loitered on his way: he did not reach Greenwich and Deptford till three days after the affair at Rochester bridge; and then he lay three whole days doing nothing, and allowing the government to make their preparations. The queen, with her lords and ladies, rode from Westminster into the city, where she declared to the mayor, aldermen, and livery, that she meant not otherwise to marry than as her council should think both honourable and advantageous to the realm—that she could still continue unmarried, as she had done so long—and therefore she trusted that they would truly assist her in repressing such as rebelled on this account. On

the same day on which she made this visit her spirits were cheered by intelligence that the Duke of Suffolk had been discomfited in the midland counties, and that Sir Peter Carew and his friends had been put to flight in the west.² She issued a proclamation of pardon to all the Kentish men with the exception of Sir Thomas Wyatt, Sir George Harper, and the other gentlemen, offering as a reward to the man that should take or kill Wyatt, lands worth £100 a-year to him and his heirs for ever. On the 3d of February, at about three o'clock in the afternoon, Wyatt and his host (who were differently estimated at 2000 and at 8000 men), marched from Deptford, along the river side, towards Southwark. Wyatt placed two pieces of artillery in battery at the Southwark end of the bridge, and caused a deep trench to be dug between the bridge and the place where he was. Contrary to his expectations, the Londoners did not throw open their gates, and he had not resolution sufficient to attempt an assault by the bridge. He again lost two whole days, and on the morning of the third day the garrison in the Tower opened a heavy fire of great pieces of ordnance, culverins, and demi-cannons full against the foot of the bridge and against Southwark, and the two steeples of St. Olave's and St. Mary Overy. As soon as the people of Southwark saw this, they no longer treated Wyatt as a welcome guest, but, making a great noise and lamentation, they entreated him to move elsewhere. Telling the people that he would not have them hurt on his account, he marched away towards Kingston, hoping to cross the river by the bridge there, and to fall upon London and Westminster from the west. It was four o'clock in the afternoon (on the 6th day of February) when he reached Kingston, and found about thirty feet of the bridge broken down, and an armed force on the opposite bank to prevent his passage. He placed his guns in battery, and drove away the troops; with the help of some sailors he got possession of a few boats and barges, and repaired the bridge; but it was eleven o'clock at night before these operations were finished, and his men were sorely fatigued and dispirited. Allowing them no time for rest—for his plan was to turn back upon London by the left bank of the Thames, and to reach the city gates before sunrise—he marched them on through a dreary winter night. When he was within six miles of London the carriage of one of his great brass guns broke down, and he very absurdly lost some hours in remounting the piece; and so, when he reached Hyde Park, it was broad daylight, and the royal forces, commanded by the Earl of Pembroke, were ready to

¹ *Stow; Holinshed; Godwin.*

² Several of Carew's party played him false. He escaped to France.

receive him there. Many of Wyatt's followers had deserted before he crossed the river at Kingston; others had lingered behind during the night-march; and, *now*, many more abandoned him on seeing that formidable preparations were made against him. With great bravery, however, he resolved to fight his way through the royal army, still entertaining a confident hope that the citizens would rise in his favour. After a short "thundering with the great guns," he charged the queen's cavalry, who, opening their ranks, suffered him to pass with about 400 of his followers, and then instantly closing in the rear of this weak van-guard, they cut him off from the main body of the insurgents, who thereupon stood still, wavered, and then took a contrary course. In the meanwhile Wyatt rushed rapidly along Charing Cross and the Strand to Ludgate, which, to his mortification, he found closed against him. In vain he shouted "Queen Mary! God save Queen Mary, who has granted our petition, and will have no Spanish husband!" A part of Pembroke's army had followed Wyatt in his rapid advance, and, when he turned to go back by the same road, he found that he must cut his way through dense masses of horse and foot. He charged furiously, and actually fought his way as far as the Temple. But there he found that his band was diminished to some forty or fifty men, and that further resistance was utterly hopeless. Clarendieux rode up to him, persuading him to yield, and not, "beyond all his former madness, surcharge himself with the blood of these brave fellows." At last Wyatt threw away his broken sword, and quietly surrendered to Sir Maurice Berkeley, who, mounting him behind him, carried him off instantly to the court.

"The coming of Wyatt to the court being so little looked for, was great cause of rejoicing to such as of late before stood in great fear of him."¹ He was immediately committed to the Tower; and a proclamation was made that none, upon pain of death, should conceal in their houses any of his faction, but should bring them forth immediately before the lord-mayor and other the queen's justices. "By reason of this proclamation, a great multitude of these said poor caitiffs were brought forth, being so many in number, that all the prisons in London sufficed not to receive them; so that for lack of place they were fain to bestow them in divers churches of the said city. And shortly after there were set up in London, for a terror to the common sort (because the Whitecoats² being sent out of the city, as before ye have heard, revolted from the queen's part to the aid of Wyatt), twenty pair gallows, on the which were hanged in several places to

the number of fifty persons, which gallowses remained standing there a great part of the summer following, to the great grief of good citizens, and for example to the commotioners."³ In the course of a few weeks, about fifty officers, knights, and gentlemen were put to death. Twenty-two common soldiers were sent down to Kent with Brett, the captain of the Train-bands, who had deserted at Rochester-bridge, and they were there executed as traitors, and gibbeted. About sixty were led in procession, with halters about their necks, to the Tilt-yard, where the queen granted them a pardon. About 400 common men, in all, suffered death between the 7th of February and the 12th of March, and many were executed afterwards.⁴

The day after the breaking out of Wyatt's rebellion was known at court, the queen resolved to arrest her half-sister Elizabeth and her former favourite, the handsome Courtenay, Earl of Devon, who were both suspected (and it is by no means clear that they were falsely suspected) of being partakers in the plot. She sent three of her council—Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis—with a strong guard, to Ashridge, in Buckinghamshire, where Elizabeth was suffering a real or feigned sickness. The worthy councillors did not arrive at the manor-house till ten o'clock at night; the princess had gone to rest, and refused to see them; but, in spite of the remonstrances of her ladies, they rudely burst into her chamber, and carried her in a litter to the capital. The deep interest she excited among the Londoners alarmed her enemies; and, after undergoing a rigid examination by the privy council respecting Wyatt's insurrection and the rising of Carew in the west—of both of which attempts she protested she was entirely innocent—she was dismissed from court in about a fortnight, and allowed to return to Ashridge. The handsome Courtenay was committed to the Tower, in spite of his protestations of innocence. But Elizabeth had scarcely been liberated when Sir William Sentlow, one of her officers, was arrested as an adherent of Wyatt's; it was asserted that Wyatt had accused the princess, and stated that he had conveyed to her in a bracelet the whole scheme of his plot; and on the 15th of March she was again taken into custody and brought to Hampton Court. On the Friday before Palm Sunday, Bishop Gardiner, chancellor, and nineteen members of the council, went down to her from the queen, and charged her directly with being concerned, not only in Wyatt's conspiracy, but also in the rebellion of Sir Peter Carew, and declared unto her that it was the queen's pleasure she should go to the Tower.

"Upon Saturday following," says Holinshed (or rather Fox, whose words the old chronicler

¹ Holinshed.

² The Trained Bands.

³ Holinshed.

⁴ Holinshed; Stow; Grafton; Godwin.

here transcribes), "that is, the next day, two lords of the council (the one was the Earl of Sussex, the other shall be nameless) came and certified her grace, that forthwith she must go unto the Tower, the barge being prepared for her, and the tide now ready. In heavy mood her grace requested the lords that she might tarry another tide. But one of the lords replied, that neither tide nor time was to be delayed. And when her grace requested him that she might be suffered to write to the queen's majesty, he answered that he durst not permit that. But the other lord, more courteous and favourable (who was the Earl of Sussex), kneeling down, said she should have liberty to write, and, as a true man, he would deliver it to the queen's highness, and bring an answer of the same, whatsoever came thereof." Whereupon she wrote a letter, which has been preserved. She began by referring to some former promises made to her by her sister Mary. She proceeded humbly to beseech her majesty to grant her an audience, that she might answer before herself, and not before the members of the privy council, who might falsely represent her, and that she might be heard by the queen before going to the Tower, if possible; if not, at least before she should be further condemned. After many protestations of innocence and expressions of her hope in the queen's natural kindness, she told Mary that there was something which she thought and believed her majesty would never know properly unless she heard her with her own ears. She then continued: "I have heard in my time of many cast away, for want of coming to the presence of their prince; and in late days I heard my Lord of Somerset say, that if his brother had been suffered to speak with him, he had never suffered; but the persuasions were made to him so great, that he was brought in to believe that he could not live safely if the admiral lived; and that made him give his consent to his death. Though these persons are not to be compared to your majesty, yet I pray God, as (that) evil persuasions persuade not one sister against the other; and all for that they have heard false report, and not hearkened to the truth known. Therefore, once again, kneeling with humbleness of my heart, because I am not suffered to bow the knees of my body, I humbly crave to speak with your highness. . . And as for the traitor Wyatt, he might peradventure write me a letter, but, on my faith, I never received any from him. And as for the copy of my letter sent to the French king, I pray God confound me eternally, if ever I sent him word, message, token, or letter by any means; and to this, my truth, I will stand in to my death."¹

¹ Sir Henry Ellis's *Collection of Original Letters*. Hearne has printed the same letter in his preface to the Latin edition of

This letter, which was much more spirited than might have been expected, particularly if we reflect that Elizabeth, in all probability, was not ignorant of the plan of the rebellion, availed her nothing. She never received the "only one word of answer" for which she humbly craved in a postscript; and upon the morrow, which was Palm Sunday, strict orders were issued throughout London that every one should keep the church and carry his palm; and while the Londoners, men, women, and children, were thus engaged, Elizabeth was secretly carried down to the Tower by water, attended by the Earl of Surrey and the other *nameless* lord. The barge stopped under Traitors' Gate. Then, coming out with one foot



TRAITORS' GATE, TOWER OF LONDON.²—From a view by Storer.

upon the stair, she said, "Here landeth as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs; and before thee, O God, I speak it, having none other friend but thee alone!" Going a little further, she sat down on a stone to rest herself; and when the lieutenant of the Tower begged her to rise and come in out of the wet and cold, she said, "Better sitting here than in a worse place, for God knoweth whither you bring me." She evidently apprehended an immediate

Camden's *Annals*. The original is in the State Paper Office; a transcript among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum.

² The Traitors' Gate was entered from the Thames by means of a boat, and was only used for the admission of important personages as state prisoners. The above view is taken from the moat; the opening of the gate towards the river is on the right.

execution; but the lords carried her to an inner apartment, and left her there in great dismay, after seeing the door well locked, bolted, and barred.¹

But before Elizabeth entered the Tower gates other interesting victims had issued from them to the grave. The Lady Jane Grey, who had been condemned to death three months before, was indulging in the hope of a free pardon when the ill-managed insurrection broke out. It appears very evident that Mary had no intention of executing the sentence upon her, but *now* she was easily made to believe that the life of the Lady Jane was incompatible with her own safety; and, in less than a week after Sir Thomas Wyatt's discomfiture, she signed the death-warrant both for Jane and her husband. On the morning of the 12th of February the Lord Guildford Dudley was delivered to the sheriffs and conducted to the scaffold on Tower-hill, where, after saying his prayers and shedding a few tears, he laid his head on the block and died quietly. The fate of this young man excited great commiseration among the people, and as it was calculated that that of his wife would make a still greater impression, it was resolved to execute her more privately within the walls of the Tower. Mary showed what she and all Catholics considered a laudable anxiety for the soul of this youthful sacrifice, and Fecknam, a very Catholic dean of St. Paul's, tormented her in her last hours with arguments and disputations; but it appears that she was steadfast in the faith which she had embraced, and the doctrines of which she had studied under learned teachers with unusual care. On the dreadful morning she had the strength of mind to decline a meeting with her husband, saying that it would rather foment their grief than be a comfort in death, and that they should shortly meet in a better place and more happy estate. She even saw him conducted towards Tower-hill, and, with the same settled spirit that was fixed upon immortality, she beheld his headless trunk when it was returned to be buried in the chapel of the Tower. By this time her own scaffold, made upon the green within the verge of the Tower, was all ready; and almost as soon as her husband's body passed towards the chapel the lieutenant led her forth, she being "in countenance nothing cast down, neither her eyes anything moistened with tears, although her gentlewomen, Elizabeth Tilney and Mistress Helen, wonderfully wept." She had a book in her hand, wherein she prayed until she came to the scaffold. From that platform she addressed a few modest words to the few by-standers, stating that she had justly deserved her punishment for suffering herself to be made the instrument,

though unwillingly, of the ambition of others, and that she hoped her fate might serve as a memorable example in after times. She then implored God's mercy, caused herself to be disrobed by her gentlewomen, veiled her own eyes with her handkerchief, and laid her head on the block, exhorting the lingering executioner to the performance of his office. At last the axe fell, and her lovely head rolled away from the body, drawing tears from the eyes of the spectators, yea, even of those who, from the very beginning, were best affected to Queen Mary's cause.²

The father of Lady Jane, the Duke of Suffolk, who had been beaten and taken, like a blundering schoolboy, and who was not worthy of the child whom his ambition and imbecility sacrificed, was tried on the 17th of February. He went to Westminster Hall with a cheerful and a very stout countenance, but at his return he was very pensive and heavy, desiring all men to pray for him. There was need, for he was condemned to die the death of a traitor, and there was no hope of another pardon for this man, whose "facility to by-practices" had occasioned all or most of these troubles. On the 23d of February, eleven days after the execution of his daughter and son-in-law, he was publicly beheaded on Tower-hill. Other executions and numerous committals took place while Elizabeth lay in that state prison. Sir Thomas Wyatt met his fate with great fortitude on the 11th of April, solemnly declaring in his last moments that neither the Princess Elizabeth nor Courtenay was privy to his plans. About a fortnight after this execution, Lord Thomas Grey, brother to the late Duke of Suffolk, was beheaded on Tower-hill; and a little later, the learned William Thomas, late clerk of the council, who had attempted suicide in the Tower, was conveyed to Tyburn, and there hanged, headed, and quartered.

Several times Elizabeth fancied that her last hour was come. Early in the month of May the constable of the Tower was discharged of his office, and Sir Henry Bedingsfield, a bigoted and cruel man, was appointed in his stead. This new constable went suddenly to the fortress with 100 soldiers: the princess, marvellously discomforted, asked of the persons about her whether the Lady Jane's scaffold were taken down or not, fearing that her own turn was come. The circumstance of Bedingsfield's appointment seemed very suspicious: seventy years before Sir James Tyrrel had been suddenly substituted for Sir Robert Brackenbury, and in the night of mystery and horror that followed Tyrrel's arrival in the Tower, the two princes of the house of York had disappeared, and, as it was generally believed, had been savagely murdered in their bed.

¹ *Holinshed, from Foz.*

² *Bishop Godwin: De Thou.*

But Elizabeth's fears were groundless; her sister had no intention of taking her life; and a few days after, on the 19th of May, the royal captive was conveyed by water from the Tower to Richmond: from Richmond she was removed to Windsor, and from Windsor to Woodstock, where

cumstance which did not seem exactly calculated to give him confidence. The Lord-admiral of England fired at the Spanish navy when Philip was on board, because they had not lowered their topsails as a mark of deference to the English navy in the narrow seas. Four days after his

arrival the prince travelled to Winchester, and there he was met, on the following morning (it being a wet day), by his mature bride Mary, who took no pains to conceal her impatience, being enabled in her conscience to plead her anxiety for a legitimate and holy Roman succession as the only means of securing the faith in England. They had a long familiar talk, and, on the feast of St. James, the titular saint of Spain—their nuptials were celebrated at Winchester with great pomp.

Mary had summoned parliament some three months before her husband's arrival: both houses showed that they were still jealous of the Spaniard, and they adopted further precautions to prevent

his ruling as a king in England. Philip brought large sums of money with him; but even money could not win him the good-will of the corrupt courtiers. In a word, no one loved him but Mary; and the fondness of a sick and excessively jealous wife was anything but agreeable. He soon showed her the real motives of his marriage, which were, to become absolute master of England, to wear the crown as if in his own right, and to dispose of all the resources of the country in his schemes of aggrandizement on the Continent. Though a bigot, he was certainly less anxious about the question of religion. Mary would have gratified him at the sacrifice of the interests and liberties of her people: she summoned a new parliament, and neglected no means likely to render it compliant. The Spanish gold was distributed with a liberal hand; and, imitating the precedent of former reigns, she wrote circular letters, commanding and imploring that the counties and boroughs would return such members as were wholly devoted to her interests and pleasures. This parliament met at Westminster on the 12th of November: the lords being as subservient as ever—the commons consisting wholly of Catholics or of men indifferent to the great question of religion. Both houses were ready to second the queen's bigotry, always with the old exception that she should by no means force them to surrender the temporal fruits of their late schism. In the preceding parliament, Mary had thought it prudent to retain



WOODSTOCK, as existing A.D. 1714.

she was finally fixed under the vigilant eyes of the severe and suspicious Bedingfield. Six days after her liberation, Courtenay, Earl of Devon, was delivered out of the Tower and sent down to Fotheringay Castle, where he was watched with equal vigilance. Meanwhile preparations were making for the queen's marriage, and the people of London occasionally gave unequivocal proofs of their hatred of it, and of the changes introduced in the national religion. On one Sunday in June, as Dr. Pendleton was preaching Papistry at Paul's Cross, he was shot at and nearly killed. A little before, the court and clergy were greatly enraged at finding a cat, with her head shorn and dressed like a Roman priest, hanged on a gallows in Cheapside; and a little after, a still more violent excitement was produced by a poor wench who played the part of a spirit, and anticipated some of the impositions of the Cock Lane ghost, "expressing certain seditious words against the queen, the Prince of Spain, the mass, confession, &c."¹

On the 19th of July, Philip, Prince of Spain, arrived in Southampton Water. As the Count of Egmont, one of his ambassadors, had been violently assaulted some short time before by the people, who took him for his master, Philip came well attended with a body-guard and troops, and he lingered a few days at the place of his disembarkation, as if in order to ascertain the humour of the nation. There was a little cir-

¹ Stow.

the title of Supreme Head of the Church; but now she resolved to obtain a repeal of the act passed in the time of her father, which irrevocably annexed that title to the crown. The jealous possessors of abbey lands and monastic property saw a long way beyond this mere renunciation of a title; and they would not repeal the Act of Supremacy, until the queen caused to be submitted to them the pope's explicit confirmation of the abbey lands to their new proprietors, which confirmation had been conceded from a conviction that he must either receive the English penitents on their own terms or lose them altogether. The pope's confirmation was delivered through Cardinal Pole, the new legate for England, whose attainder had been reversed by the present parliament. With their minds thus set at ease as to their goods and chattels,¹ both houses were wonderfully compliant in matters of faith. They listened with contrite countenances to an invitation from the lord-cardinal to return to the bosom of holy mother church; they voted an address to Philip and Mary, acknowledging their repentance of the schism in which they had been living, declaring their readiness to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the only true church, and imploring their majesties and the lord-cardinal to intercede with the pope for their absolution and forgiveness. Gardiner presented this petition to Pole, and Pole, in the name of the pope, forthwith gave full absolution to the parliament and whole kingdom of England; and this being done, they all went to the royal chapel in procession, singing *Te Deum*. Without the least hesitation parliament revived the old brutal laws against heretics, enacted statutes against seditious words, and made it treason to imagine or attempt the death of Philip during his marriage with the queen. But when Mary's minister proposed that Philip should wear, if not the royal, at least the matrimonial crown, they showed a resolute opposition, and the queen was obliged to drop the project of his coronation, as well as that of getting him declared presumptive heir to the crown. Nor was she more successful when she attempted to obtain subsidies from the commons, in order

to support her husband and the emperor in their wars with France. Philip found it necessary to court popularity, and recommended the release of some of the most distinguished of the prisoners in the Tower. The handsome Earl of Devon received permission to travel on the Continent, but he died soon after (in 1556) at Padua.²

In her exceeding anxiety for issue, Mary mistook the commencement of a drowsy for the sure sign of pregnancy; and when Cardinal Pole was introduced to her on his happy return to England, she fondly fancied that the child was quickened, even as John the Baptist leaped in his mother's womb at the salutation of the Virgin! On the 27th of November the lord-mayor of London, with the aldermen all in scarlet, assembled according to commandment in St. Paul's Church at nine o'clock in the morning, and in a great fog or mist. Dr. Chadsey, one of the prebends, preached in the choir in the presence of Bonner, Bishop of London, and nine other bishops; and, before he began, he read a letter from the queen's council, the tenor whereof was, that the Bishop of London should send out certain forms of prayer,³ wherein, after thanksgiving to God for his great mercies to this kingdom in giving hopes of an heir to the crown, and infusing life into the embryo, they should pray for the preservation of the queen and the infant, and for her happy delivery, and cause *Te Deum* to be sung everywhere. But the business did not end at St. Paul's Church: it was taken up in both houses of parliament, and it gave great occupation to the whole court. "For then," says Godwin, "by parliament many things were enacted concerning the education of the babe; and much clatter was elsewhere kept about preparations for the child's swaddling-clothes, cradle, and other things requisite at the delivery; until, in June in the ensuing year, it was manifested that all was little better than a dream." The parliament, in fact, passed a law, which, in case of the queen's demise, appointed Philip protector during the minority of the infant; but this was all that could be obtained in favour of the suspected Spaniard; and shortly after Mary dissolved the parliament in ill-humour.⁴

¹ Michele, the Venetian ambassador, says that the English in general would have turned Jews or Turks, if their sovereign pleased; but the restoration of the abbey lands by the crown kept alive a constant dread among all those who possessed church property. The restitution of the church lands, which had been in the hands of the crown, cost Mary £60,000 a-year of her revenue.

² *Ambassades de Noailles; Stow; Holinshed; Godwin; Michele, Relazione; Strype; Burnet; Nares' Memoirs of Lord Burghley.*—The title of Courtenay, Earl of Devon, remained dormant, from the death of this young nobleman, for nearly three centuries, till the claim to the inheritance of the honour was established in 1831 by the present earl. For the history of the house of Courtenay,

one of the most ancient and illustrious in Europe, see Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. lxi.

³ Several of the prayers used on this occasion have been preserved. They were composed by different priests, who nearly all thought it necessary to pray that the child might be a male child, "well-favoured and witty," with strength and valour to keep down the heretics.

⁴ It appears from Mary's will, which was dated the 30th of April, 1558, or about seven months before her death, that, down to that time, she was confident of being *enainte*, for she made a provision for settling the crown on her issue.—Sir Frederick Madden, *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary; Introduct. Memoir and Copy of Will in Appendix.*

CHAPTER XII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1555—1558.

MARY.

Commencement of the Marian persecutions—The married priests compelled to do penance—Execution of John Rogers, of Bishop Hooper, of Bishop Ferrar, of Dr. Rowland Taylor, of William Branch—Other executions—Cruelties of the Popish bishops, Gardiner and Bonner—Trial of Cramer, Ridley, and Latimer—Execution of Ridley and Latimer—Their behaviour at the stake—Philip leaves England—Mary alarms the holders of church lands—Demur of parliament in voting supplies—Death of Bishop Gardiner—Attempts to make Cranmer recant—His recantation—Treachery of his enemies—His execution—Cardinal Pole made Archbishop of Canterbury—Fresh executions of Protestants—Summary of Popish atrocities—Treatment of Princess Elizabeth—Her politic compliances—Competitors for her hand—Cruel persecution of her tutor, Sir John Cheke—An inquisitorial commission established against the Protestants—Its despotic powers and iniquitous proceedings—Increase of immorality with persecution—Abdication of the Emperor Charles V.—He is succeeded by his son Philip—Designs and coalitions of the pope against Philip—Philip's successes in Italy—He revisits England—Endeavours to persuade England to go to war with France—His endeavours seconded by an accident—He obtains reinforcements of English troops—They distinguish themselves at St. Quentin—The Duke of Guise takes the command of the French army—He unexpectedly invests Calais—Careless defences of the town—Calais stormed, and its English garrison compelled to surrender—Grief of the English nation at the loss of Calais—Mary of Guise, Queen-dowager of Scotland—Becomes Regent of Scotland—Endeavours to set the Scots at war with England—Marriage of Mary, daughter of James V., to the French dauphin—An English army invades France—Death of Queen Mary—Her character.



OR the Protestants this year (1555) opened most gloomily. The queen sent Thomas Thirlby, the new Bishop of Ely, the Lord Anthony Montacute, and Sir Edward Carne, or Karne, with a very honourable train of gentlemen and others, as ambassadors to Rome, to confirm the reconciliation of the nation with the Catholic church, and concert measures for the promotion of the old religion, to the exclusion of all others. But Mary wanted no foreign advisers to urge her into the paths of intolerance and persecution. The conviction was deeply settled in her heart's core, and in her brain—and there were bishops of English birth to insist upon it—that toleration in religion only led to indifference and the eternal perdition of men's souls—that any reconciliation of parties or sects was not to be thought of—that it was the duty of religious princes to exterminate the heretical infection—that the *mass of the people*,¹ after all, were attached to the discipline and doctrine of the only true church; and that those of them who were not, would soon come back into the right way if all the heretical portion of the clergy, particularly the bishops, were taken

from them, and treated with wholesome severity. The prisons were already crowded—the inquisitors had only to choose their victims, and prepare their stakes and fagots. There were several preludes and preparations to accustom the people to the degradation of these spiritual teachers, whom, only two years before, all had been bound by law to revere and obey. Some married priests, who would not leave their wives, were sent in procession round St. Paul's Church with white sheets over them, and burning tapers and scourges in their hands; and when this humiliating ceremony was over, they were publicly whipped. These scenes were repeated in different parts of the kingdom; and the unlucky wives of clergymen were occasionally treated with equal contumely.²

The revived statutes against heretics—that is to say, the acts first passed against the Lollards in the times of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V.—were to take effect from the 20th of January (1555). Previous to that great day of rejoicing, Bonner, with eight bishops and 160 orthodox priests, made a grand procession through London to return thanks to the Almighty for the sudden renewal of Divine grace in the land. Then a commission sat in the church of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, for the trial of Protestants. The first man brought before them was John Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, who had been lying in Newgate among cut-throats and desperadoes for more than a year. When questioned and brow-beaten by his judge, Rogers pointedly asked, "Did not you, yourself, for

¹ Notwithstanding the progress made by the Reformation during the short reign of Edward VI., it is probable that this statement was correct. In London, and the great cities generally, there were many Protestants, but in the rural districts their number was comparatively small. There appears, however, to have been a great difference in this respect among the counties. Norfolk and Suffolk, for example, were to a great extent Protestant, and no part of England suffered so much from Mary's persecutions, though they, in effect, had set her on the throne upon promises which her bigotry could never permit her to keep.

² Holinshed; Grafton; Stow; Strype.

twenty years, pray against the pope?" "I was forced by cruelty," replied Bishop Gardiner. "And will you use the like cruelty to us?" said Rogers. The court sentenced him to the flames.¹ On the night after Rogers' martyrdom in Smithfield the Protestant Bishop Hooper, one of the pillars of the Reformed church, was told that he was to be burned, not in Smithfield, however, but at Gloucester, among his own people: and at Gloucester



PLACE OF BISHOP HOOPER'S MARTYRDOM, GLOUCESTER.²
From a sketch on the spot.

he was burned in a slow fire on the 9th of February. The same course was adopted with Robert Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, a rigid man and of a rough behaviour, who was sent down from London to his own diocese, where he was burned alive on the 30th of March. About the same time fires were lighted in other parts of the kingdom. On the eastern side, on the very day that Bishop Hooper was burned at Gloucester, Dr. Rowland Taylor, who had lived for some time in the family of Archbishop Cranmer, who preferred him to the rectory of Hadleigh, in Suffolk, was burned in that town. This Taylor was one of the boldest of those who suffered for conscience sake, and, like nearly every one of those Protestant martyrs, he was a man of humble birth. From this Rowland Taylor descended the eloquent, the learned, the great and amiable Jeremy Taylor, the antagonist of the Church of

Rome, and yet the advocate of toleration—one of the first and best of that holy band who taught that God was not served by the torment of his creatures. The now prevalent fanaticism of the Papists occasionally awoke a like spirit on the part of the Protestants. On Easter Day, the most solemn festival of the Roman church, one William Branch, or Flower, who had once been a monk of Ely, but who had embraced the Reformed religion, stabbed a priest as he was administering the sacrament to the people in the manner of Rome in the church of St. Margaret's, Westminster. No crime could be so frightful as this in the eyes of the Catholics; there was no hope of escaping from a crowded church, and the enthusiast does not appear to have attempted it. On the 24th of April his *sacrilegious* right hand was cut off, and then, "for opinions in matters of religion," he was burned in the sanctuary near to St. Margaret's Churchyard.³

During the festivities of Easter the Princess Elizabeth was summoned to court, that she might congratulate the queen, who had taken her chamber at Hampton Court, to be delivered; and it should seem that Elizabeth acquitted herself very dexterously on this delicate occasion. But, to return to the chief business of this deplorable reign, John Cardmaker, chancellor of the church of Wells, was burned at London on the last day of May; and John Bradford suffered the same cruel death at the same place about a month later. A little before, or a little after these executions in the capital, Thomas Hawkes, an Essex gentleman, was burned at Coggeshall; John Lawrence, a priest, at Colchester; Tomkins, a weaver, at Shoreditch; Pigott, a butcher, at Braintree; Knight, a barber, at Maldon; and Hunter, an apprentice to a silk-weaver, at Brentwood.

Bishop Gardiner, the chancellor, who was far less cruel than many, soon grew weary of presiding in the horrible court at the church of St. Mary Overy: he withdrew as early as the month of February, when his duties devolved on an apter spirit, Bonner, Bishop of London, who possessed all the essentials for an inquisitor and familiar of the Holy Office in a greater degree than any Englishman we ever heard of. This prelate sat in the consistory of St. Paul's, where the

stood by consoling him, in such a way that he looked as if they were conducting him to a merry marriage."

² Hooper was burned in the church-yard of St. Mary de Lode, in Gloucester. The spot on which his martyrdom was consummated, long pointed out by tradition, was indubitably ascertained in 1826, by finding upon it the remains of the charred stake to which he had been attached. It is now marked by the small monument represented in the engraving. In the back ground is the western gate of the abbey, from which the priests witnessed the martyr's sufferings.

³ *Stow; Godwin.*

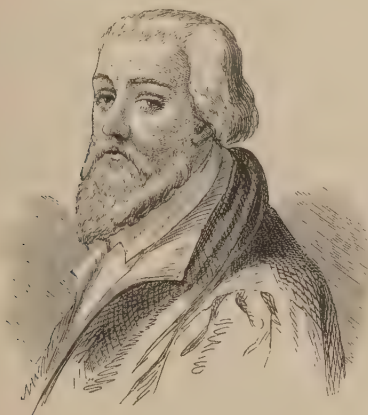
¹ Fuller; Godwin; Blunt; Despatches of Noailles, the French ambassador. This execution produced a great effect upon the people, but one altogether different from what the wretched Mary and her bishops expected. Noailles, who was a Catholic, says, "This day the confirmation of the alliance between the pope and this kingdom has been made by a public and solemn sacrifice of a preaching doctor named Rogers, who has been burned alive for being a Lutheran; but he has met his death persisting in his opinion. At which the greater part of the people here took such pleasure that they did not fear to give him many acclamations to comfort his courage; and even his children

lord-mayor and certain of the aldermen were forced to attend. In this court he could, with ease and great comfort to himself, condemn men to the flames at the rate of half a dozen a-day; but even Bonner was too slow for the government; the privy council kept continually urging him forward in this frightful persecution; and Mary and her husband addressed to him one letter (if not more), as if even he wanted excitement to the prosecution of heretics.¹ Cardinal Pole, whose moderation and mercy caused him to be suspected at Rome of entertaining himself some heretical notions, in vain endeavoured to stop the destructive torrent, and to prove to Mary and her government that the practice of persecution was not only highly dangerous to themselves but the scandal of all religion.

Ever since the month of March of the preceding year, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, had been removed from the Tower to Oxford. The two latter, like the primate, had favoured the usurpation of the Lady Jane; and Ridley with great spirit, honestly avowed that he had acted with his eyes open—that he had never been actuated by fear of Northumberland or of any one else, but merely by a conviction that that step was

amenable to the same charge of treason as Cranmer; but for very evident purposes it was resolved to sink this offence in the more awful charge of heresy. The timid character of the primate was well known, and the Catholic party seem to have considered it possible to force all three to recant.

On the 14th of April, about five weeks after their first arrival at Oxford, they were brought out of their prisons to St. Mary's Church, where questions relating to transubstantiation, and the efficacy of the mass as a sacrifice and propitiation for the sins of quick and dead, were submitted to them. They were allowed to debate these points in public, and, if they could convince their mortal enemies, then their prison gates would be opened. But the orthodox controversialists did not give themselves the trouble to preserve even the appearance of fair play; they would allow their opponents no books—no time for preparation—nor would they let them argue together. Cranmer was to face alone their entire battery on the 16th of April, Ridley on the 17th, and Latimer on the 18th. On the day appointed Cranmer appeared before the consistory assembled in the divinity school, and, with more courage than had been expected from him, he proceeded to support the tenets which he had taught; but there were many voices to one; the doctors called him unlearned, unskilful, ignorant; and the Oxford scholars very generally hissed and hooted, and clapped their hands, whenever he advanced any opinion they disliked. On the following day Ridley appeared in the same place, and met with much the same treatment; but Ridley had more nerve than Cranmer, and more learning than Latimer, and to him is generally attributed the glory of the contest on the Protestant side. But he might as well have held his tongue, for, whenever he pressed them closely with an argumentative syllogism, they all lifted up their voices against him together. "I have but one tongue," cried Ridley; "I cannot answer at once to you all." When poor Latimer was brought up to be baited on the following day, he was so weak and faint that he could scarcely stand. In spite of the persecutions which he had himself directed when the current ran in a different direction, his appearance was calculated to excite sympathy in every breast except those of controversialists and dogmatists. "Ha! good master," said the aged prelate to one of his judges, "I pray ye be good to an old man. You may be once as old as I am; you may come to this age, and this debility." Cranmer and Ridley had disputed in Latin, but Latimer spoke in his mother tongue, and was the better understood. But they would not permit him to proceed without frequent interruptions; and the Oxford scholars



NICHOLAS RIDLEY, Bishop of London.—From a rare print.

necessary and indispensable for the preservation of the Protestant religion. If Cranmer had had the same decision and courage, it is possible that affairs might have taken a different turn, or, at the worst, he would have had a better excuse to plead than that of his having gone into the scheme of excluding Mary against his conscience, being overpowered by the importunities of the dying Edward. Ridley, and Latimer also, were

¹ Burnet; Strype; Hallam, *Const. Hist.* Burnet gives, in his *Collection of Records*, a letter from the king and queen to Bishop Bonner, recommending more activity.

hissed and hooted and laughed at him, making altogether such a din that the divinity school looked more like a bear-garden than a scene appointed for the discussion of dogmas deemed essential to the salvation of men's souls. Poor Latimer, a man of humble birth, and simple, if



HUGH LATIMER, Bishop of Worcester.—From a rare print.

not rustic manners, said, with a *naïveté* which would be amusing in other circumstances, that in his time and day he had spoken before two great kings more than once, for two or three hours together, without interruption; "but now," he added, "if I may speak the truth, by your leaves, I cannot be suffered to declare my mind before you, no, not by the space of a quarter of an hour, without snatches, revilings, checks, rebukes, taunts, such as I have not felt the like in such an audience all my life long." On the 28th of April he was again, together with Ridley and Cranmer, brought up to St. Mary's Church. They were asked by the commissioners whether they would now turn or not; but they bade them read on, in the name of God, for that they were not minded to turn; and so were they condemned all three! For various reasons the execution of their sentence was suspended for nearly eighteen months, and at the end of that period (on the 16th of October, 1555), Ridley and Latimer were led to the stake without Cranmer, who remained in prison five months longer. In the ditch on the north side of the pleasant town of Oxford, and over against Baliol College, a great stake was erected. It was usual to preach a sermon to the heretics before burning them; and one Dr. Smith, who, for interest or fear, had renounced Popery in King Edward's time, and who was now all the more zealous on that account, mounted the pulpit on this occasion, and delivered a vehement discourse on the text—"Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." When the sermon was over Ridley stripped himself for the fire, giving away his apparel, a new groat, some nutmegs and bits of gin-

ger, a dial, and such other few things as he had about him; and among the by-standers were men too happy to get any rag of him. In the helplessness of old age Latimer had left it to his keeper to strip him; but when he stood up in his *shroud*, erect and fearless, by the side of the fagots, he seemed, in the eyes of some of the beholders, to be no longer the withered and decrepit old man, "but as comely a father as one might lightly behold." Ridley was tied first to the stake. As they were chaining Latimer to the reverse of the stake, the hardy old man exclaimed, "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." Then the flames arose, and Latimer was soon seen to expire in the midst of them; but Ridley's sufferings were long and dreadful. The Lord Williams of Thame, the vice-chancellor of the university, the other commissioners appointed by the court, and a multitude of Oxford scholars and gentlemen, stood by and witnessed the whole, and for the most part with pious and complacent countenances, like men that felt the happy assurance that they were doing God service. But there were other spectators who looked on with very different eyes. The fortitude of the sufferers confirmed Protestants in their faith; every execution made some converts, and went to awaken a thorough and most lasting abhorrence of the persecuting church.¹

About six weeks before these executions at Oxford, King Philip passed over to the Continent, in no very good humour with our island, for he found that he had in a manner thrown himself away in a marriage with a disagreeable woman. Mary's uncomfortable fondness seemed to increase with his absence: she wrote him tender letters, to which he seldom replied, except when he wished her to obtain money for his use from her parliament; and he entertained his courtiers (if not a mistress) with unmanly criticisms on his wife's person and manners. On the 21st of October, five days after the death of Ridley and Latimer, the parliament met in a mood less obsequious than usual, and the queen, in her anxiety to serve the Church of Rome, excited a somewhat stormy opposition. Some months before, in her ardent zeal for the pope, she had the imprudence to consult certain members of the privy council touching the restoration of all the abbey lands in England, which she told them she considered had been taken away from their proper owners in time of schism, and that by unlawful means, and such as were contrary both to the interests of God and of the church. She told them that, for her own part, she considered an immediate sur-

¹ Strype; Fox; Godwin; Blunt

render of what the crown had received essential to salvation. From her vehemence it was expected that she would press for the surrender of the lands by whomsoever held, and on this head the sensitive parliament were never at their ease during the short remainder of her reign. But during the present session she only required them to legalize her restoring the first-fruits and tenths, and the impropriations vested in the crown. Even to this parliament objected; and when the commons came to vote supplies, it was asked, with some violence, what justice there was in taxing the subject to relieve the sovereign's necessities, when she refused to avail herself of funds legally at her disposal?—and it was also suggested that the Catholic clergy, who were growing rich by the royal liberality, ought to make large sacrifices for the relief of their benefactress. At last the house passed the supplies, but with a considerable deduction from the amount originally proposed; and they also passed the bills about the first-fruits, and tenths, and impropriations, but in such a spirit as showed that it would be unsafe to urge them to further concessions in that direction. After a short session, the queen dissolved parliament on the 9th of December.¹ During the session Bishop Gardiner, the chancellor, had gone to his final account. He attended at the opening of the houses, and displayed his usual ability and energy; but on the third day his bodily sufferings obliged him to quit his post, and he expired of a painful dis-

ease on the 12th of November. The great seal was given to another ecclesiastic—to Heath, Archbishop of York; but, though keen in the persecuting of Protestants, the new chancellor had not the talent and address of the old one.

Meanwhile (A.D. 1556) Mary's unthankful husband kept pressing her for money, and still more money. To make up for the scanty supplies voted by parliament, she and her new chancellor had recourse to a variety of illegal and violent expedients. All the money was spent as soon as got; the mass of it went to her husband or to Rome.

It appears that the court calculated that when Cranmer should be no longer supported by the more courageous spirit of Ridley and Latimer, he would temporize, as he had so often done before, and, in the fear of death, take such steps as would cover himself with infamy and bring discredit on the whole Protestant party; and that for these express reasons he was left alive. It should be mentioned, however, that there were other reasons, and that, as a metropolitan, his case was reserved for the pope himself, the tribunal which had despatched the two suffragan bishops not being competent, in canonical law, to take cognizance of it. By a grievous



THE MARTYRS' MEMORIAL, OXFORD.²
From a view by Mackenzie.

mockery the pope cited this close prisoner at Oxford to appear at Rome and answer for his heresies. At the end of the eighty days, having taken no care, as it was said in the Papal instrument, to appear at Rome, he was pronounced guilty, and Bonner, Bishop of London, and Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, were appointed commissioners to degrade him, and to see the sentence executed upon him. Cranmer, who was delivered over to the secular power—for by a delicate fiction the persecuting church was never the executor of its own sentences—trembled at the near ap-

¹ *Journals; Holinshed; Stow.*

² This noble monument, designed to commemorate the deaths of the Protestant martyrs, Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer, was erected in 1841, near the spot which witnessed their sufferings. It is executed in magnesian limestone; has a total height of 73 feet; and is placed in the centre of St. Giles Street, adjoining St. John's College and the University Galleries, Oxford.

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proach of a horrible death, and betrayed that weakness upon which his enemies had calculated. He had written in abject terms to the queen before, and, by receiving the visits in his cell, and listening to the arguments of a learned Spanish monk—a certain friar Soto—and other Catholics, he seems to have wished that it should be believed he was still open to conviction. He now renewed his applications for mercy, and turned a ready ear to those who suggested that mercy might be obtained, though only by recantation. It was a vital point with his enemies to lead him to this; and, if the truth is told, they proceeded with a dexterity and malice truly infernal, softening the hardships of his captivity, which might have rendered death less terrible, and giving him again to taste of the pleasures of life. They removed him to the house of the dean of Christchurch, where he fared delicately, and was allowed to play at bowls and walk about at his pleasure. Not to dwell upon this miserable scene, in which, after all, Cranmer excites rather pity and compassion than contempt, and in which he is far more easily excused than in many others of his preceding career, he formally renounced the faith he had taught, and, as his enemies were not satisfied with his signature to one scroll, he signed recantation after recantation until the number amounted to six!¹ But if we make a charitable and a proper allowance for the weakness of human nature in the case of the victim, we can make none for the diabolical malice of his persecutors, who, when they had thus, as they conceived, loaded him with eternal obloquy, led him to the stake. While the monks and the learned doctors at Oxford were in great jubilee at having brought down to the very mire one of the proudest columns of the Reformed church, Mary sent secret orders to Dr. Cole, provost of Eton College, to prepare his condemned sermon. On the 21st of March the prisoner was brought up to St. Mary's Church, where Cole explained in the sermon that recantance does not avert all punishment, as examples in the Bible proved; that Cranmer had done the church and the Roman Catholics so much mischief that he must die; and that their majesties had, besides, other good reasons for burning him. The fallen Primate of England had learned the day before what was intended for him, and, having no longer the slightest hope of life, he seems to have summoned up resolution to meet his inevitable doom like a man. Some few men—their number was wonderfully small considering that death of torture—had recanted when brought to the stake and offered the queen's pardon on that condition; but it was not to be expected that any one would do so when there was no offer of pardon, but, on the contrary, a

certain assurance of death. Accordingly, Cranmer acted as every man would have done in the like situation; he renounced the pope and all his doctrines—he gave a brief summary of his real faith—he protested against the atrocious means which had been used—he accused himself of having, from fear of death, sacrificed truth and his conscience by subscribing the recantations. It was not convenient to permit him to make a long address; he was soon pulled down from the platform in the church on which he stood, and hurried away to the same ditch, over against Baliol College, where his more fortunate friends, Ridley and Latimer, had suffered five months before. He was stripped to the shirt, and tied to the stake: he made no moan or useless prayer for mercy in this world: the death which he had so dreaded, and for so long a time, seemed less dreadful when he saw it face to face. As soon as the flames began to rise he thrust into them his right hand—that erring hand which had signed the recantations.² The Romish church of England, with all its absolute hopes, may almost be said to have perished in the flames that consumed Cranmer. The impression made by his martyrdom was immense, and as lasting as it was wide and deep. On the side of the Catholics, the putting him to death was as gross an error in policy as it was atrocious and detestable as a crime.

On the very day after Cranmer's death, Cardinal Pole, who had now taken priest's orders, was consecrated and installed Archbishop of Canterbury. But, though primate and Papal legate, and fully convinced of the atrocity and worse than uselessness of persecution, he could not change the temper of the queen, nor stay the bloody hands of her favourites and ministers. Paul IV., who now wore the tiara, had been his personal enemy; and Pole, who apparently had not more courage than Cranmer, seems to have stood in awe of his fierce and intolerant spirit. On the 27th of June thirteen persons, being condemned for opinions concerning the sacrament, were burned at Stratford-le-Bow.³ "Neither did the cruelty of the persecutors exercise itself on the living only: the bones of Martin Bucer and Paul Phagius, long since dead, were dug up, formally accused of heresy, and, no man undertaking their cause (as who durst?), condemned, and publicly burned in the market-place at Cambridge. And Peter Martyr's wife, who died at Oxford, was disinterred, and with barbarous and inhuman spite buried in a dunghill."⁴

In order that we may not have to return to this revolting subject, we will here throw together a few other incidents, in completion of the picture of Mary's persecutions. From the mar-

² Godwin; Burnet; Strype; Blunt, *Sketch of the Reformation*.

³ Stow.

⁴ Godwin.

¹ Strype has published them all. See *Eccles. Mem.* iv. 407.

tyrdom of John Rogers, who suffered on the 4th of February, 1555, about six months after Mary's accession, to the five last victims, who were burned at Canterbury on the 10th of November, 1558, only seven days before her death, not fewer than 288 individuals, among whom were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, fifty-five women, and four children, were burned in different places for their religious opinions; and, in addition to these, there were several hundreds who were tortured, ruined in their goods and estates, and many poor and friendless victims that were left to die of hunger in their prisons. With the exception of some few of the churchmen, these individuals were almost entirely of the middling or humbler classes—the rich and great, as we have noticed, and as has been observed by several writers before us, showing little disposition to martyrdom. Only eight laymen of the rank of gentlemen are named; but it would be unjust to represent all the aristocracy as supple hypocrites, though they did not expose themselves voluntarily to persecution. The Earls of Oxford and Westmoreland and Lord Willoughby got into trouble, and were censured by the council for religion; and the second Earl of Bedford suffered a short imprisonment. Among those who were said to have “contemptuously gone over the seas,” there were several persons of rank, whose property and interests suffered during their forced travels on the Continent. Other individuals, who held profitable places under government, voluntarily resigned them, and retired to the obscurity of a country life. The politic Cecil, who in heart and in head detested the course pursued, which he saw to be as bad in a political as in a religious light, conformed outwardly to what he could not resist; and it is said that he drew the line of conduct for the Princess Elizabeth, recommending humility and obedience, and certain compliances with the times. But it is quite certain that Elizabeth possessed a natural turn both for simulation and dissimulation, and that she scarcely stood in need of a guide and instructor in these particulars. She opened a chapel in her house, as commanded; she entertained mass-priests; she kept a large crucifix constantly suspended in her chamber; she worked with her own hands garments for saints and Madonnas; and, when permitted to visit the court, and take part in the entertainments, she also, as a price paid therefor, accompanied the queen in her religious processions, which

were conducted with great pomp, and in her visits to the re-Catholicized churches, which were in part restored to more than their ancient magnificence.¹ Elizabeth suffered more annoyance and persecution in the way of matrimony than on account of religion. Philip, who was most anxious to remove her by marriage out of the kingdom, proposed, and in fact insisted that she should give her hand to the Duke of Savoy, who came into England to press his own suit; but the princess obstinately refused, and had the art or good fortune to gain over to her side her sister Mary, who rarely opposed the wishes of her husband. Soon after the King of Sweden tried to obtain her hand for his eldest son Eric. The Swedish ambassador intrusted with this delicate mission was directed by his sovereign to make his application directly to Elizabeth herself, by a message in which neither the queen nor her council was at present to participate. Elizabeth, who confidently looked to the succession of the English crown, as one well aware of the state of Mary's health and of her own great popularity with a large portion of the nation, not only rejected the suit, but resolved to turn the gallant and generous mode in which it was opened by the Swede to her own immediate advantage. She declared that she could never listen to any overtures of this nature which had not previously received the sanction of her majesty. Her majesty was charmed at this declaration, and the two sisters thenceforward lived in tolerable friendship. Elizabeth, who lavished her protestations of gratitude for the queen's goodness—her acknowledgments that she was bound to honour,



HATFIELD HOUSE, HERTFORDSHIRE.—From Hall's Baronial Halls.

serve, love, and obey her highness in all things—passed the greater part of the remainder of her sister's reign at her pleasant manor of Hatfield,

¹ *Relazione*, by Michele, the Venetian ambassador; *Despatches*.

with few privations, and no personal hardships to endure. A tender heart might have been racked and tortured by the fate of others; and in one particular case the royally dull feelings of Elizabeth must have been touched. Sir John Cheke, one of the finest scholars of that period—one of the best of men if he had risen above the intolerance and persecuting spirit of his age, had been preceptor to her brother King Edward, and had assisted in her own education. Sir John got free from the Tower, into which he was thrown for the part he had taken in the affair of Lady Jane Grey, but all his landed property was confiscated. Having obtained her majesty's permission to travel on the Continent for a limited period, he went to Switzerland. Led by his love of classical lore, he crossed the Alps into Italy, and even visited Rome, the head-quarters of the religion which he had attacked. In the beginning of 1556 he reached Strasburg, whence he addressed a letter to his dear friend and brother-in-law, Sir William Cecil, imploring him to hold fast his Protestant faith. From Strasburg Sir John Cheke privately repaired on a visit to his two learned friends Lord Paget and Sir John Mason, who were then Mary's ambassadors in Flanders. Both these men were recent court converts to Catholicism, and Paget had testified great zeal. On his return, between Brussels and Antwerp, Cheke, with his companion Sir Peter Carew, was arrested by a provost-marshal of King Philip, bound hand and foot, thrown into a cart, and conveyed to a vessel which was about to sail for England. It seems that his leave of absence had expired, and that there was no new political offence to be alleged against him except his not returning home at the time fixed. But in these cruel proceedings the queen and her husband, and the zealots of their party, aimed at a high object. Cheke, though a layman, had done almost as much as Crammer in consolidating the Protestant church, and it was resolved to force him to recant. Gagged and muffled, he was thrown into the Tower, and, to escape the stake and the miseries to which he was subjected, he signed three ample recantations, and publicly proclaimed his acceptance of all the tenets and doctrines of the Roman church. But this was not deemed price enough for a liberation from prison to shame and obloquy: he was made to applaud the heavenly mercy of his persecutors; nay, it is said that he was obliged to take his seat on the bench by the side of Bishop Bonner, and assist that English inquisitor in sentencing his brother Protestants to the flames at Smithfield. Shame, remorse, and affliction caused this accom-

plished man to die in the forty-seventh year of his age of a death more terrible than burning.

Although the Inquisition never obtained a name or formal establishment in England, all the worst practices of that institution were adopted. An ecclesiastical commission was appointed, without authority of parliament, for the effectual extirpation of heresy. The commissioners were empowered to inquire into all heresies, either by presentments, by witnesses, or by any other political way they could devise—to seize the bringers in, the sellers, the readers of all heretical books—to examine and punish all misbehaviour in any church or chapel, and negligence in attending mass, confession, and the rest—to try all priests that did not preach pure Roman orthodoxy—and if they found any that did obstinately persist in their heresies, they were to put them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be punished according to the spiritual laws. The commissioners had also full power to break open houses, to search premises, to compel the attendance of witnesses, “and to force them to make oath of such things as might discover what they sought after.”¹ It appears from letters written to Lord North and others, that there was a standing order “to put to the torture such obstinate persons as would not confess.” Informers were encouraged and courted; so that nearly every villain could gratify his spite on his personal enemies by accusing them of heresy or of disrespectful words; and, at the same time, secret spies were retained, who not only frequented public places, but also invaded the sacred privacy of domestic life. The justices of the peace received instructions to call secretly before them one or two honest persons within their districts, or more, at their discretion, and impose on them by oath or otherwise, the duty of secretly learning and searching out such persons as “evil behaved themselves” in church, or that spoke against the king's or queen's proceedings. And it was set down in the same diabolical instructions, “that the information shall be given *secretly* to the justices; and the same justices shall call the accused persons before them, and examine them, without declaring by whom they are accused.”² Although the character of the upper classes of society had been wofully deteriorated, the naturally frank and generous spirit of the English people revolted at such practices; and not the hundredth part of the mischief was done which might have been expected from the establishing of such a system. This was the period of persecution for religious opinions; the efforts and the success of Luther, Calvin, and the other Reformers, had excited a fury among the Catholics which nothing short of blood and life could allay. The penal fires were

of Noailles, the French ambassador. The Venetian says that, though Elizabeth was living *Catholically* (*vivendo Cattolicamente*), yet it was thought that she was only dissimulating.

¹ Burnet.

² *Ibid.*

blazing from one end of Europe to the other; and terrible as was the brief rage of Mary's reign, England, as compared with most other Christian countries, was singularly fortunate.¹

Mary's care for the souls of her subjects did not improve their morals. Without going to the full length of some Protestant writers, we may assert, upon good evidence, that crime was on the increase, and that capital offences, independently of those of a religious kind, greatly multiplied. Fifty-two persons were condemned and executed at Oxford at one assize. Loathsome offences re-appeared: the highways became again insecure. On more than one occasion men of rank became thieves and cut-purses. In this unlucky year London and other cities were visited by the "hot burning fevers" which were particularly fatal to old persons. In the following year the country was afflicted by an extreme dearth, and pestilence stalked in the rear of famine. Plots and conspiracies, also, were not wanting, for which such abundant causes were ministered in the violation both of civil and religious liberty.

A.D. 1557. Mary's husband Philip was now King of Spain, and absolute Lord of Naples, Sicily, the Milanese, the Low Countries, the Indies, and other fair and fertile countries, which well deserved a better master. This had not happened by the death, but by the voluntary resignation of his father Charles V. The emperor and king, who had been for forty years the mightiest potentate in Europe, becoming suddenly sick of worldly dominion—

"Cast crowns for roaries away—
An empire for a cell."

Though only fifty-five years old, and with his faculties, both mental and physical, to all appearance unimpaired, he determined to renounce his many crowns. On the 25th of October, 1555, he met the states of the Low Countries, explained to them the reasons of his resignation, absolved them from their oaths of allegiance, and devolved his authority on Philip—weeping, it is said, as he reflected on the burden which he imposed upon his son. A few months later he formally resigned to Philip all his other dominions, and all his titles, with the exception of the lofty

one of emperor, which it was not in his power to bestow.² He chose for his retreat the monastery of St. Just, situated on the frontiers of Castile and Portugal, near to Placentia. He survived about two years, chiefly occupying his time in cultivating a little garden, reading divinity, making clocks, and trying experiments and inventions in mechanics. Many things are related of him in his retreat; one of the best, which is probably as true as any of them, being that, upon finding he could never make two clocks to go exactly alike, he deplored the pains he had taken, and the blood he had shed, in order to make all mankind think and believe in one way.³

It was not always that the most Catholic king enjoyed the favour of the court of Rome; for even in that high quarter political considerations or personal animosities continually interfered with the spiritual scheme. Paul IV., who, as a bigot, and as the first that introduced the tribunal of the Inquisition in Rome,⁴ might have been expected to lean towards the congenial fanaticism of Philip, hated the Spaniards with an ancient and hereditary hatred, and, as a necessary consequence, favoured the French and their party in Italy; for, without the arms of France, the pope saw no possibility of overthrowing the dominion of Spain, which, be it said, was oppressive, and barbarizing, and odious to the Italian people. The great ability of the Emperor Charles had imposed respect; but Paul thought the accession of Philip, in such unusual circumstances, too good an opportunity to be lost, and, before the new king was well settled on his throne, the pontiff opened negotiations with the French. He set on foot plots and conspiracies in Naples, his native country, which was groaning under the weight of Spanish misrule; and he finally arranged a grand plan, by which the French king was to expel Philip by force of arms, and take possession of the Neapolitan kingdom, of the Milanese, and the other states in Upper Italy, which his ancestors had claimed, and several times held, though for very short periods. But Paul had formed an erroneous estimate of Philip, who was ever vigilant and suspicious, and who soon obtained intelligence of the secret manœuvres in Italy. In an opportune moment, at the end of the year 1555, he sent the Duke of Alva to take

¹ According to Fra Paolo, in the Netherlands alone 50,000 persons were hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burned on account of religion; and in France, even before the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the number of victims who suffered death in the same cause was to be stated, not, as in England, by hundreds, but by thousands. In Germany, besides the happier tens of thousands who perished in battle, fighting for the privilege of worshipping God in their own way, thousands died on the scaffold, in the flames, and in dungeons; and, as yet, the liberty of conscience was insecure.

² Charles had secured it already to his brother Ferdinand, who became the Emperor Ferdinand I.

³ *De Thou: Bayle.*

⁴ The real Inquisition was first established at Rome by the

advice of Paul IV., then only Cardinal Caraffa, a Neapolitan, under the pontificate of Paul III. It was rendered frightful by its rigorous laws and novel forms of procedure; but it did not obtain all its monstrous vigour until the election of Paul IV.; and the first thing the Romans did after the death of this odious pontiff (which happened in 1559) was to burn the tribunal of the Holy Office, to liberate all the prisoners for matters of religion, and to raze the prisons of the Inquisition to the ground. It is a great mistake to suppose that this horrid tribunal was most powerful at Rome. Many of the popes detested it. The true scene of its might was not beyond the Alps, but the Pyrenees—in Spain and Portugal. In a considerable part of Italy it was never established at all.

upon himself the government of Naples. Before this, Alva was governor of Milan, and now he had the supreme command of the whole of Italy that appertained to the Spaniards, whose armies were reinforced in order to meet the French (then preparing to cross the Alps under the Duke of Guise) and keep down the Italian people, who, in many places, were ready to rise. The pope was in a paroxysm of rage, which did not permit him to wear an almost useless mask. He arrested and threw into prison Garcilasso de la Vega, who was then at Rome as ambassador from Philip in his quality of King of England; and he imprisoned and put to the torture De Tassis, the Roman postmaster, for passing certain letters written in the Spanish interest. The Duke of Alva, who soon afterwards massacred the Protestants in heaps in the Low Countries, showed little delicacy towards this turbulent head of the Catholic church: anticipating his movements, he marched an army across the Neapolitan frontiers into the Roman States. The Spaniards spread confusion, destruction, and terror through the whole Papal territory: people fled from the city of Rome, expecting another sack, and not doubting that the troops of his most Catholic majesty would prove as bloodthirsty and rapacious as the auxiliaries under the Constable Bourbon: but Paul IV., who had the fierce spirit of a pope of the fourteenth century, would not listen to terms of accommodation; and though one of his nephews, the Cardinal Caraffa, had a conference with the Duke of Alva, they concluded nothing but a truce for forty days. In the meanwhile, notwithstanding a solemn truce for five years, which still existed between France and Spain, the Duke of Guise had led an army through the passes of the Alps, and was looking forward with bright and not unreasonable hopes to the conquest of Lombardy.¹ This was the state of affairs in Italy towards the end of the year 1556. In the month of March of the present year (1557) King Philip gratified his wife Mary with a short visit, and he entered London in some state, being accompanied by the queen and divers nobles of the realm.² But it was soon seen that his most Catholic majesty had not come for love, the sole object of his visit being to drive Mary and her council into a declaration of war against France. This, however, was not so easy a matter as he had fancied: Cardinal Pole and nearly the whole of the council opposed the measure; and even such of the ministry as were more compliant dreaded the effects of a war with France, which was sure to be accompanied by a war with Scotland, in the present deranged state of the finances and evident ill-humour of the people.

But the Spanish interests were served by a strange accident. Among the numerous English refugees in France was one Thomas Stafford, a person of some rank and influence, who entertained the notion of revolutionizing England. With only thirty-two persons he crossed over from France, landed at Scarborough in Yorkshire, and surprised the castle there: but, on the third day they were all made prisoners by the Earl of Westmoreland, without effusion of blood; Stafford, Richard Saunders, and three or four others, among whom was a Frenchman, were sent up to London, committed to the Tower, and there tortured into a confession that Henry II., the French king, had aided and abetted their enterprise; which was not altogether improbable, as the French court knew what Philip and the Spaniards were doing in London, as well as the devotion of Mary to her husband's interests. Upon the 28th of May, Stafford was beheaded on Tower-hill, and on the morrow three of his companions were drawn to Tyburn and there executed. Richard Saunders, who had probably been a traitor, or had divulged more than the rest, received the queen's pardon. Making the most of what had happened, the queen accused the French court of encouraging many traitorous bands of her subjects—of giving an asylum to her outlaws, who were maintained in France with annual pensions, contrary to treaty—of sending over to the castle of Scarborough, Stafford and others in French ships, provided with armour, munition, and money; and on the 7th of June she made a formal declaration of war—perhaps the first declaration of the kind thoroughly unpopular with the nation. Having obtained what he wanted, and earnestly recommended the instant raising of troops to act as auxiliaries to his own army on the northern frontiers of France, Philip took his departure on the 6th of July, and, happily for England, he never returned! It was difficult—most difficult—to do her husband's bidding; but, with great exertions, Mary levied 1000 horse, 4000 foot, and 2000 pioneers, and sent them over to Flanders in the end of July, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke, with the Lord Robert Dudley, for his master of the ordinance.³

Amidst this din of war, the Lady Anne of Cleves died very quietly at Chelsea. She left a good name behind her among the people, and was buried like a princess royal in Westminster Abbey.

Having joined the bands of Flemings, Germans, Italians, Dalmatians, Illyrians, Croats, and others, that formed the army of King Philip, the English marched with this mixed host, under the supreme command of Elizabeth's rejected

¹ Giannone, *Storia Civile del Regno di Napoli*; Summonte; De Thou.

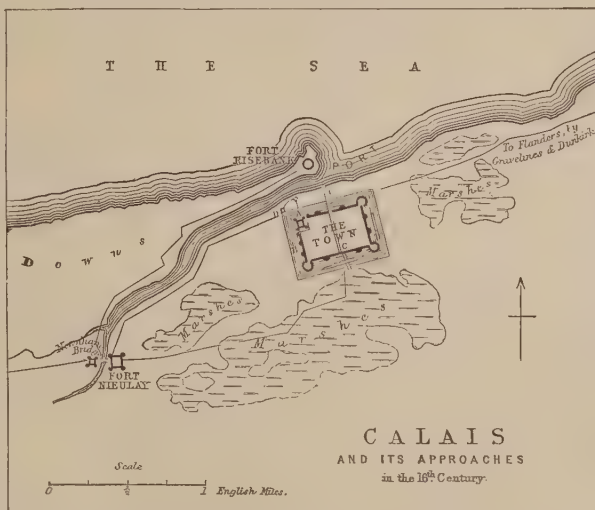
² Stow; Holinshed.

³ Stow; Holinshed.

suitor, the Duke of Savoy, one of the most approved captains of those times; and they soon distinguished themselves by their bravery in a fierce battle under the walls of St. Quentin, where many of the chief nobility of France were either slain or taken prisoners; and such a consternation was spread among the French, that it was thought by many that Philip might have taken Paris had he marched immediately upon it. But Philip was always wary and cautious; nor does he appear ever to have contemplated the doing of much more than the forcing of the Duke of Guise to come out of Italy. He sat down before the town of St. Quentin, which made a gallant resistance for seventeen days, during which the French had time to fortify Paris, and to call up troops from the provinces. But an invading army of 60,000 men was so formidable that they were obliged even to recal the Duke of Guise, and, as Philip had calculated, that general, who had advanced to the frontiers of Naples, hurried back across the Alps. To prolong the campaign in an easy manner, Philip ordered the Spaniards, English, Croats, and the rest, to lay siege to Ham and Cattelet, which places they took, and then, on the approach of winter, they retired into quarters in Flanders.

In fact, the coming of Guise out of Italy, which was so profitable to Philip, was a mortal blow to Mary; for that active commander, after securing the northern frontiers, resolved to sit down before Calais in the depth of winter, and vigorously, and with a large army, commence a siege which, for ages, had been deemed utterly hopeless. Calais, which the English considered as impregnable, and as perfectly secure from an assault during the winter, had generally its garrison reduced at that season; but in the present year, through want of money and the efforts made to serve Philip, that reduction had amounted to two-thirds of the whole force. In the month of November two skilful Italian engineers, Strozzi and Delbene, reconnoitred the town and all the forts adjacent, having gained admittance in dis-

guise. When Philip obtained a hint of the intended project of Guise, he offered to reinforce the garrison of Calais with a body of Spanish troops; but the English council, with a jealousy certainly *not* groundless, declined this offer. But at the same time they were unable to make any ready effort themselves, even when warned of the danger: the English navy had been allowed to go to wreck and ruin:¹ to victual the remnant of it, to send the troops to Flanders, the queen had seized all the corn she could find in Norfolk and Suffolk, without paying for it: to meet the expenses of that expedition she had forced the city of London to lend or give her £60,000; she had levied before the legal time the second year's subsidy voted by parliament; she had issued many privy seals to procure loans from people of property; she had, in short, exhausted her means for her husband, and at the moment of crisis she appears to have dreaded calling her



A, Castle. B, Ditch filled with water. C, Canal communicating with the sea, and capable of being used to lay the surrounding country under water. D, Gate leading to Boulogne.

parliament together to ask for more money. And thus were the weak garrison and the English citizens and merchants of Calais left to their fate, almost without a single effort being made for their relief.

A.D. 1558. On New Year's Day Guise entered the English pale; and, sending one part of his army along the downs to Risebank,

¹ The whole of the blame is not to be laid to Mary's government. The navy had been much diminished, and shamefully neglected during the reign of Edward VI., when all the servants of government, from the highest to the lowest, were addicted to *pillage*.

² The above plan of Calais is derived from a curious Italian

work, *De' disegni delle più illustri Città et fortezze del mondo . . . raccolta da M. G. Ballino. Venetia, 1568.* This work, it will be observed, was published only ten years after the siege of Calais by the Duke of Guise, and the plan may, therefore, be presumed to represent the actual extent and fortifications of the town at the time it was lost by the English.

he, with the other, and an unusually heavy train of artillery, marched towards Nieulay, or Newnham Bridge, and, attacking in force an outwork at the village of St. Agatha, at the head of the causeway, drove the garrison into Newnham, and took possession of that outwork. The English lord-deputy Wentworth feeling that, from the miserable weakness of the garrison, he could spare no assistance for the defence of the other outworks, ordered them to be evacuated as soon as they should be attacked. This was done at Newnham Bridge, whence the captain retired with his soldiers into Calais; but the outwork of Risebank surrendered with its garrison. Thus, by the third morning of the siege, the Duke of Guise had made himself master of two most important posts, of which one commanded the entrance of the harbour, the other the approach across the marshes from Flanders. The next day, he battered the walls near to the Watergate, in order to make the English believe that he intended to force an entrance at that point, and cause them "to have the less regard unto the defence of the castle," which was the weakest part of the town, and the place "where the French were ascertained by their espials to win easy entry;" and while the garrison lost time in repairing a false breach made by the Watergate, Guise suddenly brought fifteen double cannons to bear upon the castle, which, with astounding negligence on the part of the English government, had been suffered to fall into such decay that it tottered at the first cannon shot, and a wide breach was made in it before evening. When that was done, Guise detached one body to occupy the quay, and another, under Strozzi, to effect a lodgment on the other side of the harbour; but Strozzi was beaten back with loss. About eight in the evening, at ebb-tide, De Grammont was thrown forward with some 300 arquebusiers to reconnoitre the great breach in the castle. The ditch was broad and deep, but the water was low, having been partially drained off, and the French had brought up by sea a great quantity of hurdles and other materials to facilitate the passage. Upon Grammont's report that the breach seemed to be abandoned, Guise threw himself into the ditch, and forced it, not finding the water much above his girdle: his men followed in great haste—and happy men were they to enter the rotten old castle without resistance. The Lord Wentworth, as the best thing that could be done, had withdrawn the English soldiers, had made a train with certain big barrels of gunpowder, and now anticipated the pleasure of blowing the castle and the Frenchmen into the air together. But this train was badly laid; the French, coming up out of the ditch with their clothes wringing wet, moistened the gunpowder, and saw the attempt to

destroy them fail. After passing the night in the castle, Guise sent on his men to the assault of the town, which he fancied would be taken with



CALAIS, THE OLD BELFRY, &c.
From *Voyages dans l'Ancienne France*.

equal ease; but the marshal, Sir Anthony Agar, with a small body of brave men, repulsed the French, and drove them back to the castle. Sir Anthony next tried to drive them from that position, and persevered till he himself, his son and heir, and some fourscore officers and men, were laid low in front of the castle-gate. So miserably weak was the garrison, that this small loss of men was decisive. Having in vain expected aid from Dover—having received no tidings, nor so much as a sign—the lord-deputy on that same night demanded a parley. The French acceded, but would grant none but the harshest terms of capitulation.¹

"About two of the clock next day at afternoon, being the 7th of January, a great number of the meanest sort were suffered to pass out of the town in safety, being guarded through the army with a number of Scottish light-horsemen, who used the English very well and friendly; and after this, every day for the space of three or four days together, there were sent away divers companies of them till all were avoided, those only excepted that were appointed to be reserved for prisoners, as the Lord Wentworth and others. There were in the town of Calais 500 English

¹ Holinshed.

soldiers ordinary, and no more; and of the townsmen not fully 200 fighting men (a small garrison for the defence of such a town), and there were in the whole number of men, women, and children (as they were accounted when they went out of the gate), 4200 persons.¹

Thus was lost, in six days, the town of Calais, which had cost Edward III. an obstinate siege of more than eleven months, and which the English had kept through all the varieties of their fortune for 211 years.

The grief of the English court, and the vexation of the people, were as great as the joy and triumph of the French. Yet, except as a humiliation to military fame, and as a blow to national pride, the loss was not so serious. Calais, indeed, had been reckoned "as one of the eyes of England," but it was an eye constantly in pain and peril, costing immense sums for its care and cure; and it was soon found that England could see very well without it. The people, however, long murmured and lamented, and the government was disgraced and depressed in the extreme by this result of a war which they had engaged in without justice or reason. At the same time the Scots, acting on the usual impulse from France, began to stir upon the Borders. After the peace, which we have mentioned in the preceding reign, the Queen-dowager Mary of Guise made a journey to France, carrying with her many of the principal Scottish nobility. She visited her daughter Mary and her relations, and arranged a grand political plan, by which, on her return, though not without difficulty, the Earl of Arran was induced to resign the whole government of the kingdom into her hands.² On the 12th of April, 1554, she assumed the name of regent. In this capacity she acted chiefly under the guidance of D'Oisel, a Frenchman of great ability. Her government, upon the whole, was judicious and beneficial to Scotland; it would have been more so had the regent not been obliged to make sacrifices to the politics, religion, and interests of her family and friends in France. When Mary declared war in the preceding year, the French court required the Queen-regent of Scotland to make a diversion in their favour. She summoned a convention at Newbottle, and requested the states to concur in a declaration of hostilities against England; but the Scottish nobles, in part from a jealousy of the French, in part from their conviction that the war would be unprofitable, refused their assent. Upon this, she ordered D'Oisel to begin some fortifications at Eyemouth. As this was upon ground mentioned in the last treaty

with Edward, part of the garrison of Berwick made an inroad to prevent the erection of the works. This proceeding, as she had calculated, exasperated the Scottish people, who anon retaliated in their own fashion by making forays into England, without waiting or caring for any declaration or orders from the government. But when D'Oisel, in person, undertook the siege of the castle of Wark, the council prevented him, and not only recalled him, but gave him a sharp rebuke.

After the French king had visited Calais he made great haste for the accomplishment of the marriage between Francis his eldest son, called the dauphin, and Mary Stuart, daughter and sole heir of James V., late King of Scotland. The great political importance of this match will be developed in the following reign. For the present it will suffice to state that Mary Queen of Scots, in the sixteenth year of her age, was united to a sickly, silly boy, a few months younger than herself, and that the memorable marriage was solemnized in the city of Paris on the 24th of April (1558). Before this great event, but at a time when it was known it would take place, and when the nation was smarting with the pang of the recent loss and disgrace at Calais, Queen Mary summoned a parliament that she might implore for more money. This parliament met, and the members being evidently excited by a passionate desire to recover Calais, or to vindicate the honour of the national arms by giving some notable defeat to the French, without making any reflections on the arbitrary methods recently resorted to by the queen for the raising of money, they proceeded to vote her a fifteenth, a subsidy of 4s. in the pound on land, and 2s. 8d. on goods, to be paid in four years, by equal instalments. From this liberal parliament the queen turned to the clergy, who readily granted her 8s. in the pound, to be paid in the like manner in four years. With the money thus raised, Mary hired a number of ships, and despatched a fleet of upwards of 100 sail of all sizes, but chiefly small, under the high-admiral, Edward Lord Clinton, who was ordered to join King Philip's squadron, and while the French king should be engaged in the field with the Spanish army and their auxiliaries, to lay waste his coast and surprise some of his towns, Brest in particular. But the expedition was badly managed: instead of making at once for Brest, Clinton and the Flemish admiral lay to, near the little town of Conquet, where one morning at break of day they sounded their trumpets, "as the manner was," and, "with a thundering peal of great guns," awoke the poor inhabitants. They landed with little or no opposition, and, mastering the town, "put it to the sackage, with a great abbey and many pretty towns and villages

¹ Holinshed.

² Arran had been gratified with French pensions, with the high-sounding title of Duke of Chateaufort, and with a public acknowledgment of his right as next heir (after the young Mary) to the Scottish throne.

thereabouts, where our men found great store of ground very skilfully on the sea-coast, near to pillage and good booties."¹ After this inglorious Gravelines. He fortified his left wing, and exploit they marched some way up the country, brought his right flank to the bank of the river burning more villages and houses; and then the Aar, close to its mouth. When the Spaniards



SHIP OF THE TIME.—From a print attributed to Augustus Ryther.

English retreated to the sea-side, where their ships lay ready to receive them; but their allies, the Flemings, being more covetous of spoil, or less cautious, passed farther into the interior, and being encountered by the power of the country, lost 400 or 500 men before they could regain their ships. Notwithstanding Clinton's having with him a considerable land force under the command of the Earls of Huntingdon and Rutland, he was alarmed at the reports of the forces collecting or collected in Brittany, under the Duke of Estampes, and thought it best not to attempt any assault against the town of Brest, or to make longer stay thereabouts.² A small squadron of ten English ships performed more honourable service. The Marshal de Termes, governor of Calais, had made an irruption into Flanders with an army of 9000 foot and 1500 horse. He easily forced a passage across the river Aar, or Aire, to Dunkirk, burned that town to the ground, and scoured and desolated the whole country almost as far as Newport; but there he was suddenly checked by Count Egmont. Apparently through the superior marching of the Spanish infantry, Egmont got to Gravelines before de Termes, and threw a part of his army between the French and the town of Calais, their only sure place of retreat. A general battle was thus inevitable, and to fight it the French general chose his

more than a bad sort of ague. Our chroniclers tell us that the disease—whatever it was—was fatal only to persons in advanced life; but Mary had long been prematurely old, and when she was attacked her heart was bruised and broken. She removed from her favourite residence of Hampton Court to Westminster, where she lay "languishing of a long sickness until the 17th of November, when between the hours of five and six in the morning, she ended her life in this world at her house at St. James," having reigned five years, four months, and eleven days, and lived a wretched life of forty-three years and nine months.⁴

Within twenty-two hours of the queen's death her friend and kinsman Reginald Pole, cardinal-legate, and Archbishop of Canterbury, expired at Lambeth;⁵ his death being a much sorer injury—a more fatal blow to the Catholic church in England, than that of Mary, whose fierce bigotry advanced, perhaps, more than anything the cause of the Reformation.⁶

It has been the fashion with Protestant writers not to allow this unhappy woman a single virtue; and yet, in truth, Mary had many good and generous qualities. She was generally sincere

¹ *Holinshed; Grafton.*

⁴ *Godwin.*

² Some Catholic writers—among whom is Osorius—have not hesitated to say, or to hint a suspicion, that both Mary and the cardinal were poisoned by the Protestant party!

⁶ *Hallam, Const. Hist. Eng.*

¹ *Holinshed*

² *Ibid.*

and high-minded, and shrunk from that trickery and treachery in state matters which her more fortunate sister Elizabeth adopted without hesitation as a general rule of conduct. Notwithstanding her sad experience of the world, and the depressing influences of ill-health, she was capable of warm and lasting friendships: as a mistress she was not only liberal, but kind and attentive, even towards the meanest servant of her household; she was charitable to the poor, and most considerate for the afflicted; she was the first to suggest the foundation of an establishment, like Chelsea Hospital, for the reception of invalid soldiers, and in her will she appropriated certain funds to this national object.¹ Like all the rest of her testamentary bequests, this was utterly neglected by her successor, notwithstanding the dying queen's earnest entreaties that she would suffer the intention of her will to be carried into effect.²

Nor was Mary deficient in acquirements and accomplishments. As well as her junior half-

sister, she had received what may be called a learned education; she had some acquaintance with Greek, and not only read but also wrote Latin, and her letters in that language were praised by Erasmus. Among her accomplishments are enumerated embroidering, dancing, and music. She played three instruments—the virginals, regals, and lute.³

In most matters her taste was more delicate and better than that of Elizabeth, and though she had less personal dignity, and cared not "to go slowly and to march with leisure and with a certain grandytie," as her half-sister always did when in public, she never gave way to violent gesticulation and the swearing of gross oaths, which her successor was almost as much addicted to as her father Henry. But as a queen all these qualities and accomplishments (abilities of a high order she had none) were of the slightest value, and their insignificance is shown in the records of her miserable reign, and the boundless triumph over all of her master-passion.⁴

¹ See her will as published by Sir Frederick Madden, *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary*, &c.

² "No one of our historians has been so severe on Mary's reign, except on a religious account, as Carte, on the authority of the letters of Noailles. Dr. Lingard, though with these before him, has softened and suppressed till this queen appears honest and even amiable. A man of sense should be ashamed of such partiality to his religion. Admitting that the French ambassador had a temptation to exaggerate the faults of a government wholly devoted to Spain, it is manifest that Mary's reign was inglorious, her capacity narrow, and her temper sanguinary; that, although conscientious in some respects, she was as capable of dissimulation as her sister, and of breach of faith as her husband; that she obstinately and wilfully sacrificed her subjects' affections and interests to a misplaced and discreditable attachment; and that the words with which Carte has concluded the character of this unlamented sovereign, though little pleasing to men of Dr. Lingard's profession, are perfectly just—'Having reduced the nation to the brink of ruin, she left it, by her reasonable decease, to be restored by her admirable successor to its ancient prosperity and glory.'"—Hallam, *Const. Hist. England*.

³ The Venetian ambassador praises her great skill in playing on the lute, "so that, when she attended to it, for now she pays little attention to those things, she astonished good professors both by her rapidity of hand and her style of playing." The Italian was likely to be a good judge of music, but it should appear that he had not been in the habit of hearing the queen play with his own ears.

⁴ Dr. Lingard's defence of Queen Mary will not stand for a moment the examination of an impartial eye. He would make Mary appear not only as the best of women, but as a good sovereign. Sir Frederick Madden, to whose researches we have been

indebted, has collected the best proofs of Mary's possessing some amiable qualities, which none but bigots on the other side will attempt to deny; but in removing some prejudices he seems to contract others, and almost to fall in love with his subject. He carries most of his arguments too far, relying occasionally on the most doubtful kind of evidence, giving an interpretation at other times to words and things which they will scarcely bear, and now and then drawing conclusions directly contrary to what the premises would justify. Hume, knowing that Mary suffered a wretched state of health, and having other good evidence to go upon, described her as being of a sour and sullen disposition. This, says Sir Frederick Madden, is an inaccurate notorious to those at all acquainted with the history of the period; and to support his opinion he mentions that Mary was once seen to laugh heartily at a tumbler at Greenwich—that she kept in her service a female jester (every king at the time kept a fool royal)—that she once had a kennel of hounds—that she was fond of music, played at cards, allowed valentines to be drawn in her household, and once lost a breakfast wagered on a game at bowls. But the accuser of Hume admits (and gives, from the plain-spoken Venetian, the broadest account of her malady) that Mary, from the age of puberty, had suffered the most distressing of all female disorders. Ill-usage and ill-health were not likely to produce the best of tempers. But though Sir Frederick Madden may have known cheerful and light-hearted valetudinarians, we much question whether he ever knew a cheerful bigot. The disorders of body and of mind must have made Mary what Hume described her to be on her accession. In the minutiae of the *Privy Purse Expenses*, and incidental occurrences of court holidays, Sir Frederick Madden forgets Smithfield, and the fires that blazed in all parts of the kingdom during this cheerful reign.

CHAPTER XIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1558—1560.

ELIZABETH.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1558—DEATH, A.D. 1603.

Elizabeth proclaimed queen—Popular joy at her accession—Her ambiguous conduct about the settlement of religion—Pageants at her entrance into London—Her coronation—She is urged to declare her intentions about religion—Enactments of parliament for its settlement—Dissatisfaction of the Papists—Elizabeth rejects the advice of parliament to marry—Protestantism re-established in England—Penalties inflicted on Papists—Deprivation and imprisonment of the Popish bishops—Elizabeth's legitimacy denied by the Guises—Reformation in Scotland—Effects of John Knox's preaching—Demolition of abbeys and monasteries—Mary Stuart becomes Queen of France—Contention between Mary of Guise, Regent of Scotland, and the Protestants—Elizabeth aids the Scottish Protestants—Negotiations between them and her ministers—The contest maintained in Scotland by French and English money—Leith fortified by French troops against the Scottish Protestants—The Scots aided by troops from England—Siege of Leith—Death of Mary of Guise—Capitulation of Leith—Suitors to Elizabeth for marriage.



THE time of Mary's demise the parliament was sitting. Her death was concealed from the public for some hours; but, before noon, Heath, Archbishop of York, who had been lord-chancellor since Gardiner's decease, went down to the House of Lords, and sent immediately to the speaker of the commons, desiring him, with the knights and burgesses, to repair without delay to the upper house, in order to give their assent in a case of great importance. Heath then announced in due form that God had called to his mercy the late sovereign lady Queen Mary—a heavy and grievous woe, but relieved by the blessing God had left them in a true, loyal, and right inheritress to the crown—the Lady Elizabeth, second daughter to the late sovereign lord of noble memory, King Henry VIII., and sister unto the said late queen. Not a challenge was raised to her title: the Lady Elizabeth was acknowledged in both houses, which resounded with the shouts of "God save Queen Elizabeth, and long and happy may she reign!" and in the course of the day she was proclaimed amidst lively demonstrations of popular joy. The bells of all the churches were set ringing; tables were spread in the streets, "where was plentiful

eating, drinking, and making merry;" and at night bonfires were lighted in all directions, and the skies were reddened by flames which had not consumed human victims.¹ Elizabeth was at Hatfield when she received the news of her easy accession. She fell upon her knees, exclaiming, in Latin, "It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes."² On the following day several noblemen of the late queen's council repaired to her: she gave them a kind reception,

but presently showed her decided preference for Sir William Cecil—the astute, the most politic Cecil—whom she instantly appointed principal secretary of state. On the 23d of November the queen removed from Hatfield, with a joyous escort of more than 1000 persons. At Highgate she was met by the bishops, who, kneeling, acknowledged their allegiance: she received them very graciously, giving to every one of them her hand to kiss with the exception of Bishop Bonner. At the foot of Highgate Hill she was very duti-



QUEEN ELIZABETH.—After Zuccherò.

fully and honourably met by the lord-mayor and whole estate of London, and so conducted to the

¹ *Slow; Holmshed; Burnet.*

² *A Domino factum est istud, et est mirabile oculis nostris.* These words were afterwards stamped on her gold coin, a motto she chose for her silver coin being *Posui Deum adiutorem meum* (I have chosen God for my helper).

Charter-house, then occupied as a town residence by her friend Lord North. On the afternoon of Monday, the 23th, she entered into the city at Cripplegate, "and rode in state along by the Wall to the Tower;" here she remained till Monday, the 5th of December, when she removed by water to Somerset House. The ambiguity of her conduct with regard to religion had been well studied; and it appears quite certain that her compliances in the former reign had deceived many into a notion that she was really the good Catholic she professed herself to be; otherwise it is difficult to understand the unanimity of the lords, for the majority of the upper house were Catholics, and both the bishops and the lay peers would have been disposed to resist her claim if they had expected that she would venture to disturb the established order of things. The mistake was confirmed by her retaining in her privy council no fewer than thirteen known and sincere Catholics who had been members of that of her sister, and the seven new counsellors she appointed, though probably known to herself to be zealous Protestants, did not bear that character with the rest of the world; for one and all of

would have left the Roman church undisturbed. She was too cool and calculating for a zealot; and even the fate of her mother, and the circumstances of her own birth, failed to excite her. In fact, Elizabeth seems to have adopted, at the beginning of her reign, the maxim recommended by the most crafty of then living politicians—that the Protestants should be kept in hope, the Papists not cast into despair.¹ Her real intentions were kept a profound secret from the majority of her council; and her measures of change and reform were concerted only with Cecil and one or two others, who appear to have been most thoroughly aware of the fact that the Protestant party had become infinitely stronger than the Catholic. On the 13th of December the body of Mary was very royally interred in Westminster Abbey, with all the solemn funeral rites used by the Roman church, and a mass of requiem; and on the 24th day of the same month a grand funeral service for the late Emperor Charles V. was celebrated in the same place and in the same manner, with a great attendance of Catholic priests, English and foreign, and of noble lords and ladies of the realm. And yet, if we are to believe a letter written at the time, Elizabeth, on the very day after these obsequies, refused to hear mass in her own house.

On the 12th of January the queen took her barge, and went down the river, being attended by the lord-mayor and citizens, and greeted with peals of ordnance, with music, and many triumphant shows on the water. She landed at the Tower; but, this time, it was not as a criminal, at the Traitors' Gate, but as a triumphant queen preparing for her coronation. Upon the morrow there was a creation of peers: it was not numerous, but Henry Carey, brother to Lady Knowles, and son to Mary Boleyn, her majesty's aunt, was included in it under the title of Lord Hunsdon. On the morrow, being the 14th of January, 1559, the queen rode with great majesty out of the Tower. The lord-mayor and citizens had been lavish of their loyalty and their money; the artists had exhausted their ingenuity and invention; and all the streets through which the procession passed on its way to Westminster were furnished with stately pageants, sumptuous shows, and cunning devices. The figures of the queen's grandfather and grandmother, father and mother, were brought upon the stage, and Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, with a glorious forgetfulness of the past, were seen walking lovingly together. Prophecies and Latin verses were prodigally expended on the queen; nor was there a parsimony of English verse or rhyme. In another pageant Time led forth his daughter Truth, and Truth, greeting her majesty, presented to her an English

¹ Sir Ralph Sadler.



SIR WILLIAM CECIL, afterwards Lord Burghley.
From a rare print by Vertue.

them, like her favourite minister Cecil, had shrunk under the fiery bigotry of Mary, and had conformed to the Roman Church. Even decency demanded some little time, but policy required more; and we feel convinced that if it had not been established beyond the reach of a doubt that the Catholics had lost ground immensely, and were no longer the majority of the nation, Elizabeth, who was never in her heart a thorough Protestant—who scarcely went farther with the Reformers than her father had done—

Bible. In the last pageant of all there stood "a seemly and meek personage, richly apparelled in parliament robes, with a sceptre in her hand, over whose head was written 'Deborah, the judge and

restorer over the house of Israel." Gog and Magog, deserting their posts in Guildhall, stood to honour the queen, one on each side of Temple Bar, supporting a wondrous tablet of Latin verse,



STATE BARGE OF THE PERIOD, AND WATER PROCESSION.¹—From a print by Vischer.

which expounded to her majesty the hidden sense of all the pageants in the city.² Her behaviour during this day was popular in the extreme; and from the beginning to the end of her reign she possessed the art of delighting the people, when she thought necessary, with little condescensions, smiles, and cheerful words. On the following day, being Sunday, the 15th of January, Elizabeth was crowned in Westminster Abbey by Dr. Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, and afterwards she dined in Westminster Hall. The ceremony of the coronation was regulated strictly in the ancient manner of the most Catholic times, but there was one remarkable circumstance attending it. Either from a suspicion of the course she intended to pursue, or from a somewhat tardy recollection that, by the laws of the Roman church, Elizabeth was not legitimate, or in consequence of orders received from Rome since the death of Mary and their congratulatory visit to Elizabeth at Highgate, every one of the bishops, with the exception of Oglethorpe, refused to perform the coronation service. From whatever cause it might proceed, this refractoriness of the bishops was a great political mistake on the part of the Catholics.³

On the very day after her coronation the Protestants pressed her for a declaration of her intentions as to religion. They must have felt alarmed at the Popish celebrations in the Abbey; but it was some time before the cautious queen would in any way commit herself. Before this application, however, Elizabeth had taken the important step of authorizing the reading of the Liturgy in English, and had shown at least a fixed determination to prevent the Catholics

from re-lighting the fires at Smithfield. Yet, at the same time, to the scandal of all Protestants, she forbade the destruction of images, kept her crucifix and holy water in her private chapel, and strictly prohibited preaching on controversial points generally, and all preaching whatsoever at Paul's Cross, where, be it said, neither sect had been in the habit of preaching peace and good-will toward men. There was an additional cause for the queen's slowness and circumspection. Upon the death of her sister the English exiles for religious opinions flocked back to their country with a zeal sharpened by persecution. Of these men many would have carried the Reformation wholly into the path of Calvin and Zwingle, being disposed, after their theological studies in Switzerland, to dissent widely from the Anglican church as established in the reign of Edward VI.; and, what was not of less importance, some of them thought that the republican system, which they had seen to suit the little cantons among the Alps, would be a preferable form of government for England, and they were well furnished with texts of Scripture to prove the uselessness and wickedness of royalty. In a moment of indecision the queen had directed Sir Edward Carne, her sister's ambassador at Rome, to notify her accession to the pope; and the Protestants must have been delighted and re-assured when Paul IV. hastily replied that he looked upon her as illegitimate, and that she ought therefore to lay down the government, and expect what he might decide. After this, she could not be expected to become an adherent of Popery.

Ten days after the coronation (on the 25th of

¹ This rare work of Vischer, Hollar's predecessor, is the earliest delineation of a royal procession by water. The thistle and royal arms of England on the banner and drapery of the principal barge, are probably the insignia of James I.; but the fashion of those vessels remained unchanged from the time of Elizabeth nearly to the present century. Four barges contain guards with partizans; and a fifth, which precedes the state barge, and is

connected by a tow line, holds a band of four musicians, trumpeters and drummers.

² *Holinshed; Stow.*

³ Even the Bishop of Carlisle reluctantly consented to put the crown on her head. At her coronation, Elizabeth, of course, partook of the mass; but it appears from one account that she had forbidden the elevation of the host, and that this was probably the cause of the bishops refusing to crown her.

January) Elizabeth met her first parliament, with a wise resolution of leaving them to settle the religion of the state, merely giving out, through the able Cecil, and the scarcely less able Sir Nicholas Bacon, now keeper of the seals, what were her real wishes. Lords and commons showed a wonderfully eager desire, as they had done in the days of her imperious father, to adapt themselves to precisely such a church regimen as she in her wisdom might propose. They enacted that the first-fruits and tenths should be restored to the crown—that the queen, notwithstanding her sex,¹ should in right of her legitimacy, be supreme head of the church—that the laws made concerning religion in Edward's time should be re-established in full force—that his Book of Common Prayer in the mother-tongue should be restored and used to the exclusion of all others in all places of worship. The Act of Supremacy, though the most ridiculous or the most horrible of all to the Catholics on the Continent, met with no opposition whatever; but nine temporal peers and the whole bench of bishops protested in the lords against the bill of uniformity, establishing the Anglican Liturgy, notwithstanding the pains which had been taken to qualify it, and to soften certain passages most offensive to Catholic ears. A rubric directed against the doctrine of the real presence was omitted, to the avoidance of the long-standing and bitter controversies on this head.²

One of the first measures taken up by Queen Mary had been to vindicate the fame of her mother Catherine of Aragon and her own legitimacy; and it was expected that Elizabeth, if only out of filial reverence, would pursue the same course for her mother, Anne Boleyn, who, as the law stood, had never been a lawful wife; but she carefully avoided all discussion on this point, and satisfied herself with an act declaratory, in general terms, of her right of succession to the throne, in which act all the bishops agreed.

Acts were passed empowering the queen upon the avoidance of any bishopric to exchange her tenths and parsonages appropriate within the diocese for an equivalent portion of the landed estates belonging to the see. But the more active of the Protestants were checked and disappointed when they brought a bill into the commons for the restoration to their sees of Bishops Barlow, Scory, and Coverdale; another, for the revival of former statutes, passed in the reign of Edward VI., authorizing the crown to nominate a commission for drawing up a complete body of Church of England canon law; and a third for the resto-

ration of all such clergymen as had been deprived for marriage during the late reign. The last bill was given up by command of Elizabeth herself, who was not Protestant enough to overcome a prejudice against married priests, and who, to the end of her days, could never reconcile herself to married bishops.³ The two other bills also failed, for the bishops whom it was proposed to restore were married men; and as for the commission for a canonical code, Elizabeth entertained a salutary dread of the zealots.

It was not possible altogether to avoid recrimination. Nor did the Catholics—now the weaker party—on all occasions submit in silence to such castigation. Dr. Story, who had acted as royal proctor in the proceedings against Cranmer, and who had given other proofs of his zeal and intolerance, had the boldness to lament that he and others had not been more vehement in executing the laws against heresy. "It was my counsel," said this doughty priest, "that heretics of eminence should be plucked down as well as the ordinary sort, nor do I see anything in all those affairs which ought to make me feel shame or sorrow. My sole grief, indeed, is, that we laboured only about the little twigs: we should have struck at the roots." It was understood that he meant hereby—what, indeed, had been proposed by several—that Elizabeth should have been removed out of the way while her sister lived. Soon after delivering this speech Dr. Story escaped out of the kingdom, and fixed himself at Antwerp under the protection of the Spaniards. There he ought to have been left, particularly as his notions were every day becoming less dangerous; but Elizabeth caused him to be kidnapped, to be brought over to England by stratagem, and executed as a traitor—a proceeding as base as that of her sister Mary with regard to that zealous Protestant refugee Sir John Cheke. Bishop Bonner, notwithstanding the unequivocal marks of the queen's displeasure, attended at his post in parliament, and even presented to the Lord-keeper Bacon certain articles drawn up by the convocation, and endeavoured, in part by ingenious compromises, in part by more open proceedings, to limit the authority of the queen, and maintain that of the pope, in matters of faith and ecclesiastical discipline. Bacon received the said articles courteously, but no further notice was taken of them, and the convocation, after a series of adjournments, separated in dismay.⁴ The way in which the parliament had recognized her title was highly satisfactory to Elizabeth; but they were less fortunate in their treatment of another high ques-

¹ The ambassador of a Catholic court wrote, with a ludicrous horror, that he had seen the supreme head of the English church —dancing!

² Burnet; Strype; Blunt.

³ Harrington, in his *Brief View*, says, "*Ceteris paribus*, and sometimes *imparibus* too, she preferred the single man before the married."

⁴ Holinshed; Strype; Burnet.

tion. In the course of this session a deputation was sent to her majesty by the commons with an address, "the principal matter whereof most specially was to move her grace to marriage, whereby to all their comforts they might enjoy the royal issue of her body to reign over them." Elizabeth received the deputation in the great gallery of her palace at Westminster, called the Whitehall; and when the speaker of the House of Commons had solemnly and eloquently set forth the message, she delivered a remarkable answer—the first of her many public declarations of her intention to live and die a virgin queen:—"From my years of understanding, knowing myself a servitor of Almighty God, I chose this kind of life, in which I do yet live, as a life most acceptable unto him, wherein I thought I could best serve him, and with most quietness do my duty unto him. From which my choice, if either ambition of high estate offered unto me by marriages (whereof I have records in this presence), the displeasure of the prince, the eschewing the danger of mine enemies, or the avoiding the peril of death (whose messenger, the prince's indignation, was no little time continually present before mine eyes, by whose means if I knew, or do justly suspect, I will not now utter them; or, if the whole cause were my sister herself, I will not now charge the dead), could have drawn or dissuaded me, I had not now remained in this virgin's estate wherein you see me. But so constant have I always continued in this my determination that (although my words and youth may seem to some hardly to agree together), yet it is true that to this day I stand free from any other meaning that either I have had in times past or have at this present. In which state and trade of living wherewith I am so thoroughly acquainted God hath so hitherto preserved me, and hath so watchful an eye upon me, and so hath guided me and led me by the hand, as my full trust is, he will not suffer me to go alone." After these somewhat roundabout, ambiguous, and ascetic expressions—which were anti-Protestant, inasmuch as they showed a preference for a single life—she gave the commons a foretaste of that absolute and imperative tone which she soon adopted:—"The manner of your petition," said she, "I do like, and take in good part, for it is simple, and containeth no limitation of place or person. If it had been otherwise I must have disliked it very much, and thought it in you a very great presumption, being unfit and altogether unmeet to require them that may command." In still plainer terms she told them that it was their duty to obey, and not to take upon themselves to bind and limit her in her proceedings, or even to press her advice upon her. As if doubting whether the commons

would rely on her determination of never marrying, she assured them that at all events she would never choose a husband but one who should be as careful for the realm and their safety as she herself was; and she made an end of a very long speech by saying—"And for me it shall be sufficient that a marble stone declare that a queen, having reigned such a time, lived and died a virgin."¹

At this moment Elizabeth had received one matrimonial proposal, the strangest of the many that were made to her. When she announced to King Philip the death of his wife and her own accession, that monarch, regardless of canonical laws, made her an instant offer of his own hand; for, so long as he could obtain a hold upon England, he cared little whether it was through a Mary or an Elizabeth. With a duplicity which was the general rule of her conduct she gave Philip a certain degree of hope, for she was very anxious to recover Calais through his means, and England was still involved in a war both with France and Scotland on his account. It would besides have been dangerous to give the Spaniard any serious offence at this moment.

On the 8th of May, Elizabeth's first parliament was dissolved, and on the 15th of the same month, the bishops, deans, and other churchmen of note, were summoned before the queen and her privy council, and there admonished to make themselves and their dependants conformable to the statutes which had just been enacted. Archbishop Heath replied by reminding her majesty of her sister's recent reconciliation with Rome, and of *her own promise not to change the religion which she found by law established*; and he told her that his conscience would not suffer him to obey her present commands. All the bishops took precisely the same course as Heath; and the government, which evidently had expected to win over the majority of them, was startled at their unanimous opposition. To terrify them into compliance, certain papers, which had been sealed up in the royal closet at the death of the late queen, were produced by advice of the Earl of Sussex; and these documents, which had lain dormant during two short reigns, were found, or were made, to contain proofs that Heath, Bonner, and Gardiner, during the protectorate of Somerset, had carried on secret intrigues with Rome, with the view of overthrowing the English government of that time. But the bishops, feeling themselves screened by two general pardons from the crown, continued as firm as ever; and the council wisely determined that these papers could not fairly be acted upon, and resolved to proceed merely upon the oath of supremacy, which they saw the prelates were determined to refuse at all

¹ *Hotinshed.*

costs. It appears that this oath was first offered to Bonner on the 30th of May. Bonner refused to swear, upon which proceedings were instituted to deprive him of his bishopric. In the course of a few months the oath was tendered to the rest, and they all refused it most decidedly, with the single exception of Kitchen, Bishop of Llandaff, who had held that see since 1545, through all changes, and who was determined to keep it.¹ A considerable number of subordinate church dignitaries were also deprived by means of this test; but the great body of the clergy complied when, in the course of the summer, the queen appointed a general visitation to compel the observance of the new Protestant formularies. Before the end of 1559 the English church, so long contended for, was lost for ever to the Papists.² In the course of the same year the two statutes, commonly denominated the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, were converted into the firm basis of that restrictive code of laws which, for more than two centuries, pressed so heavily upon the adherents to the Roman church. By the first, every conscientious Catholic, who refused to take it, lost the rights of citizenship, and might at any time be visited with heavy pains and penalties.

The second statute trenched more on the natural rights of conscience; it prohibited, under pain of forfeiting goods and chattels for the first offence, of a year's imprisonment for the second, and imprisonment for life for the third, the using of any but the established Liturgy of the Church of England; and it moreover imposed a fine of 1s. on every one that should absent himself from the only true Protestant church on Sunday and holidays.³ By this act the Catholic rites, however privately celebrated, were interdicted. In some respects, where it was not deemed expedient to irritate persons of very high rank, the government connived at the secret or domestic exercise of the Roman religion; but such cases were rare even in the early part of Elizabeth's reign; and the restored Protestant clergy, who had learned no toleration from their own sufferings, propelled the agents of government into the paths of persecution. As early as 1561, Sir Edward Waldegrave and his lady were sent to the Tower for hearing mass and keeping a Popish priest in their house. Many others were punished for the same offence about the same time. The penalty for causing mass to be said was only

100 marks for the first offence, but these cases seem to have been referred to the Protestant high commission court, and the arbitrary Star Chamber, whose violence, however illegal, was not often checked. About a year after the commitment of Sir Edward Waldegrave and his lady, two zealous Protestant bishops wrote to the council to inform them that a priest had been apprehended in a lady's house, and that neither he nor the servants would be sworn to answer to articles, saying that they would not accuse themselves. After which these Protestant prelates add—"Some do think that if this priest might be put to some kind of torment, and so driven to confess what he knoweth, he might gain the queen's majesty a good mass of money by the masses that he hath said; but this we refer to your lordship's wisdom."⁴ It is dishonest to deny so obvious a fact, nor can the denial now serve any purpose: it was this commencement of persecution that drove many English Catholics beyond the seas, and gave rise to those associations of unhappy and desperate exiles which continued to menace the throne of Elizabeth even down to the last years of her long reign. In the same year, 1559, which saw the enforcing of the Statutes of Supremacy and Uniformity, the queen published certain *injunctions* after the manner of those of her brother, and, for the better part, expressed in the very same words as those of Edward, twelve years before. There was, however, a greater decency of language in several of the clauses, and the Church of Rome was treated with more courtesy than in Edward's time. According to Edward's commands, images, shrines, pictures, and the like, were to be destroyed, nor was any memory of the same to be left in walls and glass windows. Elizabeth enjoined that "the walls and glass windows shall be nevertheless preserved."

Meanwhile the monastic establishments were universally broken up; three whole convents of monks and nuns were transferred from England to the Continent; many of the dispossessed clergy were conveyed to Spain in the retinue of Feria, the Spanish ambassador, and the deprived bishops were committed to safe keeping in England. The number of these prelates was not so considerable as might have been supposed. Through various circumstances, but chiefly by deaths (for the recent epidemic had been very fatal to elderly per-

¹ Kitchen, who was originally a Benedictine monk, always believed or professed according to the last act of parliament, which meant the last enunciation of the royal will. In the time of Henry VIII., when he received the see, he professed the mitigated Romanism held by that monarch; in the time of Edward VI. he became a complete Protestant; and when Mary came to the crown, he turned back to the point from which he had originally started, and became once more a thorough Papist. Now he turned Protestant again, and was allowed to keep the bishopric of Llandaff to the year 1563, when he died.—*Soames*.

² *Burnet; Strype; Soames; Blunt; Hallam*. It appears from the report of the ecclesiastical visitors that only about 100 dignitaries and eighty parish priests resigned their benefices or were deprived of them at this great period of change. But in the course of a few years many others resigned or were driven from their posts as much by the people as by the government.

³ Statute 1 Eliz. c. 2.

⁴ *Burghley, State Papers*. We regret to say that one of these two bishops was the learned Grindal, Bishop of London, who had been an exile, for conscience sake, in the time of Mary.

sons), there were many vacancies at Elizabeth's accession, so that (Kitchen of Llandaff, as already mentioned, being allowed to retain his see) all the bishops that she had to deprive were, fourteen in actual possession, and three bishops elect. For some time after their deprivation these prelates were left to themselves and their poverty; but on the 4th of December (1559) Heath, Bonner, Bourne, Tuberville, and Poole imprudently drew upon themselves the queen's attention by presenting a petition, in which, after praising her virtuous sister, Queen Mary of happy memory, who, being troubled in conscience with what her father's and brother's advisers had caused them to do, had most piously restored the Catholic faith, and extinguished those schisms and heresies for which God had poured out his wrath upon most of the malefactors and misleaders of the nation; they called upon the queen to follow her example without loss of time, and concluded by praying that God would turn her heart and preserve her life, and also make her evil advisers ashamed and repentant of their heresies.¹ Elizabeth replied, in great wrath, that these very memorialists, or at least Heath, Bonner, and Tuberville, with their former friend, "their *great* Stephen Gardiner," had advised and flattered her father in all that he did; and shortly after the deprived bishops were committed to prison. Bonner, the worst of them, was conveyed to the Marshalsea on the 20th of April, 1560, where he was kept for more than nine long years, when he was liberated by death, on the 5th of September, 1569. After passing different periods in the Tower and other prisons, all of them, with the exception of Bonner, were quartered by government, apparently from motives of economy, upon the Protestant bishops who had succeeded them, or upon rich deans or other dignified churchmen—an arrangement which could not have been very agreeable either to hosts or guests.

The settlement of the national religion had cost Elizabeth and her council much more time and trouble than the adjustment of the difficulties in the foreign relations of the country. After a little negotiation, England was included in a general treaty of peace, signed at Cateau-Cambresis on the 2d of April, 1559, within six months after her accession. The only impediment had been in Elizabeth's earnest desire to recover possession of Calais, but, by the advice of Cecil, she wisely consented to a clause in the treaty which saved her honour, though it could not have led her to believe that any King of France would ever have either the will or the power to fulfil it. It was agreed that Calais should be retained by the French king for eight years, and that at the end of that period it should be delivered to the English

queen or her successor, upon certain conditions.² Scotland, as the ally of France, was included in the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis. Philip of Spain did not, for the present, conceive or show any serious displeasure at Elizabeth's declining the honour of his hand: he soon after took to wife the daughter of Henry II., King of France, who had been affianced to his own son, Don Carlos; and he warmly recommended to Elizabeth, as a husband in every way suitable, his own cousin, the Archduke Charles of Austria, son of the Emperor Ferdinand.

According to every canonical law of the Roman church, according to the notions of nearly every Catholic in England, the claim of Mary Stuart to the English succession was far preferable to that of her cousin Elizabeth. The Guises represented that Anne Boleyn's marriage had never been lawful—that it had been pronounced null and void by a sentence of the church—that the attainder of Elizabeth's blood had never been reversed even by her own parliament, and that Mary of Scotland, though passed by in the will of Henry VIII., and overlooked by the English nation, was, by right of descent and purity of birth, indisputably entitled to the throne. In a fatal moment for Mary, she and her husband quartered the royal arms of England with their own,



ROYAL ARMS OF ENGLAND ASSUMED BY MARY OF SCOTLAND.³
From a seal in the Royal Collection of France.

and even assumed the style of King and Queen of Scotland and England. But Elizabeth did not wait for this provocation to a most deadly quarrel. She resolved to anticipate events—to undermine the authority of Mary in the neighbouring kingdom, so as to leave her neither a

² Rymer.

³ "This seal is in the French king's collection at Paris, and seems to have been used by Mary during her widowhood, and whilst she asserted her right of succession to the crown of England."—*Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iii.

Scottish nor an English throne; and this plan was acted upon through a long series of years with consummate and wonderful art. But the condition of Scotland served Elizabeth better than all the skill of her statesmen and diplomatists, great as it was. That country was rent by factions and religious controversies, more fierce, more determined than ever. Mary's mother, the queen-regent, like the whole family of the Guises, was devotedly attached to the Church of Rome, and, as a Frenchwoman, she was naturally the enemy of the Scottish Reformers, who had all along leaned to England. The Reformers pillaged monasteries, burned churches, and committed other excesses; and the Catholics still cried for the stake and fagot against these sacrilegious miscreants. Mary of Guise, the queen-regent, invited or summoned all the Reformed clergy to appear at Stirling on the 10th of May, 1559, to give an account of their conduct. These Reformers went to the place appointed, but so well attended with armed friends and partizans, that their opponents were utterly daunted. The result of this meeting was, that the queen-regent, in the presence of their superior force, pledged her word that no proceedings should be instituted for deeds that were past, provided only they would remain peaceable for the future. According to the Reformers, they had scarcely dispersed when she, without any new stir or provocation on their part, caused them to be proceeded against in their absence. But it must be observed that many of the Reformers were men of the most ardent zeal, who considered the remaining quiet under the rule and dominion of Papists as an abominable connivance with Satan. Among these must certainly be included the famous John Knox, the very head and front of the Calvinistic Reformation in Scotland—the pupil and bosom friend of Wishart, who had perished at the stake in Cardinal Beaton's time. On the 11th of May, the very day after the meeting at Stirling, John Knox preached in Perth with his usual vehemence against the mass, idolatrous

worship, and the adoration of saints and images. When a priest proceeded to say mass as usual, a boy called this act idolatry—he received a blow—he retaliated by throwing stones at the priest, and damaged a church picture. The iconoclastic fury spread like flames running over gunpowder—pictures, statues, marble fonts were broken to pieces, wherever they could be reached—"temple and tower went to the ground" with hideous crash.¹ The Reformers of England had rested satisfied with the destruction of the ornaments and accessories, and had, generally, left the walls of the abbeys untouched, but the zeal of the Scots was far more unsparing—they wished not to leave one stone upon another, and it was a maxim with John Knox that the best way of preventing the rooks from ever returning was to destroy their nests. The queen-regent had no means of checking this spirit of destruction. John Knox, by a single blast of his spiritual trumpet, assembled an irregular but a numerous army; and now the churches and monasteries which had escaped before fell almost as suddenly as the walls of Jericho at the trumpet of Joshua. Of late nearly the whole body of the Scottish nobility had fallen off from the queen-regent and enrolled themselves under the banner of Knox, who, after all, was the real chief and leader of this holy war. Many of the lords acted from a conscientious dislike of the old superstitions; but there were few of them whose zeal for the gospel light was not allied with a greed after worldly lucre; and as for toleration, when it was not found in England, it could scarcely be looked for in Scotland. Matters were made much worse when the queen-regent brought in fresh troops from France to support her insulted and tottering government. The rabble, however, who had not made up their minds to die martyrs, submitted in the towns and places where these disciplined troops were stationed, and the Protestant chiefs were fain to conclude another treaty, and to content themselves with toleration and freedom of conscience, without insisting upon

¹ "But to speak seriously, I would not be thought such an enemy to any of the fine arts, as to rejoice at the wanton destruction of their models, ancient or modern, or to vindicate those who, from ignorance or fanatical rage, may have excited the mob to this work. At the same time, I must reprobate that spirit which disposes persons to magnify irregularities, and dwell with unceasing lamentations upon losses which, in the view of an enlightened and liberal mind, will sink and disappear in the magnitude of the incalculable good which rose from the wreck of the revolution. What I do we celebrate with public rejoicings victories over the enemies of our country, in the gaining of which the lives of thousands of our fellow-countrymen have been sacrificed?—and shall solemn masses and sad dirges, accompanied with direful execrations, be everlastingly sung, for the mangled members of statues, torn pictures, and ruined towers? I will go farther and say, that I look upon the destruction of these monuments as a piece of good policy, which contributed materially to the overthrow of the Roman Catholic religion, and the prevention of its re-establishment. It was chiefly by the mag-

nificence of temples, and the splendid apparatus of its worship, that the Popish church fascinated the senses and imaginations of the people. There could not, therefore, be a more successful method of attacking it than the demolition of these. There is more wisdom than many seem to perceive, in the maxim which Knox is said to have inculcated, 'That the best way to keep the rooks from returning was to pull down their nests.' In demolishing or rendering uninhabitable all those buildings which had served for the maintenance of the ancient superstition (except what were requisite for the Protestant worship), the Reformers only acted on the principles of a prudent general, who razes the castles and fortifications which he is unable to keep, and which might afterwards be seized and employed against him by the enemy. Had they been allowed to remain, the Popish clergy would not have ceased to indulge hopes, and to make efforts to be restored to them; occasions would have been taken to tamper with the credulous, and inflame the minds of the superstitious; and the Reformers might soon have found reason to repent their ill-judged forbearance."—*M'Crie's Life of Knox.*

the immediate and total suppression of Papistry; but this they only considered as a temporary sacrifice of principle to expediency—as a connivance which was not to last; and headed by the Earls of Argyle, Morton, and Glencairn, the Lord Lorn, Erskine of Dun, and others, they formed a general Protestant league, entered privately into agreements, and, styling themselves the Lords of the Congregation, published a solemn protest against the abominations and corruptions of Popery. Among those who went over to the Lords of the Congregation, was the Earl of Arran, formerly regent, who had now for some years rejoined in his French title of Duke of Chatellerauld, and whose religion was of a very elastic nature. But their principal leader—a man of extraordinary abilities, whatever we may think of his honour or virtue—was James Stuart, prior, or commendator, of the monastery of St. Andrews, a natural son of the late king, the unfortunate James V., and half-brother of the beautiful Mary Stuart. This man professed a wonderful zeal for the new religion, whereby, not less than by his talents, he attached to himself what was now most decidedly the popular and the stronger party.

At this critical moment the absent Mary Stuart had become Queen of France, a transitory grandeur, which only lasted as it were for a moment, and which tended still further to increase the jealousies of the Scots and to embarrass her friends in her native country. Her father-in-law, Henry II. of France, had not been very happy since the signing of the (to him) disadvantageous treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, but the immediate cause of his death was an accidental wound in the eye from a broken lance while tilting. He expired on the 10th of July, 1559, in the forty-first year of his age, and was succeeded by his eldest son, the husband of Mary, under the title of Francis II. In this manner the Scots became more and more confirmed in their idea that their country was to be held and treated as a French province or dependence; and hence every Frenchman, every ship, every bale of goods that arrived from France was looked upon with a jealous eye. Nor did Francis and Mary, on their accession to the French throne, neglect to take measures for the re-establishment of the royal power in the northern kingdom. In the end of July, 1000 French soldiers landed at Leith; and that the spiritual interests might not be neglected, Francis and Mary sent with these men-at-arms a certain number of orthodox divines from the Sorbonne. With these reinforcements, and giving out that more were coming, the queen-regent took possession of Leith and quartered the odious Papistical and foreign soldiers on the townspeople. When the citizens of Leith com-

plained, she assured them that the measure was necessary for the preservation of her daughter's throne, and that she could not, and would not, desist until the lords should dismiss their armed men. The Lords of the Congregation had of course less intention than ever of laying down the sword—their party was daily increasing, and that of the queen-dowager was as rapidly declining. At this crisis it seems to have fallen principally to the preachers to expound the lawfulness of resistance to constituted authorities; and in so doing some of them occasionally broached doctrines, which, however sound in themselves, and adopted in later times, were exceedingly odious to all the royal ears of Europe, whether Catholic or Protestant. But the Scotch Protestants soon found that the Catholics were still powerful—that many, even of their own communion, disapproved of their extreme measures, and looked upon their conduct as rebellion—that the foreign troops were formidable from the excellent state of their discipline and appointments—that the chief fortresses of the kingdom were in their hands—that money was pouring in from France, and that the Lords of the Congregation were, as usual, excessively needy. In this emergency, they resolved to apply for assistance to the Queen of England. Elizabeth was solemnly bound by the recent treaty of Cateau-Cambresis to do nothing in Scotland to the prejudice of Mary's rights and authority; but then Mary, since the signing of that treaty, had behaved disrespectfully to one of Elizabeth's servants; and it was known or shrewdly suspected that the Catholic fanatics, who mainly ruled the councils of the French court, were determined, on the first favourable opportunity, to assert the Scottish queen's rights and strike a blow in England for Mary, God, and church. We will not pretend to say that, if all these provocations had been wanting, Elizabeth would not have adopted precisely the same line of conduct, which was nothing but a drawing out of the old line of Henry VIII., which fell to her as a political heir-loom. When the matter was debated in the English council, there was, however, some difference of opinion, and a strong repugnance on the part of the queen, to what was deemed the anarchical polity of John Knox. The Scottish lords, or rather the great English statesmen who espoused their cause, putting aside the delicate question of rebellion and aiding of rebels, represented that the French were keeping and increasing an army in Scotland, and aiming at nothing less than the entire possession or mastery of the country; that Scotland would only prove a step to England; that when the Protestants there were overpowered, the French and Catholics would undoubtedly try to place Mary Stuart on the throne of England,

and renew the tyranny of Mary Tudor; that the safety of the queen, the state, the church, the liberty of England, depended essentially on the turn which affairs might take in Scotland.¹ The correctness of these views was undeniable, and it was therefore resolved to support the Protestant nobility in their struggle with the queen-regent; but with such secrecy as neither to bring upon the Lords of the Congregation the odium of being the friends and pensioners of England, nor to engage Elizabeth in an open war with her sister and rival.² Elizabeth had not far to look for an agent competent to manage this business: our old friend Sir Ralph Sadler, who knew Scotland better than any Englishman, who had been in old times the bosom friend of the Scottish lords in the pay of Henry VIII., many of whom figured in the new movements, had quitted his rural retirement at Hackney on the accession of her present majesty, who had forthwith appointed him to a seat in her privy council. He was full of energy, and he entered on his new duties with a happy anticipation of success. In the course of the month of August, Cecil issued a commission to Sir Ralph to settle certain disputes concerning Border matters, and to superintend the repairs which it was proposed to make in the fortifications of Berwick and other English fortresses on or near to the Borders. Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and Sir James Croft, the governor of Berwick, were joined in the commission, but more for form than for anything else; for Northumberland, as a Papist himself, was suspected—and the whole business was, in fact, intrusted to Sadler. The repairs which were actually begun on a large scale at Berwick seemed a very sufficient reason to account for Sadler's protracted stay; and Elizabeth had "thought necessary to provoke the queen-regent, her good sister, to appoint some of her ministers of like qualities to meet with the said earl (Northumberland) and the said Sir Ralph and Sir James." Sadler was thus brought into contact with Scottish commissioners, whom he was instructed to bribe. By his private powers and instructions, in Cecil's hand-writing, he was authorized to confer, treat, or practise with any manner of person of Scotland, either in Scotland or England, for his purposes and the furthering of the queen's service; to distribute money to the disaffected Scots, as he should think proper, to the amount of £3000, but he was always to proceed with such discretion and secrecy, that no part of his doings should awaken suspicion or impair the peace lately concluded between Elizabeth and

Scotland. Sir Ralph soon reported progress to the cool and circumspect Cecil, telling him that if the Lords of the Congregation were properly encouraged and comforted, there was no doubt as to the result. On his arrival at Berwick he had found in that town a secret messenger sent from Knox to Sir James Croft (who appear to have been old friends), and by means of this messenger they signified to Knox that they wished that Mr. Henry Balnaves, or some other discreet and trusty Scotsman, might repair "in secret manner" to such place as they had appointed, to the intent that they might confer touching affairs. Sir James Croft had understood from Knox that his party would require aid of the queen's majesty for the entertainment and wages of 1500 arquebusiers and 300 horsemen, which, if they might have, then France (as Knox said) should "soon understand their minds." To this demand for aid, Sadler had so answered as not to leave them without hope: but he is anxious "to understand the queen's majesty's pleasure in that part, wishing, if it may be looked for that any good effect shall follow, that her majesty should not, for the spending of a great deal more than the charge of their demand amounteth unto, pretermitt such an opportunity." But it was money, ready money, that the Scottish Reformers needed. "And to say our poor minds unto you," continues Sir Ralph, "we see not but her highness must be at some charge with them; *for of bare words only, though they may be comfortable, yet can they receive no comfort.*" This letter was written on the 20th of August (1559), immediately after Sadler's arrival at the scene of intrigue, and on the same day John Knox was requested to send his secret agent to Holy Isle. By a letter dated on the 24th of the same month, Elizabeth told Sadler that he should immediately deal out "in the secretest manner" the money committed to him at his departure from London, "to such persons and to such intents as might most effectually further and advance that service which had been specially recommended unto him." And on the same day Cecil addressed to Arran, or Chatellerault, a much more remarkable letter, which it should appear Sir Ralph was to forward to its destination. From some expressions used by Cecil, it should almost seem that Elizabeth entertained the notion of uniting the two kingdoms under her own dominion, without any reference to the rights of Mary; but the Scottish nation was certainly *not* prepared for any such measure, nor did the fastest pace of the Lords of the Congregation come up with it. On the 28th of August the Queen-regent of Scotland, in the name of Francis and Mary, King and Queen of the French and Scots, appointed Scottish commissioners to treat with Sadler and Northumberland for the

¹ Memorial written by my lord-treasurer (Cecil) with his own hand, 5th August, 1559; Sadler's *State Papers*: *Rawmer*.

² Walter Scott's Biographical Memoir of Sir Ralph Sadler, prefixed to the *State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler, Knight Banneret*, edited by Arthur Clifford.

settlement of the Border disputes, the release of prisoners on both sides, and the establishing a sound and lasting tranquillity on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, the seat of ancient and fierce enmities. These commissioners were the infamous James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, who, a few years later, involved Queen Mary in disgrace and destruction; Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, father of the celebrated secretary of Mary; and Sir Walter Car, or Ker, of Cessford, ancestor of the Dukes of Roxburgh. Sir Ralph Sadler thought fit to postpone the meeting to the 11th of September, and the Scottish commissioners do not appear to have been sensible of the fact that, in the meanwhile, those of England were actively corresponding with the insurgents. Great caution was used in that matter. In conformity with Cecil's advice, a comfortable letter was drawn up between Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft to the Lords of the Congregation, expressing their hearty sorrow at understanding that their godly enterprise, tending principally to the advancement of God's glory, and next to the safeguard and defence of their natural country from the conquest of the French nation, should be unfortunately stayed and interrupted.¹ But this letter was not sent to its destination; and it seems to have been stopped in consequence of the journey into Scotland of the son and heir of the Duke of Chatellerault, who had been in England in close conference with Cecil, by means of whom the necessary encouragement might be transmitted to the insurgents by word of mouth, thus diminishing the chance of committing Queen Elizabeth as a fomentor of the rebellion.

The ex-regent's son, who at this time bore his father's former title of Earl of Arran, stole into Scotland with an English pass, under the assumed name of Monsieur de Beaufort, and he was accompanied by Master Thomas Randall, or Randolph, an able and intelligent agent of Queen Elizabeth, an adept in secret intrigues, who assumed, for the nonce, the name of Barnyby.² This Randall, or Randolph, alias Barnyby, remained a considerable time in Scotland, being in fact the resident envoy of Elizabeth to the Lords of the Congregation. He occasionally corresponded directly with the queen's council, but more generally with Sir R. Sadler. On the 8th of September, three days before the appointed meeting with the commissioners of the Queen-regent of Scotland, Sadler wrote to inform Cecil that Mr. Balnaves had at last arrived at midnight from the Lords of the Congregation, and had made him "the whole discourse of all their proceedings from the beginning." English money and promises had worked

the desired effect; the Lords of the Congregation were encouraged to strike another blow.

In an armistice concluded at the Links of Leith on the 24th of the preceding month of July, it was covenanted—1. That the town of Edinburgh should use what religion they pleased. 2. That no one should be prosecuted for religion. 3. That no garrison should be placed in Edinburgh. A dispute arose concerning the possession of the high church of St. Giles' in Edinburgh, which the queen-regent desired to retain for the exercise of the Catholic worship, and which the Reformers were equally eager to occupy. But, in fact, John Knox was determined to drive the Romish clergy from every church, from every altar, whether public or private, and thus, immediately after the agreement of the Links of Leith, he extended his demands, insisting that mass should not be said even within the precincts of the palace of Holyrood. Sadler granted the Lords of the Congregation for the present £2000, telling their envoy, that if they made a good use of it, and kept the secret, and the queen's honour untouched, they should soon have more. Balnaves returned well satisfied to the Lords of the Congregation, who took the money as secretly as possible. In the same long letter, in which he reports all that had passed with Balnaves, Sir Ralph informs Cecil that there were other Scottish Protestants, as Kirkaldy of Grange, Ormeston, and Whitlaw, "which have spent much for this matter, whereof they be earnest prosecutors; and, having lost fifteen or sixteen months' pay, which they should now have had out of France," looked for some relief, and had been put in some hope thereof; "but," continues Sadler, "because we have been so liberal of the queen's purse, albeit it pleased her majesty to commit the same to the discretion of me the said Sir Ralph, yet we would be glad to know how her highness liketh or misliketh what we have done before we do any more." Elizabeth was obliged to send down more money to Berwick, some of which was paid to Kirkaldy, Ormeston, and Whitlaw, and some, it should appear, to the Earl of Arran, the son of the Duke of Chatellerault the ex-regent. In a day or two Arran was safely delivered in Teviotdale to one of his friends, who undertook to convey him surely and secretly to his father in the castle of Hamilton; and it appears to have been after this return of his son that the ex-regent fully declared for the Lords of the Congregation. Meanwhile, on the appointed day, Sadler, with Croft and the Earl of Northumberland, met the commissioners of the queen-regent upon the frontiers. A dispute about the wording of their respective commissions consumed some time, and then, with proper diplomatic slowness, Sadler proceeded to business—a

¹ Sadler's *State Papers*.

² In the passport M. de Beaufort, alias Arran, was designated as "a gentleman of our good brother the French king;" Barnyby, alias Randolph, as a gentleman appointed to accompany him.

business which, like all Border disputes, could be lengthened *ad infinitum*. During these discussions Knox sent his preachers over the country; the queen-regent "fell into a great melancholy and displeasure;" the Congregation began to assemble, and the Frenchmen began to devise means for their own defence. Had she but known half the intrigues that were at work, the queen-regent had good reason to be melancholy. Her secretary, William Maitland, wrote to Sadler's associate, Sir James Croft, desiring him to have no less good opinion of him than heretofore, and offering his service to the queen's majesty (Elizabeth) in anything that he could: "and further," says Croft in a joint letter, "he sent me word that he attended upon the regent in her court no longer than till he might have good occasion to revolt unto the Protestants." At the same time, however, more troops arrived from France, and more French money was placed at the disposal of the queen-regent and her party. John Knox was greatly alarmed as to the *French* money, and he immediately besought Elizabeth to counteract its dangerous effects to the Protestant interests by sending more *English* money into Scotland. On his recent return from Geneva through England he had had an interview with Cecil, and evidently had arranged beforehand the plan of his operations.¹ He corresponded afterwards with the English secretary and others in England; and on the 21st of September, under the feigned name of John Sinclear, he wrote to Sadler's colleague, Croft, a remarkable letter from St. Andrews. After mentioning the return of the younger Arran, and how the Lords of the Congregation had departed for Stirling to join him and his father, the Duke of Chatellerault, at Hamilton Castle, he passed at once to the question of money, and told Mr. Secretary that unless more money was sent, especially for some chiefs whom he had named in writing, it would be impossible for them to serve in this action.²

Those who take the least favourable view of the character of John Knox can hardly suspect that he wanted money for himself, but he knew the world and the mercenary character of most of the Scottish chiefs; and, besides, the sinews of war appear really to have been wanting, and the Catholic party, as we have seen, were drawing funds from France. For a time it was a struggle of the purse between England and France. Elizabeth, at all times parsimonious, was at the present poor and embarrassed, and yet, under the wise guidance of Cecil and Sadler, she continued to send gold down to Berwick. Meanwhile the French fortified Leith, as if "intending to keep themselves within that place, and so to be masters

or the chief port and entrance into that part of Scotland;" and the Lords of the Congregation attempted to get possession of Edinburgh Castle, in which, however, they were defeated by Lord Erskine the governor, who professed to observe neutrality between the contending parties, and refused to admit either Protestants or Catholics.

In spite of all the precaution of the English queen and the marvellous address of her agent, Mary's mother was not altogether blind to what was passing, and she complained, through her commissioners, that, without her license and knowledge, many of the Scottish insurgents were allowed to pass through England into Scotland, and also out of Scotland into England, to work mischief to her government. It is indeed certain that the Cardinal of Lorraine, and others who directed the councils of that very youthful couple, would have made Francis and Mary quarter the English arms under any circumstances; but notwithstanding this, Elizabeth, with reference to her own conduct, could not justly allege that the first provocation to their mortal quarrel proceeded from Mary. It is almost idle to consider this as a moral question, or as an affair directed personally by the two rival princesses; but as many writers have viewed it in this light, it may be proper to make prominent one or two little facts. Mary was only in her seventeenth year, her husband was nearly a year younger, and both were entirely guided by others. Elizabeth was in her twenty-sixth year, the mistress of her own council and actions, an experienced and most competent person. If, therefore, a false and unfair direction was given to the policy of Mary, it was her misfortune, or an offence for which morally she was not accountable, but in Elizabeth such a thing would be her own crime.

The ex-Regent Chatellerault took occasion openly to declare himself on the French fortifying Leith, and he told the queen-regent that she must either dislodge them, or be sure that the nobility of Scotland would not suffer nor endure it. The regent replied that it was surely as lawful for her daughter to fortify where she pleased in her own realm as it was for him, the duke, to build fortifications for himself at Hamilton Castle, and that she would not remove the French from Leith unless she were compelled by force. As soon as these matters were known at Berwick, where agents and spies were constantly going and coming, Sadler wrote a short but sententious letter to his old acquaintance the duke, assuring his grace that if it might lie in so poor a man as he was to do his grace any service, he should find him most willing and ready thereto, to the uttermost of his power at all times. The duke and the Lords of the Congregation suppressed the abbeys of Paisley, Kilwinning, and

¹ Knox had arrived in Scotland only on the 2d of May of this present year, 1559.

² Sadler, *Papers*.

Dunfermline, burning all the images, idols, and Popish stuff in the same, and by means of Alexander Whitlaw, "*a godly man and most affectionate to England*," they assured Sadler that they would take the field after harvest against the French—*only they wanted some more money*, without which they should not be able to keep their men together. At the same time Knox sued again for relief for certain Scottish leaders whom he would not name, but whom Sadler set down as the Earl of Glencairn, the Lairds of Dun, Ormeston, and Grange, and Alexander Whitlaw. La Brosse and the Bishop of Amiens had arrived with a few troops at Leith, and more were expected. In this posture of affairs Sadler recommended the immediate spending of £4000 or £5000, which he thought might save the queen's highness a great deal another way. While they were getting ready this money in England the regent wrote to the duke, reproving him for joining with the Lords of the Congregation, and accusing him and the said lords of their practices with Queen Elizabeth. At the same time the regent spoke of a new agreement, offering to leave off fortifying Leith, to secure liberty for all men to use their conscience, and to send the French out of Scotland by a certain day; but the duke answered that he could do nothing without the Lords of the Congregation. The sum of £3000 in French coin was down at Berwick by the 10th of October; and from Berwick it soon found its way into the pockets of the Lords of the Congregation; but still those chiefs were slow in taking the field; and Sadler, through Thomas Randolph, alias Barnaby, told them that they ought to be more diligent in this great and weighty business. A few days afterwards Sir Ralph was still more pressing, telling the Lords of the Congregation that they ought "to take their time while they have it, and thereby prevent the malice of their enemies." Randolph, who was moving about with the Scottish lords, assured Sadler that something would be done presently, for the queen-regent had set forth *her* proclamation, and the Lords of the Congregation had also set forth *their* proclamation "as reinforcement on the other side, with full determination to fall to no composition." By this time continual vexation and alarm had broken the health of Mary of Guise. "Some," writes Randolph, "think that the regent will depart secretly; some that she will to Incheith, for that three ships are a-preparing. Some say that she is very sick: some say the devil cannot kill her." In the same secret despatch, which, like most of the rest, was written in a cipher, Randolph says that the prior of St. Andrews has just sent to the Earl of Arran a powerful letter said to be received out of France, containing many news of the great preparations

making in that country against Scotland, with earnest advice to the lords to seek aid of England; "which letter," adds the adroit agent, "I guess to savour too much of Knox's style to come from France, though it will serve to good purpose."

The queen-regent by this time had conveyed all her property out of Holyroodhouse and Edinburgh, into Leith. At last, the Lords of the Congregation, with the Duke of Chatellerault, and his son the Earl of Arran, at their head, marched upon the capital: the regent, with the French and the Scottish lords of the Catholic party who yet adhered to her, withdrew at their approach within the fortified lines of Leith, there to await aid from France. The lords called a parliament, and summoned to Edinburgh all the gentlemen living upon the Borders, upon pain of treason in case of non-attendance. On the 22d of October Balnaves reported that all hope of concord had that day been taken away, by reason that blood had been drawn largely on both sides.¹ At the same time he pressed for *more money*, and asked for some English gunpowder.² Two days after, the Lords of the Congregation themselves addressed Sadler, telling him that they had deprived the queen-regent of her authority, by common consent of all the lords and barons present at Edinburgh—that they had openly proclaimed her deprivation, had inhibited her officers from executing anything in her name, and had further denounced "her French and assistants" as enemies to the commonwealth. Touching the lords' request for *more money* and for gunpowder, Sadler replied that he trusted they would consider *secrecy* above all things—that he did not see how he could send them powder without an open show and manifestation of Elizabeth as an enemy to the French, who were then *in peace and amity with her*: and yet he adds, if they can devise which way the same may be secretly conveyed unto them, in such sort as it could not be known to come from England, he could be well content that they had as much gunpowder as might be spared from Berwick conveniently. And likewise for *money*, he was in good hope of having some to send them soon, but he prayed that they would use such precautions and mysteries as the importance of the matter and the *honour* of Queen Elizabeth required, and be more close and secret in their doings and conferences. Knox, who could rea-

¹ This blood was drawn in skirmishes outside of the works of Leith. Knox, in his history, says that there was skirmishing, but without great slaughter.

² In praising himself, Balnaves seems to cast a reflection on his colleagues. He tells Randolph to assure their honours, the English commissioners, in his name, that the little money he had brought with him had gone farther than £5000 would have gone intrusted to anybody else.

son like a politician, had written to Croft or to Sadler, saying that the queen-regent "had plainly spoken that she knew the means how to frustrate the expectations of aid from England," by delivering up Calais to Queen Elizabeth; and he had evidently expressed himself as if he suspected that the English court was coquetting in that direction. Sir Ralph was very earnest in removing this doubt. He replied, almost eloquently. This letter was written on the 27th of October: on the last day of the same month Sir Ralph addressed Randolph, telling him that he expected every day some good answer from the court *touching the money*, and that, in the meantime, he forwarded by the Laird of Ormeston £1000 sterling in French crowns. As Ormeston was travelling from Berwick towards Edinburgh, he was set upon by Lord Bothwell, who took the money-bags from him and kept them, apparently for his own use. Ormeston reached the capital "sorely hurt;" upon which the Earl of Arran and the prior of St. Andrews went with 200 horsemen, 100 footmen, and two pieces of artillery, to Lord Bothwell's house, "trusting to have found him; howbeit they came too late only by a quarter of an hour." They, however, took his house and threatened to burn it to the ground, and declared the earl a traitor, unless he returned the money. This loss was a most serious mishap; but though both Elizabeth and her chief adviser Cecil were grieved to the heart by it, they soon sent more money. At the same time Knox (whose *Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* always grated harshly on the queen's ear) had excited apprehension, and jealousy, and disgust, at the English court by his advocacy of the Calvinistic discipline, and of political tenets that seemed both republican and democratic. "Of all others," writes Cecil to Sadler, "Knox's name is most odious here, and, therefore, I wish no mention of him hither."¹ But Cecil was as deeply convinced as ever of the necessity of supporting the Protestant insurrection. "It is here seen," he says, "by such to whom it hath been secretly committed, that the end of this *their* matter is certainly the beginning of ours, be it weal or woe; and therefore, I see it will follow necessarily that we must have good regard that they quail not." In this letter, which is dated on the 3d of November, he goes much farther than he had hitherto gone, authorizing Sadler to tell the Scottish lords that, if they would forthwith raise a sufficient force, and venture on

the siege of Leith, all the charges should be borne for them; and that if they took Leith, in case of the French making any array by sea to invade Scotland, they should be met and hindered if their power appeared greater than the Scottish Protestants could reasonably withstand.

Sadler entered completely into these views, and was of opinion that *now* deception could no longer be practised, by reason of the mischief which had befallen Ormeston. Succour was therefore sent in more boldly to the Lords of the Congregation, who, at last, beleaguered Leith. But in so wretched a state of discipline was this Scottish army, that at every sortie the French took them by surprise, and gained an advantage over them. On the 6th of November the Presbyterians, commanded by the Earl of Arran and the prior of St. Andrews, were surrounded in the marshes of Restalrig, and defeated with some loss by a portion of the French garrison. Their retreat to Edinburgh was nearly cut off, and when they got there they fell to serious debating, the end of which was, that the Earl of Glencairn, with some other lords, resolved to leave the capital in order to collect more men. But, finally, upon perceiving that the greatest part of their force, "which consisted of the *commons* that were not able to abide and serve any longer upon their own costs and charges," were all departing from them, the whole of the Congregation evacuated Edinburgh, and retreated to Stirling by night. At the latter place Knox finished a sermon which he had commenced at Edinburgh before the departure, and, according to his own account, "the lords were much erected" by it. He was, no doubt, the great animating principle in this remarkable contest: but, while he was preaching at Stirling, the queen-regent and the French re-entered the capital in great triumph.

A.D. 1560. Notwithstanding the effective preaching of John Knox, and the reviving spirit of the Scottish Protestants, it soon became evident that something more must be done for them than the sending of money to the needy nobles; and when Elizabeth learned that the queen-regent was promised fresh supplies and troops from France, she resolved to make such preparations as should prevent the Scots from being crushed. Therefore, without altogether giving up her secret practices, or stopping her private subsidies, she began to prepare a fleet and an army. Her warlike preparations were soon rumoured abroad, and at this moment the French court really made her an offer of the immediate restitution of Calais, provided only she would not interfere in the affairs of Scotland. To this tempting offer Elizabeth replied, that she could never put a fishing-town in competition with the safety of her dominions; and she continued her

¹ Two or three days later, in another letter to Sir Ralph, Cecil says, "Surely I like not Knox's audacity, which also was well tamed in your answer. His writings do no good here; and, therefore, I do rather suppress them, and yet I mean not but that ye should continue in sending of them." Balnave also had incurred the suspicion and dislike of Sadler and Cecil, and for the same republican tenets.

preparations, and intimated to the Lords of the Congregation that she was now ready to enter upon a treaty with them. The Scottish lords chose for their negotiator the able William Maitland of Lethington, who had now deserted from his post of secretary to the regent, a step he had been contemplating for some time. If the English queen had any lingering doubts and misgivings as to braving a war, they were soon removed by this truly accomplished diplomatist. On the 27th of February she concluded, at Berwick, a treaty of mutual defence, which was to last during the marriage of the Queen of Scots with the French king, and for a year after; she solemnly promised never to lay down her arms till the French should be entirely driven out of Scotland; and she gave equally solemn assurances that she would not attack the liberties, laws, and usages of the Scots.¹

In the month of March, notwithstanding the storms of winter, the English fleet, which consisted of thirteen large ships of war, besides transports, appeared in the Firth of Forth, and at a critical moment, for 4000 Frenchmen, horse and foot, had been detached from Edinburgh and Leith, and were then engaged in ravaging the fertile and Protestant county of Fife. D'Oisel, their general, who had not proceeded unmolested, and who was checked by the appearance on his left flank of numerous Scottish bodies under the prior of St. Andrews, Lord Ruthven, and Kirkaldy of Grange, was transported with joy at the sight of the gallant fleet, which he mistook for the long-promised ships of D'Elbœuf, and he wasted a great deal of valuable gunpowder in firing a salute. But, presently, Winter, the English admiral, hoisted his flag, and at that unwelcome sight D'Oisel turned, and began a difficult and dangerous retreat. He, however, reached Edinburgh, where he found the queen-regent in an alarming state of health. Forseeing the dangers and hardships to which her sinking frame would be exposed in a besieged town, the broken-hearted and dying Mary of Guise implored the Lord Erskine to receive her into the castle of Edinburgh; and his lordship, who still maintained his curious neutrality and independence, granted her an asylum upon condition that she should take only a few attendants into the castle with her. Quitting his royal mistress, his steady and affectionate friend, for ever, D'Oisel threw himself into Leith. That place had been well fortified before, and now he employed a short time allowed him by the enemy in adding to its defences; and, notwithstanding the fact that the English attacked Leith rather like bull-dogs than soldiers, D'Oisel and the French engineers must have evinced very considerable skill. The whole force

of the French now in Scotland did not exceed 3000 men. An English army, amounting to 6000 men, under the Lord Grey de Wilton, having marched by Berwick to Preston on the 6th of April, 1560, joined a considerable force brought thither by the Lords of the Congregation; and while the fleet blockaded the port of Leith, and prevented the arrival of any succour from France, the united armies of Scotland and England laid siege to the town on the land side. The Marquis d'Elbœuf had embarked for Scotland with a large force, but his transports were scattered by a storm, and either wrecked on the coast of Holland or driven back to France. In this way the English fleet had no opportunity of distinguishing itself in battle. The land troops soon gave glaring proofs that they had in a great degree lost the habit of discipline, and that they were unskilfully commanded. They opened their trenches in ground utterly unfit for the purpose, and their guns were so badly pointed as to make little or no impression on the bastions which the French had thrown up, or on the walls of Leith. Their line of circumvallation was loose and ragged, and so little vigilance was used, that for some time the French broke through it with impunity. It soon appeared that Leith, "though not thought inexpugnable, would percase be found of such strength as would require time, and that the greatest want which the Scottish chieftains did fear was *lack of money*; for, otherwise, they were of good courage."² This courage, however, had been damped by sundry suspicions and misgivings. At the very commencement of hostilities, even while the Scotch and English were engaged with the French, Sir James Croft and Sir George Howard had an interview with the queen-regent in Edinburgh Castle. This circumstance instantly excited the suspicion of the Lords of the Congregation, who apprehended that Elizabeth had empowered her diplomatic agents to make a separate peace, upon conditions advantageous to herself, and that thus the Scottish insurgents would be abandoned to the vengeance of the French and the queen-mother. And we have very satisfactory evidence to prove that their fears were not altogether groundless.³ There can be little doubt that the selfish and vacillating Duke of Chatelleraut and several noble lords of his party, who were at best but lukewarm Protestants, would have entered with Elizabeth and the queen-regent into any "reasonable accord" that would have promoted their personal interests, and that they would have left John Knox and the Congregation to shift for themselves: but, most auspiciously for the latter, Elizabeth's agents, and Mary of Guise, who retained a high spirit even in defeat, could not

¹ Rymer.² Sadler to Cecil.³ Burghley Papers.

agree; the treaty in Edinburgh Castle was broken off, and in a few days the English queen resolved that the siege of Leith should be more earnestly prosecuted, and her forces both by sea and land augmented. At the same time the English commanders were instructed not "to condemn or neglect any reasonable offers of agreement" that might be made by the French. But these veterans for a long time had no inclination to make any offers, and they continued to defend Leith with a skill and bravery which gained for them high honour among soldiers in every part of Europe. According to Brantome, a seal was put to a soldier's reputation if he could say that he had served in this gallant defence of Leith.¹ On the side of the English and Scots the operations advanced very slowly, and their labour was repeatedly rendered of no avail by the ingenuity of the French engineers. At last a bad breach was made, and towards this the English, who at least had lost none of their physical courage, rushed in blind fury, heedless of the well-directed artillery of the enemy; but when they came to use their scaling-ladders they found them far too short for the purpose, and after a dreadful struggle they were repulsed and obliged to flee to their intrenchments, leaving a ditch half filled with dead—the victims of the ignorance or inconsiderateness of their officers. The English were so much dispirited by their failure on this and other occasions, that they talked of a retreat; but more money was sent down to their Scottish allies, and the Duke of Norfolk, in addition to several smaller bodies despatched already, forwarded a reinforcement of 2000 men. Thus the siege was carried on more closely than ever, or, rather, it was converted into the closest of blockades.

Matters were in this state when, on the 10th of June, the queen-regent breathed her last in Edinburgh Castle. On her death-bed she sent for her daughter's half-brother, the prior of St. Andrews, and some others of the Lords of the Congregation, to whom she earnestly recommended her absent child their queen. The death of Mary of Guise hastened the conclusion of a peace, which, however, the French government was made to desire by other circumstances and alarming demonstrations, which, at the least, threatened France with a fierce civil war. The two brothers of the deceased Queen-regent of Scotland, the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise, who in fact governed the French kingdom in the name of Francis and Mary, had excited the deadly animosity of the French Protestants, and of other great and powerful factions: they had recently discovered an extensive conspiracy directed against the whole house of Lorraine, and though they had prevented its outbreak for the

present, they well knew that the conspirators would never be reconciled to them. At such a moment they could not spare fresh troops for the very doubtful and expensive struggle in Scotland, and even the veteran force blocked up in Leith was much missed and its return anxiously desired. Elizabeth opened a ready ear to some overtures made by the house of Lorraine, and it was finally agreed that her commissioners should have a meeting with certain French commissioners in the town of Berwick on the 14th of June. The able men appointed by Elizabeth were Cecil and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury; the French negotiators were Montluc, Bishop of Valence, and the Count de Randan, both men of consummate abilities. These diplomatists, who seem to have been very fairly matched, met, and proceeded on the 16th of June to Edinburgh. Several days were consumed in settling conditions; but on the 6th of July, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the Lord Grey de Wilton, Sir William Cecil, and Sir Ralph Sadler, gave orders in the besiegers' camp that there should no piece be shot nor show of hostility be made; and on the following day Sir Francis Leake and Sir Gervase Clifton, accompanied by two French gentlemen, were sent into the town of Leith to signify unto M. d'Oisel, the Bishop of Amiens, La Brosse, Marigny, and other the French lords and captains, that they were come thither by command of the commissioners of France and England to cause the peace already concluded to be proclaimed, which accordingly was done. Leith was then surrendered, and the French governor D'Oisel regaled the captains of the besiegers with a banquet of thirty or forty dishes, in which the only flesh used was that of a salted horse—a circumstance which, as it has been observed, marks national manners and French skill, as well as the extremity to which the place had been reduced.²

The treaty, which was the joint production of Cecil and Sadler, was highly advantageous to Elizabeth. Besides Leith, Dunbar and Inchkeith were to be surrendered, and the fortifications destroyed; the administration of affairs in Scotland was to be vested in a council of twelve Scottish noblemen, of whom seven were to be named by the queen, and five by the parliament; no foreign forces were thenceforward to be introduced into Scotland without the full consent and will of the Scottish parliament; an indemnity was stipulated for all things passed in Scotland since March, 1558; and every man was to be restored to the office he held before these hostilities, while no French-

² *Walter Scott.* Stow says, "Where was prepared for them a banquet of thirty or forty dishes, and yet not one either of flesh or fish, saving one of a powdered horse, as was avouched by one that avowed himself to have tasted thereof."

¹ *Vies des Grands Capitaines François.*

man was ever to hold any office in Scotland. On the subject of religion, the *main* cause of the late war, it was agreed that the estates of the kingdom should report to Queen Mary and her husband their opinion and their wishes touching that matter. At the same time there was a separate treaty made between France and England, by which France recognized the right of Elizabeth to her crown, and agreed that Mary, in time to come, should neither assume the title nor bear the arms of England.¹

The removal of the foreign troops secured the triumphant supremacy of the Protestant party, now the majority of the Scottish nation of all classes, and which henceforward had the field almost entirely to itself.

While the Scottish affairs were as yet unsettled, the English queen's vanity was flattered by another pressing offer of marriage from her old suitor Eric, who had now ascended the throne of Sweden. In his extreme anxiety for this match, Eric sent his own brother, the Duke of Finland, to plead in his behalf. The Duke arrived at Harwich, where he was honourably received, and conducted to London. Those who knew her best, knew well that Elizabeth had never the intention of making any such marriage.

Sir Ralph Sadler, who was then at Berwick, wrote to Randolph in Scotland, that the King of Sweden had sent a great ambassador to the queen's majesty with great and liberal offers, "which you may be sure," he adds, "will take no place." A few days after his arrival, Cecil, evidently in amaze, says, "We also hear that the Archduke of Austria is on the way hitherward, not with any pomp, but rather, as it may seem, by post, in stealth. The King of Spain is earnest for him. What may come time will shortly show. I would to God her majesty had *one*, and the rest honourably satisfied." The Duke of Austria did not come, as was expected; but the King of Denmark entered the arena, and being unwilling that his neighbour and rival, the King of Sweden, should bear off so glorious a prize, he sent his nephew, the Duke of Holstein, into England to try his fortune with this most royal virgin. An elegant writer² has made a parallel between Elizabeth and the fair and wealthy Portia; but the queen could hardly exclaim—"While we shut the gate on one wooer, another knocks at the door"—for she kept her door open for several suitors at once, coquetting with Sweden, Denmark, and Austria, to say nothing of minor pretenders.³

CHAPTER XIV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1560—1566.

ELIZABETH.

The Scots discard Popery—They establish Protestantism and the Presbyterian church polity—Mary Stuart resolves to return to Scotland—She is refused a safe-conduct by Elizabeth—Mary's arrival in Edinburgh—Her reception—Disturbance in Holyrood Chapel—Mary's interview with John Knox—Dislike of Mary's subjects to her amusements—Knox's republicanism—Poverty of the Scottish Reformed clergy—Knox's remonstrances on the subject—Increase of Elizabeth's resources—Her jealousy of rivals—She allies herself with the Protestants of the Continent—Huguenot war in France—Elizabeth aids the Huguenots—Again urged by the parliament to marry—New laws in favour of the royal supremacy—Opposition of the Popish party—Laws against witches, &c.—Huguenot war continued in France—Treaty of Catherine de' Medici with the Huguenots—The English garrison in Havre compelled to capitulate—They bring the plague into London—A peace with France—Troubles of Queen Mary in Scotland—Her progress into the Highlands—Battle of Corrichie—Mary's suitors—Elizabeth's duplicity—She proposes the Earl of Leicester as a husband to Mary—Worthless character of Leicester—His favour with Elizabeth—Interview of Mary's ambassador with Leicester—Lord Darnley appears as a suitor of Mary—His relationship to her—His character—Progress of his suit—He is accepted by Mary—Intrigues connected with this union—The Protestant lords oppose it—The "Round-about Raid"—Flight of the insurgents into England—Their reception from Elizabeth—Mary's complaints against the Earl of Moray—She joins the Catholic alliance against Protestantism.



AS soon as the Scots were relieved of the presence of the French army they proceeded to settle their religion. The parliament assembled on the 1st of August, 1560, in greater numbers than had ever been known before; and their first business was

to receive and discuss a petition from the chief Lords of the Congregation, who required a formal

³ In the words of Camden, there were not wanting at home "some persons who fed themselves (as lovers use to do) with golden dreams of marrying their sovereign;" and he mentions particularly Sir William Pickering, "a gentleman well born, of a narrow estate, but much esteemed for his learning, his handsome way of living, and the management of some embassies into France and Germany;" Henry, Earl of Arundel, a vain, formal man; and Robert Dudley, afterwards the notorious Earl of Leicester.

and national manifesto against the Church of Rome. Without much debate the parliament adopted the declaration that the authority of the Roman church was an usurpation over the liberties and consciences of Christian men, an odious tyranny not to be borne. This manifesto was accompanied by a confession of faith, in which they renounced all the tenets and dogmas of the church that had been attacked by the Reformers of Germany, Switzerland, and England, and disowned for ever the whole authority of the pope. A few years before, the Reformers would have been contented—or, at least so they affirmed—with liberty to follow the dictates of their own conscience, and to worship God in the way they thought best; but now that they were the powerful party, they showed a most fixed resolution not to allow to others the sweet and precious liberty they had claimed for themselves. They menaced with secular punishments those who continued to worship according to the manner of their fathers, and proceeded to enact the most oppressive laws against the Catholics. Whosoever officiated in, or was present at a mass, was, in the first instance, to be punished with confiscation of goods and imprisonment at the discretion of the magistrate; for the second offence he was to be banished; and for the third to suffer death. The Presbyterian form of discipline was adopted, and bishops and other dignitaries were declared to be limbs of Papal superstition and tyranny. When they had proceeded thus far, they consulted with their absent queen, and sent over Sir James Sandilands, formerly prior of the Knights Hospitallers, to France, to demand the ratification of their acts. Mary not only refused her assent to the statutes passed against the religion in which she had been brought up, but denied the validity of the parliament which had been summoned without her consent, and she and her husband would not even ratify the treaties of Edinburgh. It is said that Mary's uncles, the Princes of Lorraine, *openly* expressed their resentment, and *secretly* made preparations for invading Scotland with a French fleet and army, and in order to renew the civil war there, immediately called together all those who, like the Lord Seaton, still adhered to the ancient religion; but if these intentions were really entertained, they were all frustrated by the sudden death of Francis II., Mary's weak and imbecile husband, who expired on the 5th of December, 1560, after a reign of seventeen months. His brother and successor, Charles IX., was in his eleventh year, and with small promise of being healthier or more intellectual than Francis. By this accident, however, the chief power of the government fell out of the hands of Mary's uncles into those of her mother-in-law, the infamous Catherine

de' Medici, who had no affection for the beautiful young widow. Catherine, in an unhappy hour for France, was appointed regent. Mary was now treated both disrespectfully and harshly, upon which she retired wholly from the court, and took up her residence at Rheims. The destinies of these two relations were so cast, that whatever was prejudicial to Mary was beneficial to Elizabeth. By the death of Francis, the English queen was freed from the perils attending the close union of Scotland and France, and from pretensions which might have been dangerous if urged at the moment with the whole power of the French monarchy. On the death of her husband, Mary had desisted from bearing the arms and title of Queen of England; and now Throgmorton,¹ a diplomatist of the school of Cecil and Sadler, who was residing in France, as ambassador, received instructions to work upon the mind of the young widow, and induce her to ratify the treaties of Edinburgh. This Mary refused to do, principally on the ground that, by one of the clauses of the French treaty, her undisputed right of being at least next in succession to Elizabeth, would, as she had been taught to consider, be committed or impaired. Soon after, when Mary was making up her mind to return to her native country, she requested Elizabeth to grant her a safe-conduct to cross the seas into Scotland, and allow her to pass through England if absolutely necessary. This application was made through D'Oisel, who had returned from France as Mary's ambassador; and it should appear that Elizabeth, in refusing the permission, gave way to anger and indecorous expressions of resentment in public.²

There was one party in Scotland that would gladly have left Mary where she was; and there were some men who would as gladly have seen her—even at this moment when she was untried, and when little was known of her, except her attachment to the old religion—a state prisoner in the hands of Queen Elizabeth; but the mass of the nation retained a certain loyalty and romantic affection for the orphan descendant of their kings; and it was found indispensable to recal her in an honourable manner. The person

¹ This was Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, or Throckmorton, who had saved his head by his able defence and the courage of the jury, in the preceding reign.

² Some of Elizabeth's motives for refusing the safe-conduct are pretty plainly stated by Cecil in a letter to Throgmorton. The secretary says—"By this our denial, our friends in Scotland shall find us to be of their disposition." These friends meant the enemies of Mary who had so recently been in arms, and who were almost ready to take up arms again, even before they had tried their young queen. Cecil adds in the same letter, "I think plainly the longer the Scottish queen's affairs shall hang in an uncertainty, the longer will it be ere she shall have such a match in marriage as shall offend us."—*Hardwicke State Papers*. All this was part of a system which was never interrupted by the English court till Mary was ruined and disgraced.

chosen to negotiate this return, and to conduct Mary to her native country, was her half-brother, James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, who had been a principal agent in all the changes and revolutions which had taken place during the last three eventful years. The Catholics of Scotland, alarmed at the choice of this agent, and fearing the effect he might produce on his half-sister, resolved to send an ambassador of their own at the same time; and they selected for this office Lesley, Bishop of Ross, an historian of credit and ability, whose fidelity to Mary during her afflictions commands honour from all honourable and feeling hearts. Three of her French relatives, the Duke of Aumerle, the grand prior, and the Marquis of Elbœuf, together with the Marquis Damville and other French noblemen, agreed, however, to accompany her into Scotland, and to see her safely lodged in her capital. In the month of August Mary embarked at Calais with a heavy heart. As she had been brought up in France from her infancy, she was naturally more French than Scotch, and it needed no great power of exaggeration to view Scotland as a very turbulent and very unattractive country; while, if Mary



MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.—After Paillau.

was at all conversant with its history, she must have known that the people had murdered all the kings of her most unhappy race, or sent them to the grave broken-hearted. She had been queen, though but for a short time, in the rich and fertile country she was leaving: until very recently she had been gay, and happy, and honoured, among a cheerful people; but what might await her in a poor and barren land? There was nearly everything to sadden and darken the pro-

spect, and nothing to enliven it but a youthful hope, not likely to be strong in such a moment: there was also the dread of being captured by Elizabeth, who had refused her a safe-conduct; nor, though the matter is debated, is it quite clear that an English fleet in the Channel had not orders to intercept her. As her own little fleet glided from the port, she kept her eyes fixed on the coast of France, often repeating, "Farewell, France—farewell, dear France—I shall never see thee more!" She arrived safely at Leith on the 19th of August, and her spirits revived on seeing the honest enthusiasm of the common people, who crowded the beach to salute the only relic of their kings, who had been torn from them in her childhood, and whom they had scarcely hoped ever to see again. But the lords had taken small pains to do honour to her reception, or to "cover over the nakedness and poverty of the land." Tears came into the young queen's eyes as she saw the wretched ponies, with bare wooden saddles or dirty and ragged trappings, which had been provided to carry her and her ladies from the water-side to Holyrood, then a small and dismal place, consisting only of what is now the north wing. But again her spirits revived at the enthusiastic plaudits of the people, who seem to have been enraptured at her youth and beauty and graceful and condescending demeanour. For a time even religious intolerance was soothed into tranquillity by the ingratiating manners and conduct of the young queen, who intrusted the chief management of affairs to her half-brother, James Stuart, and to Maitland of Lethington, both men standing well with the people and the preachers. It should appear that when James Stuart went over to France he had promised to Mary the free exercise, within her own house, of her own religion, notwithstanding the warning of John Knox and the rest, that to import one mass into the kingdom of Scotland would be more fatal than to bring over a foreign army of 10,000 men. The Protestants, however, were resolved to stop the queen's masses at starting. On the Sunday after her landing, when preparations were made in the chapel at Holyrood, they said to one another, "Shall that idol, the mass, again have place? It shall not!" And the young Master of Lindsay called out in the court-yard of the palace, that the idolatrous priest should die the death according to God's law. Mary's half-brother had great difficulty in appeasing this tumult, and saving the Catholic priest from being murdered at the foot of the altar. But it did not suit James Stuart to set himself forward as the defender of idolatry; and while he stood with his drawn sword by the door of the chapel, he ingeniously pretended that it was only to prevent any Scot from entering to witness the abominable

ceremony within.¹ It was immediately after this riot, that John Knox, in the first of his many celebrated interviews, undertook to convert the queen. Of the perfect honesty of his zeal, of his thorough conviction that the cause of the kingdom and of Christ was in danger so long as there was a Papist on the throne, there can be no doubt; yet it has been often objected that Knox was singularly unfit to be an apostle in high places, and that the course he pursued from the very beginning, when, as it has been remarked, Mary had probably never heard a single word of argument against the faith she professed, was calculated only to alienate a high-spirited sovereign. It is said that he knocked at her heart until she shed tears;² but these were tears of offended pride—tears forced from her by long-cherished feelings. The sagacious Randolph, who, like his employers, was an utter stranger to this religious enthusiasm, plainly intimated to Cecil that Knox was pursuing a wrong course. "I commend," says he, "better the success of his doctrine and preachings than the manner of them, though I acknowledge his doctrine to be sound. His daily prayer for her is, that God will turn her heart, now obstinate against God and his truth; and if his holy will be otherwise, that he will strengthen the hearts and hands of the chosen, and the elect, stoutly to withstand the rage of tyrants." This was, in other words, to pray that the Protestants might rise in general rebellion against their young queen, and depose her, unless she forthwith abjured her religion. As for rage and tyranny, they were certainly not at this time on the side of the throne: the Catholics, as a political party, were crushed, and Mary had not the daring zeal to attempt their re-elevation at the expense of a civil war.

When Mary removed from Edinburgh to Stirling she found the same intolerance of her now persecuted church: the people, inflamed by their preachers, rose tumultuously, and threatened with death all such as should partake in the idolatry of the mass. Here the queen wept again; but seeing no remedy, she followed the advice of her half-brother, and by issuing proclamations of banishment against the monks and friars, and by other steps in favour of the Protestants, she obtained for a time a tacit permission to worship

God in her own way—but *always in private*. But almost as much as their hatred or dread of the mass, was that of the Scots against the amusements of Mary, and especially that of dancing, which she imported from the French court, and endeavoured to naturalize in Scotland. Nothing could be more unsuitable to the temper of such a people, especially amidst the stern realities of a religious revolution; and the Reformers were scandalized at the levity of these festivals, which were kept up in Holyrood till the unwonted hour of midnight. John Knox denounced this dancing from the pulpit, under the contemptuous epithets of "fiddling and flinging," and not only condemned the practice as a covert for worse indulgences, but as an insult to the afflicted condition of the realm. It was in vain Mary tried to win the favour of the zealous Reformer. She promised him ready access to her whenever he should desire it; and entreated him, if he found her conduct blameable, to reprehend her in private, rather than vilify her in the kirk before the whole people. But Knox, whose notion of the rights of his clerical office was of the most towering kind, and who, upon other motives besides those connected with religion, had declared a female reign to be an abomination,³ was not willing to gratify the queen in any of her demands. He told her that it was her duty to go to the kirk to hear him—not his duty to wait upon her. There was certainly a proud Calvinistic republicanism interwoven with this wonderful man's religious creed. Elizabeth afterwards blamed Mary that she had not sufficiently conformed to the advice of the Protestant preachers; but if Elizabeth herself had had to do with such a preacher as John Knox, she would, having the power, have sent him to the Marshalsea in one week, and to the pillory, or a worse place, in the next. Notwithstanding their avowed contempt of worldly riches and honours, we are justified in believing that the poverty to which the Presbyterian clergy were condemned by a grasping and selfish aristocracy had much to do with their over-severity. It would lead them to exclaim against pleasures from which they were excluded by an iron barrier; and then, except in the pulpit, where, correctly and incorrectly, they could enlist the gospel in their service, they were little or nothing, being condemned, through want of worldly means, to a stinted and obscure way of life. In the same manner, the mendicant orders of monks—the preaching friars, the Dominicans, and others—were fierce and intolerant against all worldly pomp and pleasure; but when these monastic orders attained ease and competence, and some of them wealth, they became mild and

¹ Knox.

² "I assure you," writes Randolph to Cecil, "the voice of one man is able, in one hour, to put more life in us than 500 trumpets continually blustering in our ears. Mr. Knox spoke upon Tuesday unto the queen: he knocked so hastily upon her heart that he made her weep, as well you know there be of that sex that will do that as well for anger as for grief, though in this the Lord James will disagree with me. She charged him with his book, with his severe dealing with all men that disagree with him in opinions. She willed him to use more meekness in his sermons."—*Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, a Series of Original Letters, edited by T. Wright, M.A. (2 vols. 8vo, Lon. 1838).

³ In his *Blast of the Trumpet against the monestrous Regiment of Women*.

forbearing in these respects. But the Scottish lords, by absorbing nearly the whole of the property of the ancient church, left not enough to remove the asceticism of the new one. These nobles affected surprise, and expressed a very sincere displeasure, when the Presbyterian ministers put in their claim for a share of the monastic and other church property, which, in ways both direct and indirect, had fallen almost entirely into the hands of the aristocracy, in most cases even without any intervention of the court, which was thus deprived of that means of strengthening its party. It was with extreme reluctance that the Scottish statesmen were induced to listen to a proposal that the church revenue should be divided into three shares, to be applied—first, to the decent support of the new clergy; secondly, to the encouragement of learning, by the endowing of schools and colleges; and, thirdly, to the support of the poor. This plan was proposed by the Reformed clergy, as a proper method for the rebuilding of the temple: on which the astute Maitland of Lethington asked whether the nobles of Scotland were now to turn hod-bearers in this building of the kirk? John Knox boldly replied that they might find a worse employment, and that those who would not aid in building the house of God should look to the security of the foundations of their own houses. But the eloquence of the vigorous Reformer was less prevalent with the iron-clad and iron-handed barons than with the delicate queen of nineteen summers: he could draw no tears from their eyes; and being resolved to keep what they had gotten, they voted his plan of partition to be “a devout imagination”—a well-meant, but visionary system, which could not possibly be carried into execution. And though, at a later period, the Scottish parliament were obliged to make some provision for the Reformed clergy, the appointments were miserably small. A hundred marks Scotch per annum, not quite six pounds sterling—an excellent sum to keep men down to the starving point—was the usual revenue of a parish priest; some few, indeed, got thrice that amount; but the whole sum allowed for the maintenance of the national church, consisting of about 1000 parishes, fell short of £4000 sterling: and even these paltry endowments were irregularly paid, and very much begrudged, by the hungry nobles, who were fattening on the lands with which the piety of their ancestors and of the old kings had enriched to excess the Roman church. It was the very Lords of the Congregation, who had pretended to go hand-in-hand with Knox and his disciples (without whom they would have been crushed), that cut down the allowances to this miserable scale. The prior of St. Andrews, the queen’s half-brother, and the sworn friend of John Knox,

thought the clergy well paid with these hod-bearers’ stipends; for the levying and paying of which Wishart of Pittarrow, another most zealous Reformer, was appointed comptroller. Knox, though not greedy of worldly pelf, was sufficiently loud in his lamentations. “Who would have thought,” cried he, “that when Joseph ruled in Egypt, his brethren would have come down thither for corn, and returned with their sacks empty?” But his complaints had no more effect than the rumbling of distant thunder; and though the Lords of the Congregation were pretty constant in their attendance at the kirk, they always considered that the preachers departed from the true doctrine when they spoke of worldly goods. And in this manner the Presbyterian clergy continued to be kept in a state of body and mind most favourable to spiritual intemperance. They had already adopted one of the worst practices of the Roman church—that of persecuting for matters of belief; and they soon took up another—that of making search and inquest into the private and domestic concerns of men; and it may be doubted whether the confessional chair of the Popish priest was a more mischievous or distressing engine than the one which they adopted. Omitting many tedious or revolting details, we will merely mention one significant fact. During the queen’s absence from Holyrood some of the populace of Edinburgh broke into her chapel, defiled the altar, and committed all kinds of indecent outrages. Mary was naturally indignant at this proceeding, and two—*only two*—of the rioters were indicted. Upon this, John Knox wrote circular letters to the faithful—to men having power and good broadsword—charging them to come up to Edinburgh and protect their persecuted brethren.

While Elizabeth watched with increasing pleasure the turbulence of Mary’s subjects, she checked her own with a firm hand, her government being to the full as despotic as that of her father, but infinitely more wise, keeping generally, though not always, in view high national objects. By her frugality she was soon enabled to pay off the great debts of the crown, and to regulate the coinage, which had been debased by her predecessors. She made large purchases of arms on the Continent; she introduced, or greatly improved, the arts of making gunpowder and casting cannon; and, what was of foremost importance, she directed her energies to the increase of the naval force, so that she was soon justly entitled to the appellations of Restorer of Naval Glory, Queen of the Northern Seas.¹

But the thread of Elizabeth’s career was always of a mingled yarn—the little, the mean, and the base being mixed with what was great and noble,

¹ Camden.

and national, and she herself, in the words of her own minister, Robert Cecil, being more than a man, and, in truth, sometimes less than a woman.¹ She not only dreaded the claims to the succession of Mary Queen of Scots, but she was also most jealous of the weaker rights of the line of Suffolk, and she persecuted the Lady Catherine Grey, the heiress of this house, with an unrelenting spirit.

A.D. 1562. Elizabeth was made to feel, in many ways, that the Catholic princes of Europe regarded her and her proceedings with an evil eye, and to suspect that constant machinations were on foot in France to expel her from the throne, and to seat Mary Queen of Scots in her place. She, therefore, resolved to ally herself with the Protestant powers on the Continent, and to avail herself to the utmost of the religious animosities of men both at home and abroad. The persecutions practised by Philip and the French court made it easy for her to put herself in a position of great might and reverence, as the head and protector of the Protestant religion. Her course was shaped out by the instinct of self-preservation, and not by any religious zeal; and in pursuing it she was inevitably induced to encourage revolted subjects in their wars with their governments—thus beginning in her own practice the system which she afterward accused her enemies of carrying on against herself.

France, under the regency of Catherine de' Medici, soon became the scene of confusion and anarchy. The Protestants of the south took up arms for the liberty of conscience; and in 1561 the government consented to a hollow treaty, by which they were to be allowed the free exercise of their religion. But the Duke of Guise, the leader of the Catholic party, soon infringed this treaty, and having possession of the person of the young king, Charles IX., he dictated to the regent, who, however, wanted no stimulus. She was a real bigot, while Guise's religious zeal was more than half feigned and politic. The Protestants, or Huguenots, as they were called in France, flew once more to arms, under the command of the Prince of Condé, the Admiral Coligny, Andelot, and others, and fourteen armies were presently in motion in different parts of the kingdom. The success was various—the fury of both parties pretty equal. The parliament of Paris, which was very orthodox, published an edict, authorizing the Catholics everywhere to massacre the Protestants; and the Protestants replied by making sharper the edges of their own swords. Women and children flocked to the ranks on both sides, and partook in the carnage. The Huguenots, notwithstanding their great infe-

riority in numbers, pressed the Catholics so hard, that the Duke of Guise was fain to solicit aid from Philip II.; and that sovereign, for various reasons, besides his desire to check the spread of heresy into his dominions in Flanders, gladly entered into an alliance, and sent six thousand men and some money into France. Upon this, the Prince of Condé, the chief leader of the Huguenots, solicited the assistance and protection of Elizabeth; and he offered to her, as an immediate advantage, possession of the important maritime town of Havre-de-Grace. After some short negotiations, during which Sir Henry Sidney, the able and accomplished father of the more famous Sir Philip Sidney, was sent into France, ostensibly to mediate between the Catholics and Protestants, Elizabeth concluded a compact with the Prince of Condé, furnished him with some money, and then sent over three thousand men, under the command of Sir Edward Poynings, to take possession of Havre. No declaration of hostilities was made to the French court, and Elizabeth asserted to the foreign ambassadors that her only object was to serve his majesty of France, and to free him from the hands of the Guises, who, according to her version, held the youth an unwilling prisoner. Soon after his arrival, Poynings was obliged to throw some reinforcements into Rouen, which was besieged by the Catholics under the command of the King of Navarre and the Duke of Montmorency. This detachment was cut to pieces to a man; for the besiegers carried the place by assault, and put the garrison to the sword. But the handful of Englishmen behaved bravely, and before they met their fate the Catholic King of Navarre was mortally wounded.² As the Huguenots were still strong in Normandy, Elizabeth resolved to reinforce her very small army; and she sent over Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, the elder brother of her favourite, with a fresh force of three thousand men.³ Warwick took the command of Havre, and began to fortify that place, which was threatened with a siege by the Duke of Guise, the captor of Calais, the expeller of the English, whose party was strengthened by the odium excited against Condé, for calling the old enemies of his country back to it, and giving them something like a firm footing in it. Havre, indeed, might have been made a second English Calais.

By means of English money, a considerable body of Protestant soldiers were engaged in Germany; and this force and others under the com-

¹ Letter from Sir Robert Cecil to Sir J. Harrington, 1603, published in Dr. H. Harrington's *Nugæ Antiquæ*.

² During the siege of Rouen, a French gentleman of the Protestant persuasion attempted to assassinate the Duke of Guise.

³ Ambrose Dudley, the eldest son of the late Duke of Northumberland was restored to his father's title of Baron L'Isle, in 1561, and to that of Earl of Warwick in the present year, 1562.

mand of Andelot and the Admiral Colligny, obliged Guise to move from the Seine and the neighbourhood of Havre towards the Loire, where the Huguenots were very powerful, possessing the city of Orleans. After a remarkable campaign, during which the Huguenots, under the admiral and Condé, threatened the city of Paris, a fierce battle was fought at Dreux, and the Protestants were defeated. The affair, however, was not very decisive; and, to support Colligny, Elizabeth sent over some more money, and offered to give her bond for a further sum if he could find merchants disposed to lend on such a security.¹

At this moment the queen's exchequer was empty, and she was obliged to summon a parliament—a body for the wisdom or authority of which she never testified much respect. Almost as soon as this parliament met, the odious subject of the succession and matrimony was renewed. Elizabeth had just undergone that dangerous disease the small-pox, and, as her life had been despaired of, people had been made more than ever sensible of the perils likely to arise from a disputed succession. The commons, therefore, voted an address to her majesty, in which, after mentioning the civil wars of former times, they entreated her to choose a husband by God's grace, engaging on their part to serve, honour, and obey the husband of her choice; or if, indeed, her high mind was for ever set against matrimony, they entreated that she would permit her lawful successor to be named and acknowledged by act of parliament. Being thus placed between the sharp horns of a dilemma, and being fully resolved on no account to acknowledge the rights either of Mary Queen of Scots, or of the Lady Catherine Grey, the representative of the Suffolk line, whose children she had just bastardized, she pretended that her resolution of living and dying a virgin was shaken; and, without making anything like a positive declaration, she gave them to understand that she might be induced, for the sake of her people, to think of marriage. Nearly at this moment another suitor appeared in the field. The Duke of Würtemberg, a German Protestant prince, offered his service to the queen "in case she were minded to marry."

The parliament was obliged to be satisfied with the queen's evasive answer, and to proceed to other business. A most remarkable law they passed was the act of "assurance of the queen's royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions." This was, in effect, an extension of the former acts of supremacy. For asserting twice in writing, word, or deed, the authority of the pope, the offender was subjected to the penalties of treason: all persons in holy orders were

bound to take the oath of supremacy, as were also all who were advanced to any degree, either in the universities or in the inns of court, all schoolmasters, officers in court, and members of parliament; and a second refusal of the oath was made treason. By a strange restriction, considering that some of the noblest families were Catholics, the statute did not extend to any man of the rank of a baron, it being assumed, as a convenient fiction, that no doubt could be entertained as to the fidelity of persons of such rank. All Elizabeth's parliaments were zealously Protestant: in this the House of Commons were sincere: but in the lords there must have been considerable dissimulation, as the known Catholics seldom made any opposition. In the present session, however, Lord Montacute showed some spirit. He opposed the bill of assurance, and contended, in favour of the English Catholics, that they were loyal and dutiful subjects, neither disputing, nor preaching, nor causing tumults among the people. But Elizabeth could never repose confidence in a sect which could not but believe in her illegitimacy; and the spirit of disloyalty which no doubt existed in many breasts, notwithstanding the assertion of Montacute, was naturally increased and strengthened by these very penal acts directed against them. It is quite certain that Elizabeth never thought of trying the grand and humane experiment; but it would indeed not "be safe to assert that a more conciliating policy would have altogether disarmed their hostility."² An increase of violence produced a seeming conformity; but the Catholics had recourse to what has been justly called the usual artifice of an oppressed people, and met force by fraud. This was the most dangerous of all states; and Elizabeth and Cecil fairly acknowledged that their system of coercion was a failure, when they complained that they could not take the Catholics for good Protestants and loyal subjects, though they constantly attended the Anglican church, and prayed for the queen in the words of the Liturgy. If no force had been adopted—if the adherents to the old church had been allowed the free exercise of their religion—the government at least might have known who were Catholics and who were not; but now it was impossible to distinguish between the unwilling converts to force and the willing converts to persuasion, and use, and time. And, as men always hate intensely those who degrade them in their own eyes, or force them to commit acts of subservience and baseness, Elizabeth became more and more an object of detestation to this class. It was during this same session that the law against false prophets was passed, and it was accompanied by a statute against conjuration,

¹ *Holinshed; Burgley Papers.*

² *Hallam, Const. Hist.*

enchantments, and witchcraft. It should appear as if the people of England had not yet advanced to a condition in which they could do without a certain pabulum of credulity, and that it was necessary that the superstition which had lost its old food—such as saints and Madonnas and miracles—should find some new nourishment. In the countries where the common people are fed with legends and miracles, there is little or no belief in witches and ghosts; and, for a long time after the Reformation, the people in most countries seem to have believed in witches and ghosts because they were no longer allowed to believe in saints and miracles. The chronicles remark that the preceding year had been very awful on account of the great number of monstrous births, and probably this was believed to be the effect of witchcraft and conjuration. But all kinds of insane notions were very prevalent. The penal statutes now passed only increased the number of mad prophets, conjurors, and so-called witches. Having voted the queen a supply of a subsidy, and two-fifteenths, the parliament was prorogued. Still further to enable the queen to prosecute her continental scheme, which was popular with Protestant churchmen, and with the majority of the nation, as being in favour of men who were co-religionists, or nearly so, the convocation of the clergy voted her a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, payable in three years. Apparently some of this money was immediately sent to the Huguenots, and some to the Earl of Warwick, who, however, received strict orders to keep his troops within the walls of Havre, and not to join the Admiral Colligny in the field, who, without his assistance, had reduced most of the places in Normandy which held for the Guises. The admiral, however, complained to Elizabeth of the strange neutrality of her little army, and his complaints became louder when he saw that the Duke of Guise was preparing to crush the Protestants on the Loire, and that he was laying siege to Orleans with every prospect of taking that city. But soon after Guise was assassinated by Poltrot, a young gentleman of the Huguenot party, and the death of this brave leader and accomplished soldier, which happened on the 24th of February, 1563, induced the French Catholics to offer conditions of peace and reconciliation. The admiral, who knew her well, maintained that there was no trusting the Queen-regent Catherine de' Medici; but he was overruled by his associates, and, in the end, another hollow pacification was concluded between the French Protestants and the French Catholics. In this hasty and unwise treaty the Huguenots took little or no care of the interests of the English queen, merely stipulating that if she would give up Havre, her charges and the money she

had advanced should be repaid by the French court, and that Calais, at the expiration of the term before fixed, should be restored to her. In this instance Elizabeth's anger got the better of her discretion: she sent Warwick orders to defend Havre to the last against the whole French monarchy; for Protestants and Catholics were now alike anxious to see the English out of France. In taking possession of this place the English had expelled nearly all the French inhabitants, so that they had little to fear in that direction. Warwick had about 5000 men with him, and during the siege Sir Hugh Paulet conducted to him a reinforcement of 800. The Constable Montmorency, so recently in alliance with the English, took the command of the besieging army, in which also served the Protestant Prince of Condé, who, more than any one, had led Elizabeth into the late treaty with the Huguenots. The brave Admiral Colligny, who still doubted the good faith of the queen-regent, kept aloof. So important was the enterprise in the eyes of the government that Catherine de' Medici took her son, the young king, with nearly the whole court, to the besieging camp, and called upon all loyal Frenchmen to repair to the siege. In the month of May, notwithstanding some gallant sorties made by the English, the French established themselves in favourable positions round the town, and began to batter in sundry places. During the whole of the month of June they tried in vain to force an entrance, and they were several times beaten out of their trenches. On the 14th of July the besiegers made an assault with 3000 men, and were repulsed with the loss of four hundred. On the 27th of the same month the French desperately made fresh approaches, and "were made by the English gunners to taste the bitter fruit that the cannon and culverins yielded." But the besieging force was so numerous, and the walls were so effectually breached, that on the following day, the 28th of July, 1563, a capitulation was signed, the French agreeing to permit the garrison to depart with their arms, baggage, and whatever goods belonged to the Queen of England or to any of her subjects, and to allow the English six whole days to embark themselves and their property. It was a sad embarkation, the sick and feeble having to carry those who were in a still worse state, and the men in health being exposed to the closest contact with the plague patients, for a pestilence which had broken out among the garrison was none other than the deadly plague. And these plague patients brought the frightful disorder with them into England, where it committed great ravages, spreading into various parts of the kingdom, and raging so fiercely in London that, in the course of the year, it carried off

20,000 persons. The Catholic party saw in these things a visible manifestation of the wrath of Heaven at the changes which had taken place in religion.

This first of Elizabeth's continental wars was sufficiently discouraging, and she readily consented to give up the cause of the Protestants in France, and to conclude a fresh peace with the queen-regent, who was most earnest in detaching her from the Huguenots. A peace signed at Troyes, on the 11th of April, 1564, was shortly after proclaimed, with sound of trumpet, before the queen's majesty in her castle of Windsor, the French ambassadors being present. By this new treaty Elizabeth delivered up the hostages which the French had given for the restitution of Calais; but she received 220,000 crowns for their liberation. The questions of the restitution of Calais and other matters were left in the state they were in before the late hostilities, each party retaining its claims and pretensions, which were to be settled by after negotiation.¹

In this interval Scotland had been the scene of many turmoils and more intrigues. The gay, the handsome, and accomplished queen gradually gained ground in the affections of the people; but she was surrounded by a remorseless set of nobles—a class of men who had rarely lived in peace, even under the government of the hardiest and most skilful of their kings. In 1562, the Duke of Chatellerault's son, the Earl of Arran, accused the Earl of Bothwell and others of a plot to murder the Lord James Stuart and Maitland, in order to get possession of the power which they monopolized between them. It was soon made to appear that Arran was mad; and this unfortunate young nobleman was secured in the castle of Edinburgh. To reward the services of the Lord James, the queen, who treated him as her brother, conferred upon him the earldom of Mar and the land belonging to it—a measure which greatly incensed the powerful Earl of Huntly, who had hitherto occupied, without challenge, some of the estates included in the earldom of Mar. While there was hot blood upon this subject, Sir John Gordon, one of the Earl of Huntly's sons, engaged in the public streets of Edinburgh in an affray with Lord Ogilvie, a friend of the Lord James. The queen caused both these disturbers of the peace of her capital to be placed under arrest; but Sir John Gordon soon escaped out of prison, and fled to his father in the Highlands. The Lord James, who appears to have been anxious to enter on the estate of Mar under the cover of the royal presence, chose this very moment for conducting his sister on a royal progress to the north. The journey was fatiguing, and the queen everywhere

met with a cold reception from the Highland clans, who were accustomed to consider the will of the Earl of Huntly as a thing far above the royal authority. As she advanced, apprehensions were even entertained for her personal safety; and all the persons in her retinue, not excepting the foreign ambassadors, did regular duty about her like soldiers, keeping watch and ward against surprise. On her arrival at Inverness the castle was held against her by some of the Gordons. An entrance was obtained by force of arms, and the captain of the little garrison was put to death for a very unequivocal proof of disloyalty. As it was found that Lord Erskine possessed a legal right to the earldom of Mar, Stuart gave up that claim, and obtained the much greater earldom of Moray in its stead. From this time the former prior of St. Andrews will be designated by the title of the Earl of Moray—a name which was soon made a sound of terror in the queen's ears. If the Earl of Huntly had been enraged before, he now became desperate; for he had received a grant of the wealthy earldom of Moray as far back as the year 1548, and had ever since enjoyed the estates belonging to it. He summoned together his vassals and allies, determined to defend his title with the sword. On the 28th of October, while Mary was still in the north, a fierce battle was fought at Corrichie, near Aberdeen, almost under her eyes. Her brother, the Earl of Moray, who had hastily collected some Southland men, and won over some of the Highland clans, gained a complete victory. The Earl of Huntly, in fleeing from the field, was thrown from his horse into a morass, and there smothered: his son, Sir John Gordon, was taken prisoner. The body of the old earl was discovered, and carried before parliament, by which sentence of attainder and forfeiture was pronounced upon it: his son was condemned to the block, and butchered by a clumsy executioner at Aberdeen. The whole of this great family was reduced to beggary; but, five years after, Mary allowed their attainder to be reversed. There is no very satisfactory evidence to establish the fact, but it was generally said that, if the Earl of Huntly had proved the victor in the battle of Corrichie, he would have seized the queen, and forced her to marry one of his sons.² Reports of this kind, and the circumstance of there being no heir to the crown, made the Scots as anxious about the marriage of their queen as were the English about the marriage of theirs. Nor was there any greater want of suitors in Scotland

¹ Cecil makes his intentions much more terrible. On the 4th of December he writes, "The son of the Earl of Huntly has confessed that his father intended to burn the Queen of Scotland in her residence, and to put the crown on the head of the duke, who is entirely dependent on him."—*Land. MS.*, quoted by Raumer and others.

² *Camden; Rymer.*

than in England. Mary had none of her rival's aversions to sharing her authority with a husband, but there was an immense difficulty in the way of a proper choice. Her own inclination would have led her to an alliance with some foreign prince; and her French relations successively proposed to her Don Carlos, then heir of the Spanish monarchy; the Duke of Anjou, one of the brothers of her late husband; the Cardinal of Bourbon, who had only lately taken deacon's orders; the Duke of Ferrara, and some others. But all these suitors were odious to the mass of the Scottish nation, as Catholics; and Elizabeth let it be understood that any alliance of that kind, as opening the way for her foreign enemies to her dominions, would occasion an immediate war with England. Mary, though urged on by the princes of the house of Guise, was not disposed to provoke this danger, and she even condescended to consult with Elizabeth, as to a choice which might be alike agreeable to both countries. In the summer of 1563 a personal interview at York between the two queens was spoken of; but Elizabeth, from various motives, the least of which was not her jealousy of her rival's superiority in beauty, artfully put off the meeting till the next year; and, in fact, she never met Mary at all. In order to detach Don Carlos from his pursuit, she held out hopes of renewing an old treaty, and of marrying him herself. In her anxiety to conciliate, and to secure her succession to the English throne in case of Elizabeth's dying without issue, Mary despatched Sir James Melville to London, in order to ascertain, if possible, what kind of a husband it was that would give entire satisfaction to her grace. All this condescension and frankness—for the Scottish queen, to all appearance, honestly meant to abide by Elizabeth's decision—was met with fraud and the most artful duplicity. Elizabeth proposed, as a fitting husband, her own favourite, the Lord Robert Dudley, who, on the 29th of September, 1563, attained to his well-known title of Earl of Leicester. Mary, who could not have been ignorant of so notorious a fact as the attachment which Elizabeth had for this showy nobleman, must have seen that he was only named to lengthen and embarrass these delicate negotiations. Nor was the Earl of Leicester, who had little to recommend him beyond his hand-

some person, in any way a suitable match for that queen.

The man whom Elizabeth thus delighted to honour enjoyed a very bad reputation among the people, who, with a sad confidence, anticipated his marriage with the queen.¹ It was believed that, in the fulness of his hope that Elizabeth would marry him, he had murdered a young and beautiful wife, whose death was certainly attended with very mysterious circumstances. According to a striking account, which, whether wholly correct or not, conveys perfectly the



ROBERT DUDLEY, Earl of Leicester.—After Zuccherò.

popular opinion of the time—"as his own wife stood in his light, as he supposed, he did but send her to the house of his servant Foster, of Cumnor, by Oxford, where shortly after she had the chance to fall from a pair of stairs, and so to break her neck; but yet without hurting of her hood that stood upon her head. But Sir Richard Varney, who, by commandment, remained with her that day alone with one man, and had sent away per force all her servants from her to a market two miles off—he, I say, with his man, can tell you how she died."² The stars had been consulted by order of the great Cecil, who either was not too wise a man to give credit to as-

¹ A contemporary says, with more force than elegance—"You know the bear's love is all for his own pannich, and this bear-whelp turneth all to his own commodity, and for greediness thereof will overturn all if he be not stopped or muzzled in time."—*Secret Memoirs of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester*. These memoirs were written during the favourite's life, and at the moment when people most feared the queen would marry him. They remained in MS. till 1706, when they were published by Dr. Drake.

² *Secret Memoirs of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester*. The author

of this very curious piece adds:—"This man, being afterwards taken for a felony in the marches of Wales, and offering the matter of the said murder, was made away privily in the prison; and Sir Richard Varney himself [*the exquisite villain of Scott's touching story*] died about the same time in London, cried piteously, and blasphemed God, and said to a gentleman of worship, of my acquaintance, not long before his death, that all the devils in hell did tear him to pieces. The wife also of Baldwin Butler, kinsman to my lord, gave out the whole fact a little before her death."

trology, or meant that his mistress should be the dupe of a very prevailing superstition; and the stars had told that the queen should be married in the thirty-first year of her age to a foreigner, and bear one son, who would be a very great prince, and one daughter, who would be a very great princess. But the queen, who, we are convinced, thought not of marrying at all, continued her strange coquetry with Leicester, and Cecil's stars were fairly put out by more popular prophecies, which Leicester purposely encouraged, about the bear and ragged staff. The queen's ill-placed partiality to this bold bad man had excited alarm in various quarters; and nearly three years before she advanced him to the rank of Earl of Leicester, and gave him Kenilworth Castle, the report of his having murdered his wife had been made known to her majesty. Nay, even Cecil, who for a long time stood in dread that Elizabeth would give her hand to Leicester, and who subsequently contrived to renew the matrimonial treaty with the Archduke Charles of Austria, in order to prevent this fatal measure, made a memorandum, which was probably shown to her majesty, of the earl's being "infamed by death of his wife," and being "far in debt," besides other demerits.¹ And yet Elizabeth did not change her conduct, and Leicester still felt such high hopes as to quarrel with all who favoured the Austrian match.

To return to Mary's ambassador, whose head, clear as it was, seems to have been made giddy by matches and counter-matches, and female jealousies and intrigues, Melville proceeds to state, that Elizabeth expressed a great desire to see Queen Mary; and, as this could not hastily be brought to pass, she appeared with great delight to look upon her majesty's picture.

The Earl of Leicester conveyed Melville in his barge from Hampton Court to London. On their way he asked the wary Scot what his mistress thought of him for a husband. "Whereunto," says Melville, "I answered very coldly, as I had been by my queen commanded: and then he began to purge himself of so proud a pretence as to marry so great a queen, declaring that he did not esteem himself worthy to wipe her shoes, and that the invention of that proposition of marriage proceeded from Mr. Cecil, his secret enemy: for if I, said he, should have appeared desirous of that marriage, I should have offended both the queens, and lost their favour." It is difficult to

receive, as a sincere declaration, anything that fell from the lips of that dexterous courtier;² the Earl of Leicester—most difficult, where all were playing parts, and all consummate actors, to ascertain the real project in hand. It appears, however, almost certain, that the presumptuous favourite had not yet given up all hopes of marrying Elizabeth; and he was certainly the man to prefer her, with the rich and great kingdom of England, to her more youthful and far more beautiful rival, with so poor and turbulent a kingdom as Scotland. It has been suggested by an elegant writer,³ who has shown great tact in tracing some of the windings and intricacies of Elizabeth's character, that she encouraged this matrimonial project purely as a romantic trial of Leicester's attachment to herself, and pleased her fancy with the idea of his rejecting for her a younger and a fairer queen; and this notion not only accords with the virgin queen's taste and manners, but also with the project she evidently entertained of perplexing Mary, and delaying her marriage with any one else.

Melville returned to Scotland, and found himself bound to assure his mistress that she could never expect any real friendship from Elizabeth, whose professions were full of falsehood and dissimulation. Mary's subjects, being very anxious for an heir to the throne, grew weary of these long delays, and a strong party pointed out another match which had many things to recommend it. Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, was first cousin to Mary, and second cousin to Elizabeth, being the eldest son of the Earl of Lennox, by the Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of the Queen-dowager Margaret, sister of King Henry VIII., by the Earl of Angus, the second husband of that unruly and dissolute woman. In other words, he was the son of Mary's aunt (by the half-blood), the Lady Margaret Douglas, and the grandson of Elizabeth's aunt, Margaret Tudor. The Earl of Lennox, it will be remembered, besides stealing the French money, and attempting to betray Dumbarton Castle, adhered steadily to the English interests, for which he suffered banishment and the forfeiture of all his estates in Scotland. He retired to England, which had been his home ever since—a comfortable home, for Henry VIII., in recompense, not only gave him the hand of his niece, the Lady Margaret Douglas, but also some good estates in Yorkshire. Henry Lord Darnley had been born and brought up in England, and even his mother, the Lady Margaret, Countess of Lennox, was a native Englishwoman, having been born in 1515, just after the expulsion of her parents from Scotland. With this lady it should appear that the Queen of Scots had for some time maintained

¹ *Burghley State Papers*. In this curious minute Cecil says that, if Elizabeth marries Leicester, "it will be thought that the scandalous speeches of the queen with the earl have been true." He also says that Leicester was "like to prove unkind or jealous of the queen's majesty." Catherine de' Medici gave an unpardonable offence by asking publicly whether it were true that the Queen of England meant to marry her horsekeeper? Leicester was then master of the horse.

² "Rusé courtisan," *Miscray*.

³ Aikin.

an amicable correspondence; for, when she despatched Melville to the English court, she instructed him to deal with my Lady Margaret and with sundry friends she had in England of different opinions.¹ To the crown of Scotland the Lennox family could lay no prospective claim; but if, according to a notion not altogether abandoned in that age, a male were to be held as in all circumstances coming before a female representative, Henry Lord Darnley, the son of this Margaret, Countess of Lennox, might, in case of failure of the issue of Henry VIII., have advanced a claim to the English throne, which was capable of being placed in competition with the claim of Queen Mary herself; and hence the desire of strengthening the pretensions of the Queen of Scots by uniting the two claims. But this union excited painful feelings in the breast of Elizabeth, who liked not to think of any one succeeding her, but who seems to have entertained a horror of the notion of the succession falling to Mary, whom she evidently hated more as a woman than as a sovereign. And yet even here she adopted no clear course, but, on the contrary, as if she foresaw the fatal results, she played into the hands of the Lennox family, and permitted things which she might have prevented, and which led directly to the union. When the Earl of Lennox applied for leave to go to Scotland, to solicit the reversal of his attainder, and to press his wife's claim as heir female to the earldom of Angus, she gave her royal license, and apparently with pleasure. After twenty years of exile, Lennox arrived in Scotland, where Queen Mary received him very courteously, and procured from the Scottish parliament the reversal of the attainder with restitution of his estates. His lady's claim on the earldom of Angus was given up—for it was held to be a male fief, and, what was worse, it was in the tenacious grasp of the powerful Earl of Morton, the chancellor, who managed it in the name of his nephew Archibald Douglas;² but the queen's liberality softened the pang of this disappointment. The attainder was scarcely reversed, when the exiled lord began to adopt measures for placing his son Henry by Mary's side on the throne.

A few weeks after Elizabeth had again put forward Leicester, she permitted Henry Lord Darnley, "the tall lad," as she termed him, to go to Scotland. Darnley was an English sub-

ject, and it would have been no extraordinary stretch of prerogative in those days to have prevented his journey, if Elizabeth had been so minded. Darnley set sail for Scotland in the beginning of the year 1565, and on the 16th of February he waited upon Queen Mary at Wemyss Castle, in Fife, where he was most courteously received. Though so very tall, he was well proportioned, and altogether a handsome young man. He was in his twentieth year; the queen three years older. He possessed all the courtly accomplishments of the times—was gallant, showy, and liberal of his money, with which he was well supplied from England. He thus readily won the good-will of Mary's courtiers and attendants, and made a favourable impression on her own heart; so that personal regards united with political ones to recommend this fatal marriage. But, according to a contemporary account, it was afterwards ascertained that there was magic used to charm the queen!³ It appears, however, that notwithstanding this charm, and the more real charm of Darnley's person and manners, the queen at first gave his suit a modest repulse, and avoided committing herself until she had consulted with her half-brother and others. Darnley was not discouraged, nor did he disdain to seek, by flatteries and other means, the countenance of David Rizzio, the queen's favourite and private secretary. The Earl of Moray did not oppose the match at this time, and it was recommended by Maitland. Indeed, according to one account given by the party most friendly to Mary, her half-brother had planned the match, and pressed her into it, hoping to retain his great power in the government if she married a young, inexperienced, and thoughtless youth. The estates of the kingdom were assembled at Stirling, in the month of May, and the business being formally proposed to them, they also recommended the marriage—the Lord Ochiltree alone refusing his consent, and professing openly that he could never agree to a king who was a Roman Catholic—for the Earl of Lennox, notwithstanding some temptations to change, had adhered to the old religion, and had brought up his son in the same faith.⁴

When intelligence of these proceedings reached the English court, Elizabeth was, or feigned to be, wonderfully incensed, and her privy council drew up a list of imaginary dangers attending

¹ Melville.

² But Morton and Archibald Douglas, who afterwards were both engaged in the murder of Darnley, never forgave the Lennoxes this attempt.

³ *L'Innocence de la tres Illustre, tres chaste et debonnaire Princesse, Madame Marie, Reine d'Ecosse, &c.* This curious defence of Mary's conduct was published at Paris, in 1572, while she was lingering in captivity in England. For the most part it is a piece of special pleading, but there is in it evidence of a minute acquaintance with the events and characters of the times.

⁴ Whitaker, however, contends that both Darnley and his father at this time, and for the rest of their lives, at least professed Protestantism. *Mary Queen of Scots Vindicated*, 2d edit. 1790, iii. 135, 136.—It should rather appear, from some expressions in the letters of Randolph, that Darnley was only a suspected Papist at the most. Probably the true state of the case is to be best collected from one of these letters, in which Randolph says that "my Lord Darnley would seem to be indifferent; sometimes he goeth with the queen to the mass, and these two last days hath been at the sermons."

such a union. Maitland, who was despatched by Queen Mary to London to explain matters, met with a bad reception; and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was sent down to Edinburgh to declare her English majesty's discontent at the projected match. This skilful negotiator returned well rewarded; but he had been unable to dissuade Mary from the marriage, which, as he told Cecil and his mistress, was "misliked of all the substance of the realm." An important part of his mission was to intrigue with the Earl of Moray and the discontented Protestant lords, and to promise them Elizabeth's assistance against their queen. "I think," says Cecil, writing to Sir Thomas Smith, on Throgmorton's return, "that my Lady Lennox shall be committed to some further custody; and my lords, her husband and son, shall forfeit that they may [have] here with us; and because it is likely their foundation in England is upon Papists, the Protestants here shall receive more comfort, and the Papists more disgrace."¹ A few days after this was written the Countess of Lennox and her younger son were committed to a rigorous confinement in the Tower, and all the property possessed by that family in England was seized by Elizabeth. Mary, it appears, had assured Sir Nicholas Throgmorton that the match had proceeded too far to be set aside with honour; and she took considerable pains to prove that Henry Darnley possessed those recommendations which Elizabeth had demanded as essentials in the husband she should choose. He was, for example, an Englishman; and Elizabeth had set it down as a primary point that she should marry an Englishman. She even offered to delay the nuptials, if, by so doing, she might hope to obtain the approbation of her dear sister and cousin. But further she would not go; nor could more in reason be expected from a high-spirited woman and an independent sovereign. This correspondence by letters and ambassadors occupied some time; and the fatal marriage of Mary and Darnley was far from being so precipitate an affair as it is generally represented. Elizabeth had now recourse to her old intrigues with her old friends the Lords of the Congregation; and these lords, who had been prepared by Throgmorton, turned a willing ear to her suggestions, beginning to rumour abroad that there would be no safety for the Protestant religion if the Catholic queen were allowed to have a Catholic husband. It suited this party not to heed the facts that Mary was no bigot, and that Darnley was little more than a Papist

in appearance.² The first to fall from the young queen's side was her own half-brother, the Earl of Moray, who of a sudden became jealous of young Darnley, imagining that, young and thoughtless as he was, he had betrayed an inclination to abridge both his political power and his vast estates. There were plenty to drive on Darnley in this direction. One showed a map of Scotland and the possessions of Moray marked upon it. Darnley said it was too much. His words were repeated to make mischief; but Mary, to make peace, "willed Darnley to excuse himself to Moray."³ The earl had quarrelled with John Knox, who had accused him of conniving at the queen's masses and idolatries; but now a sudden reconciliation took place between the crafty politician and the zealous preacher, Moray engaging to extirpate the false worship for ever. The Duke of Chatellerault, who was as prone to change and intrigue as ever, soon joined Moray; and Glencairn, the Earl of Argyle, and others, speedily followed his example, forming a confederacy to oppose the marriage upon the grounds of the dangers it would bring to religion, and the inconveniences it would draw upon the state. Meanwhile the preachers were not idle; and the devout citizens of Edinburgh, inflamed by their discourses, made a great tumult. Upon Mary's return from Stirling to her capital, the Assembly of the Kirk, countenanced by the Earl of Moray, demanded by a formal act that the queen should conform to the Protestant faith, and abolish the Roman worship throughout the realm, not only amongst her subjects, but in her own person and family. This proposal was followed by some more reasonable clauses respecting a better provision for the miserably poor Presbyterian clergy; and the document ended by entreating the young queen to suppress immediately in her realm all vice and immorality. To these demands the queen returned a gentle answer in writing. As to the mass, she said that she was not yet convinced that it was idolatrous: she desired all her loving subjects not to urge her to act against her conscience, as she had neither in times past obliged, nor intended for the future to oblige, any man to a forced compliance, but had granted to all liberty to serve God after their own persuasion. She promised to do her best to relieve the wants of the established clergy. But she had not sufficient confidence in her own royal power to engage that there should be no more vice and immorality in Scotland, and she left that particular clause unanswered.

¹ Letter in *Ellis and Wright*. Darnley had boasted, like a fool, that if there were war with England, he and Mary should have more friends there than Elizabeth!

² Although Darnley, as mentioned in a preceding note, after his marriage, occasionally attended the Presbyterian kirk, in

the view, no doubt, of conciliating that formidable body, they were only to be softened by a formal conversion: and John Knox did not hesitate to tell him, from the pulpit, that God, when in anger at the sins of a people, was wont to commit the rule over them to boys and women.

³ *Rawner*.

A series of dark plots and conspiracies was meanwhile set on foot by both parties, for Mary had still a powerful party that recommended the marriage. Darnley, who showed his true character betimes, *is said* to have made arrangements for assassinating the Earl of Moray; and Moray (this fact is positive), in conjunction with the Earl of Argyle and other lords, encouraged by the English queen, laid an ambush for the purpose of making Darnley, his father, and the queen prisoners, with the intention of delivering up the two former to Elizabeth, and placing Mary in some sure prison in Scotland. Both plots failed; and on the 28th of July, Darnley, having previously been created Earl of Ross and Duke of Rothesay, was proclaimed king at the market-cross of Edinburgh, and the next day he was married to the queen, according to the Catholic ritual, in the royal chapel at Holyroodhouse.¹



THE ROYAL CHAPEL, HOLYROOD.—From a view by Storer.

The Earl of Moray, the Duke of Chatellerauld, the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Rothes, who had already garrisoned their castles and purchased (*with English money*) much ammunition,

¹ Randolph says, "They were married with all the solemnities of the Popish time, saving that he [Darnley] heard not the mass." Banns of marriage had been proclaimed previously at the proper parish church (that of the Canongate). There were two proclamations regarding Darnley's royal dignity—by the first, set forth the day before the marriage, it was ordered that he should be styled *king*, and treated as such; by the second, which was issued the day after the marriage, it was directed that the queen's husband should be styled *king*, and that all public documents

flew to arms; but, before they could assemble their forces, the queen in person met them at the head of a royal army. Mary, who took the field before the honeymoon was past, was clad in light armour, and carried pistols at her saddle-bows. Her quickness and decision disconcerted the lords, who, without facing her, began to retreat, marching rapidly from place to place, and fighting nowhere; so that this strange campaign got the name of the "Round-about Raid."² In the end, notwithstanding their turning and doubling, they were fain to disband their forces and flee into England. As they had taken up arms at the instigation of Elizabeth, they made sure of her aid and protection; and Moray and Hamilton, the noble abbot of Kilwinning, posted up to London to explain. But the English queen had seldom a very lively sympathy for the weak and unfortunate; and by this time, what with her succouring the Huguenots in France, and, over and over again, the insurgents in Scotland, she had obtained among crowned heads a character which she was anxious to be rid of. The French and Spanish ambassadors, and the envoys of other powers, had loudly complained that she was setting a fatal example, by countenancing rebellions and insurrections, and betraying the cause of sovereigns in general. Among living monarchs there was not one that entertained higher notions of the regal dignity, or who was less tolerant of popular discontents at home. She was stung to the quick by these remonstrances, and being, besides, fearful of provoking a coalition against her, she absolutely refused to receive the two envoys unless they agreed to declare publicly that she had in nowise incited them to the late insurrection, and that there neither was nor had been any correspondence or understanding between her and them. The Earl of Moray and the abbot of Kilwinning, who probably knew perfectly well that this was only to throw dust in the eyes of foreign courts, agreed to say whatever she chose. Then the adroit Elizabeth admitted them to an audience, at which she took care that the French and Spanish ambassadors should be present. And when the two Scots had finished their solemn declaration exculpating *her*, she turned short upon them, saying, "You have now spoken the truth; for neither I, nor any in my name, hath instigated your revolt from your sovereign. Begone, like traitors as ye are!"³

should run in *his* name and hers, as King and Queen of Scotland. As Darnley was proclaimed, no man said so much as Amen, saving his father, that said aloud, "God save his grace!"

² This curious campaign is happily described in a few words in old French—"Tout ainsi armes qu'il estoient, ils alloient par le pais Escossois CONILLANS (burrowing like rabbits), de place en place, jusqu'à tant qu'ils arrivèrent en Angleterre.—*L'Innocence, &c.*"

³ Cecil has given an account in his own way of this remarkable audience. According to him, Moray testified before God

The noble and quasi-royal Moray, and the high-born Kilwinning went; but it was only to the southern side of the Scottish borders, where Elizabeth not only suffered them to skulk and to correspond with the factious in Scotland, but also supplied them with money. Mary, however, was strong in the affections of a portion of her people, and she proceeded with spirit against the fugitive lords: they were summoned to appear, and, failing to do so, were declared rebels. One Tamworth, a dependant of the Earl of Leicester, was sent down to Scotland with a special mission: Mary, who must have known the encouragement which the English court had given to her half-brother and the rest, "refused utterly that Queen Elizabeth should meddle to compound the controversies between her subjects and her." In order not to recognize Darnley as king, Tamworth did not apply for a pass, for the want of which he was very properly arrested by Mary's authorities on his return homeward. Randolph, who stayed, ventured to tell Mary that she could be sure of Queen Elizabeth if she would. The queen replied that she had not begun this quarrel, adding, "It was *her* fault, for I demanded those things in Lord Leicester that were fit, and she refused. This man that I have taken hath a *right*—a *right*—he (Leicester) had none! For your part, Mr. Randall, you hold intelligence with my rebels, especially Moray, against whom I will be revenged, should I lose my crown." For this rage against her half-brother—and we have only partial evidence to prove that it was so vehement, and we know by positive facts that it was not lasting—there should seem to be sufficient ground in the Earl of Moray's conduct. Almost the first use that Mary made of her royal authority was to aggrandize and enrich the Bastard; she had placed in his hands nearly the whole power of the government—she had consulted his wishes in all matters, and yet he had taken up arms against her, had allied himself with her enemies, and had aimed at depriving her both of her crown and her liberty. The subject, real or pretended, of the quarrel was one nearest to a woman's heart; and if, as there are grounds for believing, Moray had at first proposed, or strongly recommended the match with Darnley, his conduct in making that marriage the pretext of his rebellion was surely to the full-

est degree embittering and exasperating. And yet, in spite of these grounds of wrath—the greater part of which were as clear as the sun at noon-day—the English agent alludes in mysterious terms to some secret and disgusting causes for Mary's enmity. And here we may remark that Randolph, who was a scandal-monger of the first order, must have known that there was a taste for such dark rumours in the English court, and that Elizabeth encouraged indecent scandals and reports—things which were afterwards turned against herself.¹

Mary convoked a parliament for the purpose of attainting Moray and his associates, and procuring the consequent forfeiture of their estates; but it was presently seen both that her vengeance was not implacable, and that most of the fugitive lords were quite ready to purchase pardon by abject submission. These lords, indeed, who had co-operated but not coalesced, had soon disagreed in their misfortunes. Their leaders, the Earl of Moray and the Duke of Chatellerault, had rebelled upon very different principles—Moray, with an eye to the keeping or increasing his authority, and Chatellerault with an eye to the succession, for he was still generally acknowledged as the next heir to the throne after Mary. The duke, that man of many changes, was made of more pliable materials than the earl, and was the first to negotiate with the queen, who before the assembling of parliament had promised him and his party a separate pardon. Moray's friends then applied in his behalf, and some of Mary's partizans in England recommended to her as a wise step, and as one likely to please all Protestants in both kingdoms, an immediate amnesty in favour of him and his party, who were men celebrated throughout the island for their zeal for the Reformed doctrines. The queen was ready to sign a free pardon, when her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, who was in many respects her evil genius, and to whose wisdom and experience she always paid great deference, advised her against the measure, and she allowed the proceedings to go on in the parliament. There was another matter, however, which she had more at heart, and that was to procure some degree of toleration for the Catholics, and for herself the exercise of her religion without insults and tumults. During the preceding festival

that he only meant, in all his doings, the honour of the Almighty and the preservation of the Protestant religion; and Elizabeth "spoke very roundly to him before the ambassadors," saying "that whatsoever the world said or reported of her, she would by her actions let it appear that she would not, for the price of a world, maintain any subject in any disobedience against the prince. For, besides the offence of her conscience, which should condemn her, she knew that Almighty God might justly recompense her with the like trouble in her own realm; and so brake off with her speech any further with him."

¹ It would not be difficult to fill a large volume with the attacks made on the virtue of the virgin queen and the chastity of her court by contemporary writers. Elizabeth's open partiality for the infamous Leicester, did not in this case escape their comments. These things were chiefly, but not entirely composed by English Papists who had been driven in exile into France and Spain, and who represented Elizabeth as a monster of impudicity: and the Catholics generally gave as much credit to their accounts as the Protestants gave to the scandals reported by Buchanan and others touching Queen Mary's virtue.

of Easter a Catholic priest had been seized by the people in the act of saying mass, and with his sacerdotal habit and a chalice of the sacramental wine tied to his hand, he had been bound to the market-cross of Edinburgh, and there pelted with filth and mud, which the mob called serving him with his Easter eggs. The greatest zealot against Popery of the present day will surely excuse Mary for attempting to put an end to outrages such as this; but whether it were that the intolerance of her people provoked a reaction or (which was more likely) that she was drawn in by her uncle the cardinal, Mary took another step of a more questionable nature, and joined the great Catholic alliance, which was headed by France and Spain, and had been carried to an iniquitous height of cruelty and treachery by a meeting of Roman bigots at Bayonne, in 1564.

It may, however, be said in palliation, that Mary was doubtless ignorant of the extent of this foul confederacy against religious liberty as well as of the atrocious means intended, and that the power and ill-humour of Elizabeth absolutely drove her into the arms of the ancient allies of Scotland, who now, on account of religion, could no longer be acceptable allies to her people.

A.D. 1566. Mary forbade Randolph her court, alleging, upon good grounds, that though ostensibly the ambassador of a friendly power, he had taken part with her rebels, and assisted them with money; but this sharp-eyed agent and versatile intriguer had everywhere Scotchmen in his pay, and he had learned all about the secret negotiations with France and Spain, and had communicated the intelligence to Cecil and Elizabeth.¹

CHAPTER XV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1566—1567.

ELIZABETH.

Worthless conduct of Darnley—He disgusts Queen Mary—David Rizzio's career in Scotland—Darnley's jealousy of him—Plot of Darnley and the Scottish nobles against Rizzio—He is assassinated in the palace of Holyrood—The Earl of Moray and the banished lords recalled—The murderers of Rizzio compelled to flee to England—Darnley continues his worthless course—Birth of James VI.—Elizabeth's reception of the tidings—Baptism of James—Elizabeth urged to nominate her successor—She promises to marry—Mary's claims to the succession in the English throne—The murderers of Rizzio recalled to Scotland—The Earl of Bothwell desires to marry the Scottish queen—His intercourse with the queen—Quarrels between Mary and Darnley—Darnley threatens to leave the kingdom—Bothwell wounded by an outlaw—Mary's visit to him—Evil surmises occasioned by the visit—Darnley's sickness—He is brought to Edinburgh for recovery—His mysterious murder—Bothwell suspected of the murder—He is cleared by a mock trial—He obtains a recommendation as a fit husband to the queen—He carries off Mary to his castle of Dunbar—She returns to Edinburgh with Bothwell—She marries Bothwell—Her unhappiness after the marriage.



MEANWHILE the Scottish parliament proceeded in their measures against the Earl of Moray and the other fugitives from the "Round-about Raid," and no doubt was entertained of their convicting them, when their proceedings were suddenly stopped and an entirely new course

given to Mary's wrath by a savage murder, directed by her husband. The love between Mary and Henry Darnley was of the briefest duration; and it is established beyond a doubt that its first interruption was entirely owing to the misconduct and brutality of the husband. This vain and shallow young man had his head turned by his sudden elevation, and there were not wanting

¹ "The most criminal neglect of the safety of England must have been shown, had this vigilance been intermitted; for . . . till Scotland was in friendly hands, Britain could not, in a military view, be regarded as an island. It was only then that the allies of Bayonne were deprived of the vantage-ground from which they most nearly threatened the overthrow of Elizabeth's throne. The Duke of Alva, who was then beginning to carry into execution the secret projects of these princes, was not yet aware that the ruler of the island fortress, of which the works were just completed, was to prove a guardian of national independence, and an unconscious champion of religious liberty, who would rally forth in due time from behind her bulwarks, pouring hope into the bosoms of the persecuted, and striking terror into the hearts of the bigot and the tyrant.

"These events, thus big with the fortunes of Christendom,

became peculiarly interesting to the English historian, by enabling him to estimate our most favourite sovereign and our wisest statesman, whose qualities are exhibited in their dealing with Scotland. We have seen in original documents, which have strong intrinsic claims on belief, that the measures of the English cabinet, though not above exception, were not full of such art and stratagem, nor, on the other hand, so characterized by caprice and jealousy, as they have been supposed to be, by some historians, from hostile prejudice; by others, from a desire to excite surprise at contrasted qualities in the same character, and more especially at a union of high faculties with shameful foibles. It has appeared that the supposed influence of the most womanish faults cannot be really traced in negotiations, of which the whole particulars were intrusted to experienced statesmen."—Sir James Mackintosh, *Hist. Eng.*

plotting men who, for their own purposes, encouraged his extravagance and dissipation. Before he had been married two months his insolence and arrogance drove away from the court even his own father, the Earl of Lennox, who is said to have predicted that some fearful catastrophe would follow.¹ Acting under the persuasion of ill-designing men, the foremost of whom was the Earl Morton, Chancellor of Scotland, who represented to him that it was absurd that the queen should bear rule over him, since both nature and the law of God required that the wife should be in subjection to her husband, he pretended to rule in his own right, and imperiously claimed the whole authority of government. Mary, who would hardly yield to violence, might have conceded much to affection; but, almost from the first week of his marriage, he neglected the handsome queen and gave himself up to low indulgences. Where all eyes were watchful, and most eyes desirous of such an event, it was impossible to conceal this disagreement. Elizabeth's agents diligently reported the progress of the wretched broil.

The effect of this conduct on a high-spirited woman was inevitable: Mary became weary of the society of the drunkard and brawler, who would threaten her servants and draw his dagger in her presence, and somewhat checked that liberality with which she had heaped money and honours upon him. The imbecile Darnley, who would not see the provocation and insupportable insults he had given, conceived that the queen's favour must have been alienated from him by some person having an influence over her heart; and it appears that certain noble lords who had taken offence at the favourite, or were anxious to drive matters to extremities, suggested or strengthened the suspicion that this individual was Rizzio, the queen's secretary. David Rizzio had come to Scotland, a short time before this wretched marriage, in the suit of Morata, the ambassador of Savoy: he was a person of what was called low birth, but he had been exceedingly well educated, and, among many other accomplishments, was an excellent musician. Mary's love for music amounted to a passion—good musicians were rare in Scotland—and she was naturally attracted to the accomplished Italian, who soon evinced other and higher abilities than those of playing and singing. His knowledge of

languages was particularly useful for carrying on her foreign correspondence; and when her French secretary left her, she promoted him to that confidential office, which, of necessity, occasioned his being constantly about the queen's person. It was instantly deemed a crime that the queen should employ a foreigner in duties for which there were probably no natives that were fit; and the proud nobles, who despised literary attainments and accomplishments which they did not possess themselves, considered the Signor David as nothing but a base-born fiddler, and were highly incensed at the favour and confidence reposed in him. Sometimes they would rudely shoulder him, and make grim faces at him in the very presence-chamber; but still at other times, some of them would not scruple to cajole and flatter him, and make him presents when they had favours to ask of the queen. It is said that Rizzio was intoxicated with his promotion, and showed pride and ostentation. It is probable that there was some truth in the accusation; and it is certain, that those who afterwards accused him, fostered these feelings by their baseness and truckling to him; but yet there is good evidence to show that the poor Italian saw his position in its true light, and was anxious for more security with a little less honour. He lamented to the ingenious Melville, who was now constantly at Mary's court, that the favour and confidence of the queen exposed him to envy and danger.² For a long time there was not so much as a hint breathed of there being any immorality in the queen's predilections; and, according to tradition, David Rizzio was not the sort of person likely to excite a criminal and dangerous passion, being ill-favoured, if not deformed in his person, and considerably advanced in years.

Rizzio was, as we have mentioned, a confidant of Darnley when that young man began his courtship of the queen; and it appears that he forwarded Darnley's suit with whatever power he possessed. When Darnley arrived at the Scottish court Rizzio had only been two months in Mary's service. Mary's affection for Darnley was immediate, and it lasted till the latter forfeited it by his gross misconduct, Rizzio being all the time neither more nor less about the queen than before and after. According to the account of those least prejudiced against Mary, Darnley's

¹ On the 1st of September, 1565, little more than a month after the marriage, we find Cecil writing to a friend—"The young king is so insolent as his father is weary of his government, and is departed from the court!"—*Ellis*. But even before he was elevated to the queen's side, Randolph told Cecil—"Darnley's behaviour is such that he is despised. . . . What shall become of him I know not; but it is greatly to be feared that he can have no long life among this people. The queen herself, being of better understanding, seeks to frame and fashion him to the temper of her subjects; but no persuasion can change

that (which) custom has made natural to him. He is reckoned proud, disdainful, and suspicious, which kind of men this soil (Scotland), of any other, can worse bear."—Original Letter, quoted by *Raumer*. Here we find the English agent speaking of the very probable assassination of Darnley by the subjects at the time when the queen, according to his account, was passionately in love with him; and Randolph, here and in many other passages written at a later period, certainly describes Darnley as one not at all likely to have a long life among such people.

² Melville's *Memoirs*.

savage hatred of the Italian arose not from any love-jealousy, but from the favourite's taking the liberty to remonstrate with him on his treatment of the queen, and from his being suspected by Darnley of advising the queen never to bestow on him the matrimonial crown. These grounds of hatred, which, in a man like Darnley, were quite sufficient to account for what followed, are made prominent even in the accounts of those who are disposed to take the worst view of the queen's conduct; but *they* add to them, as another incentive to the murder, the passion of jealousy, which, according to their showing, there were suspicious circumstances to justify. Whatever were his motives, when Darnley spoke of revenge to some of the nobles, he found them disposed to encourage the feeling, and unscrupulous as to the means to be adopted for its gratification. They all hated the favourite; some perhaps the more, because they had debased themselves before him; and as several hot Presbyterians engaged in the plot, some of them, no doubt, thought that it would be a very meritorious deed to murder a man who corresponded in the queen's name with the pope of Rome.¹ Among the latter was the fierce Lord Ruthven—a nobleman in good favour with the Lords of the Congregation and the preachers—who rose from a bed of sickness to have a principal hand in the bloody deed. The Earl of Morton, who had encouraged Darnley's pretensions to the matrimonial crown, and who was still chancellor of the kingdom, though suspecting, on his part, that Mary meant to take the seals from him, and give them to her Italian secretary, engaged all the rest of the Douglasses, legitimate or illegitimate, to take up the quarrel of their *kinsman*—for Darnley, as a descendant of the Earl of Angus, was of Douglas blood—and it perfectly agreed with their family notions that Darnley should be king in his own right, and supreme over Mary.

But there were still various other motives actuating some of the conspirators, who wished to stop the proceedings in parliament—to recall the Earl of Moray, with the other banished lords, whom they considered as the champions of the kirk, and who were excessively jealous of the Earl of Bothwell, who, after a variety of adventures, including a short exile, had been recalled to court. This turbulent, dangerous man, of an ancient and powerful family, and hereditary Lord High-admiral of Scotland, was recommended to Mary, notwithstanding his profession of Protestantism, by his constant adherence to her mother the queen-regent, and by his seemingly steady and disinterested devotion to her own interests. These indeed were circumstances apt to make her overlook his extravagance and the other defects of his impetuous character; but when Mary's half-brother, the Earl of Moray, accused Bothwell of an attempt to assassinate him, he found no protection from the queen, and was obliged to flee the country. He returned in 1564-5, maintaining his innocence. Moray insisted on his being brought to trial, and proposed attending the justice court with 5000 men in arms. Feeling that an accuser with such witnesses was not to be faced, Bothwell fled over to France a second time, and there remained till Moray's disgrace and flight, when Mary recalled him, and gave him the command of all the Scottish marches; and, according to Mary's own account of the dark transaction, Lord Ruthven, with his dagger still reeking with the Italian's blood, told her that they had done the deed because she maintained the ancient religion, refused to receive the fugitive lords, maintained friendship with foreign princes and nations, and received into her council the Earls of Bothwell and Huntly, who were traitors and allies of Rizzio.²

These noble lords, however, were determined to make the act appear as Darnley's, and to ob-

¹ Rizzio's grand crimes were his country and his religion. The preachers called him "imp of the devil," "minion of Antichrist," &c. According to the diary of Birrel, a citizen of Edinburgh, Rizzio was also a magician and sorcerer.

² Queen Mary's letter to Elizabeth, as given by Keith and Chalmers.

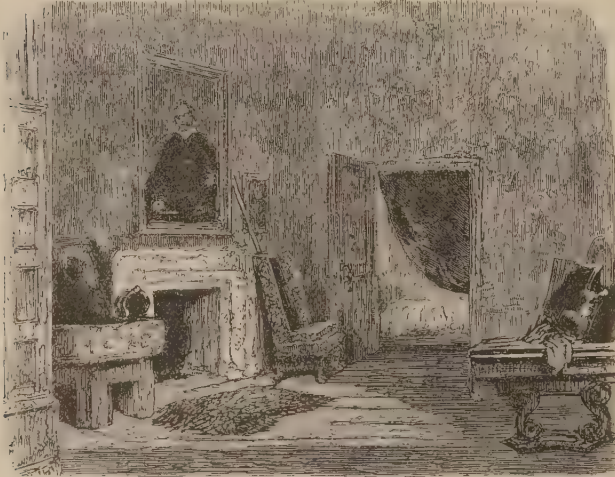
"The lords of the council, in the beginning of 1566, were Huntly, Bothwell, and Athole—all either Catholics, or favourers of the Catholic party. They, with the effectual aid of Rizzio, dissuaded Mary from yielding to the entreaties of Elizabeth, or to the prudent counsel of Melville, which concurred in exhorting her to pardon so powerful a body of nobles as those who were then exiles in England. The banished lords, who had taken up arms on the principle of resisting the queen's marriage, unless their religion was established by law, required the ratification of the acts of 1560, by an undisputed parliament, to secure to the Reformed church the privileges which it had practically enjoyed for six years, under those acts of that assembly of the estates which were obliged to be irregular. The leaders who had taken refuge in England, were the Duke of Chatellerault, the Earls of Moray, Glencairn, and Rothes, the Lords Boyd and Ochiltree, with ten of those considerable landholders called

lairds—a term which agrees with the English lords, though slightly varying in pronunciation and writing—who at this time sat in parliament only as commissioners from the inferior barons, but who still differed from the peers more in privilege than in honour. These gentlemen, the best of their time, were joined by the interest of the Reformation in unnatural union with the worst offspring of civil confusion—with Morton, a profligate though able man; with Ruthven, distinguished even then for the brutal energy with which he executed wicked designs; and with the brilliant and inconstant Lethington, admired by all parties but scarcely trusted by any; for in the measures of all numerous bodies, and especially in those seasons of commotion and peril which render every succour welcome, the good are often compelled to endure the co-operation of the bad. In this case the exiled lords, of whom many were as irreproachable as the corrupting power of intestine war will suffer men long to continue in that unhappy condition of society, must not be held to be guiltless, even although the most deplorable part of the scenes which ensued should be directly ascribed to the known depravity of their associates, or to the accidents which usually attend lawless broils."—Sir James Mackintosh, *Hist. Eng.*

tain what they might represent as royal, if not legal authority. They made Darnley sign a solemn document, in which he took the conspirators under his especial protection. Mary was at this time seven months advanced in pregnancy with her first and only child; and it has been not unreasonably concluded that it was intended to cause the death of more persons than the unfortunate favourite; for, after mature deliberation, it was resolved to commit the murder before her very eyes whilst she was in this critical condition. The bloody bond was signed on the

mandated Lord Ruthven, on pain of treason, to quit her presence. The poor Italian, in the meanwhile, had run behind the queen's table, and now, seizing the queen by the skirts of her garment, implored her protection, and cried aloud for justice. But Ruthven and his satellites overturned the table upon the queen and the secretary, and then Darnley held the queen's arms, telling her that their business was only with the secretary, while the rest of the murderers dragged Rizzio from his hold. Then George Douglas, a bastard of the Angus family, pulling out the king's own dagger,

struck Rizzio with it, and with so deadly a blow that he left the weapon up to its hilt in the body of the victim. The tears and entreaties of Mary, the shrieks of the Countess of Argyle and the servants, made no more impression on the hearts of these men than on their steel breastplates: while some stood before the queen with cocked pistols (and one of them, named Andrew Ker,¹ is said to have presented his pistol close to her body, swearing that he would destroy both her and the child within her), the others dragged Rizzio into the ante-chamber, and there despatched him with fifty-six wounds. While this savage deed was doing,



CHAMBER IN HOLYROOD WHERE RIZZIO WAS MURDERED.—From a view by Cattermole.

1st or the 5th of March: on the 9th of the same month, at seven o'clock in the evening, just as the queen was finishing her supper, and quietly conversing with the Countess of Argyle and Arthur Erskine, the governor of Holyrood-house, who sat at table with her, while Rizzio was seated at his meal at a side table, according to his usual custom when he was in waiting, and while several attendants, male and female, were in the room or the apartment adjoining, the king suddenly entered, and, placing himself behind the queen, gazed savagely on the secretary. In the next minute Darnley was followed by the Lord Ruthven, pale and ghastly from recent disease and present spite, and in complete armour. Close on Ruthven's steps stalked several other conspirators, all in armour like himself. Darnley spoke not a word, but Ruthven, in a hollow voice, bade Rizzio rise and come forth for the place he sat in did not become him. Perceiving what was meant, the queen started up, and asked her husband whether he knew anything of this foul attempt; and, on his denying it, she com-

Morton, the Chancellor of Scotland, whose special duty it was to protect and enforce the laws, kept the doors of the palace with a number of armed men, in order to prevent any one entering to succour the queen. As long as there was life in the victim, or a hope of life, Mary implored and wept, offering to give up Rizzio to the laws if he had offended them; but when told that he was dead, she is said to have exclaimed, "I will then dry my tears and think of revenge!" She was in great fear of miscarriage, and sent for the midwife at eight o'clock. Darnley, who was as great a fool as villain, now attempted to console her, and to exonerate himself by accusing and cursing his accomplices. But this was not before Ruthven and the rest had withdrawn. At this moment Mary saw no means of escape out of the hands of the butchers, who had placed their armed retainers round the palace, unless through her husband, and she

¹ According to the author of *L'Innocence, &c.*, this Andrew Ker (*André Karre*) was cousin-german to Ruthven and the Lord Hume, who was also of the faction.

made the imbecile and bewildered Darnley believe that she accepted his justification, and freely pardoned him. On the following day, to the surprise of those who were not in the secret, the Earl of Moray and the banished lords presented themselves at Holyrood, pretending that they had come to stand their trial before their peers in parliament—a step which they were not likely to take had they not known of the projected assassination, which was sure to produce a revolution at court. It appears, indeed, certain that the fugitive lords, who had been in hiding near the Borders, had received due warning; and there are reasons for believing, what is positively asserted by some, that Elizabeth and Cecil were accessories both before and after the deed, and that the Earl of Moray himself was not only duly informed, but an original promoter of the plot. The web of this intrigue is altogether so intricate, the treachery of such a compounded nature—for everybody was betraying every one else, and working for a separate object—that the mind is utterly bewildered and lost in the maze. It appears, however, that the Earl of Moray and his associates expected to find Morton and Ruthven placed at the head of affairs; but that, as this did not happen, through the defection of Darnley, who now stood for his wife, they instantly agreed to shape a different course, and to take part with the queen, concluding that her enmity against them would be swallowed up by her wrath at the more recent and most intolerable injury she had suffered: and they were quite ready to give up their quondam friends, and profit by their downfall. Moray, apparently, through the agency of Darnley, who was equally ready to forget or deny the solemn bond which he had signed with Ruthven and his party for the murder of Rizzio—a deed therein declared to be for the glory of God and the advancement of true religion—formally agreed to detach himself and his friends from the interests of the assassins, and to aid the queen in bringing them to justice. Upon this, Morton, Ruthven, and the rest, fled to those very hiding-places in the English marches which Moray and his associates had just abandoned, and from which Morton and Ruthven had recalled them.

When Mary met her half-brother, forgetting all former wrongs, and regarding him again as her natural defender in the midst of the blood and treachery and iron hearts that surrounded her, she received him with open arms, kissed him, and imputed her ill-usage to his absence, weeping in a mixed passion of joy and anguish. The Earl of Moray was, to all appearance, equally affected; and the faithful Melville, who was present, relates that he shed tears. But we have pretty good evidence to show that

Moray was dissimulating, as also that he had been engaged in the plot for Rizzio's murder, a fact which has been disputed by historians anxious to make the best of the godly earl. The Earl of Bedford and Randolph, who wrote a joint letter to the privy council of England, giving a cool, if not an approving account of the assassination, say, at the end of their narrative:—1st. "The Earl Morton and Lord Ruthven, finding themselves left by the king, for all his fair promises, bonds, and subscriptions, and seeing the others fall from them, *saving the Earl of Moray and such as were of the last enterprise*, thought best to provide for themselves, and so every one of them take their several way where they think that they may be most at ease or surety." 2d. "*My Lord of Moray*, by a special servant sent unto us (*that is, to Bedford and Randolph, who were at Berwick*), desireth your honours' (ELIZABETH'S PRIVY COUNCIL!) favour and protection to these noble men as his (*Moray's*) dear friends, and *such as for his sake hath given this adventure*." And in the postscript to this same letter the noble earl and the rising Randolph give, to their protectors the lords of the privy council, a list of "the names of such as were doers and of counsel in this last attempt committed at Edinburgh." In this list appear the Earl of Morton, chancellor; Sir John Balenden, justice-clerk, or second judicial authority of Scotland; Lord Ruthven; his son, the Master of Ruthven; his brother, Alexander Ruthven; Lord Lindsay; the Laird of Lochleven; Mr. Adam Erskine, abbot of Cambuskenneth; Andrew Ker; Andrew Cunningham, son to the Earl of Glencairn; Mr. Archibald Douglas; George Douglas, uncle to Darnley; Ormeston, who afterwards had a hand in Darnley's own murder; Thomas Scott, under-sheriff of Strathearn; the Laird of Carmichael, and sixteen other distinguished assassins, including Maitland of Lethington, to whose name is put "secret," to show that he was not as yet suspected. "All these," add Bedford and Randolph, "are men of good living, besides a number of other gentlemen." They also mention that two lairds and a provost had been taken and imprisoned, and that the Earl of Lennox, Darnley's father, had been ordered to leave the court.¹

During these transactions the Earl of Bothwell and the Earl of Huntly (son of the attainted earl, slain, in 1562, at Corrichie) had done their best to serve the queen. According to one account, they were both in Holyrood at the time of Rizzio's murder, and in fear of their own lives, escaped out of a window.² They collected troops

¹ The whole of this important and decisive document is given by Sir Henry Ellis, from the original among the Cotton MSS. in Brit. Mus., in his *Original Letters*, &c., first series, vol. ii.

² Letter from Randall, or Randolph, to the English privy council.—*Harl. MSS.*

immediately; and when Mary went with her husband to Dunbar Castle, they waited upon him with all their friends, who among them had collected an army of 8000 men—a measure which, not less than the winning over of the Earl of Moray, had induced Morton and Ruthven to flee across the Borders. On Mary's return to Edinburgh, all her adversaries were dispersed; and the king most solemnly protested before the council, that he had never consented to Signor David's death; that the murder had been committed much against his will, and that he would in no manner protect the murderers. Upon which, the next day, proclamation was made at the cross of Edinburgh against the lords, and declaring the king's innocence. But these lords were safe in England, where Elizabeth, for her own purposes, left them undisturbed; and when Mary, in concert with the French court, demanded that she should give them up as men guilty of the worst of crimes, she coolly replied that she did not think it proper so to do until the Scottish queen's anger against them should be somewhat moderated.¹ Mary prosecuted seven of the murderers of Rizzio, but only two mean men were executed. The great men, as we have shown, were kept out of her reach by one who professed herself a wonderful venerator of justice; and Mary, who was certainly not fond of blood, probably felt that it would be both unfair and absurd to punish their miserable retainers and instruments. It has also been surmised that she was anxious to close the proceedings, in order to screen one who was still her husband. For a short time—it may well be imagined that the time was very short—Mary, Darnley, and Moray seemed to agree tolerably well—the queen dividing her power between her husband and brother. But Darnley was irretrievably lost in habits and in reputation, and, fool though he was, it was difficult for him to believe that, after such wrongs, his wife's reconciliation could be sincere. He sought refuge from his painful thoughts in wine and low company, and, though he absented himself, he was jealous of every person that approached the queen's ear, ever fancying that there was a plot on foot to avenge on him the Holyrood murder. As early as the 4th of April, scarcely a month after that deed, Randolph wrote to Cecil—“The queen has now seen all the covenants and bonds that passed between the king and the lords, and now finds that his declaration, before her and the council, of his innocence of the death of Rizzio was false, and is grievously offended that, by this means, he had sought to come by the crown-matrimonial.”²

On the 19th of June, 1566, Mary, in the castle of Edinburgh, was delivered of a son, afterwards James the Sixth of Scotland and First of England. It had been agreed beforehand that Elizabeth should stand godmother to the infant James, and Mary now despatched the diligent and faithful Melville to London. Melville did not spare the spur: he took horse at noon and rode to Berwick that night; and on the fourth day he reached London, where his brother Robert was residing as Mary's ambassador. Sir Robert sent immediately to advertise Secretary Cecil of the birth of the prince, and Cecil posted forthwith down to Greenwich, where he found his mistress in great glee *dancing after supper*. [Her suppers were not subject to such interruptions as those of her rival.] “But,” says Melville, “so soon as the Secretary Cecil whispered in her ear the news of the prince's birth, all her mirth was laid aside for that night. All present marvelled whence proceeded such a change; for the queen did sit down, putting her hand under her cheek, bursting out to some of her ladies that the Queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she was but a barren stock.” On the following morning, when Melville had his audience, all this was changed. Elizabeth met him in her best apparel, saying that the joyful news communicated by Secretary Cecil had recovered her out of a heavy sickness which she had lain under for fifteen days; “and therefore,” adds he, “she welcomed me with a merry volt,³ and thanked me for the diligence I had used in hasting to give her that welcome intelligence. The day after his audience, where the acting of the queen was too transparent, he received a royal letter, with the present of a fair chain.⁴ Her English majesty accepted with alacrity the office of godmother; and, as it was a long journey for ladies, she appointed two men, the Earl of Bedford and Mr. Carey, son of her kinsman Lord Hunsdon,⁵ with a goodly retinue of knights and gentlemen, to act as her proxies. As, however, a female was indispensable, the Countess of Argyle, one of the spectators of Rizzio's murder, was appointed to represent Elizabeth at the baptismal font. There were two godfathers, the King of France being joined by the Duke of Savoy, and these princes were represented by their respective ambassadors. The ceremony was performed at Stirling by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, according to the Roman Catholic ritual. During the time of Divine service the Earl of Bedford, and all the Protestant gentlemen sent down by Elizabeth, stood outside the chapel, not daring to partake in the idolatries

³ “Volt,” from the Italian *volto* countenance.

⁴ Melville's *Memoirs*.

⁵ Henry Carey, created Baron Hunsdon in 1559, was cousin-german to Elizabeth, being the son of Mary, sister of Anne Boleyn.

¹ *Burghley Papers; Lansdowne MSS.*, as quoted by Raumer.

² Letter in State Paper Office, as given by Raumer.

of the mass. "Mary was pensive and melancholy," Darnley did not appear at all, and his absence was much noticed. The fact was, he had stayed away to save his pride, for Elizabeth had strictly charged the Earl of Bedford and the Englishmen in his company not to treat him as king; and to avoid the mortification of being refused the royal title before the whole court, he kept away from the christening.

But, between the birth and the baptism of James, Darnley had become more than ever estranged from the queen, while the Earl of Bothwell had obtained complete possession of the royal favour. It was against the Earl of Moray, however, that the wrath and machinations of the weak king-consort were now directed.

Most of the contemporary writers assert that Darnley really had a design against the life of the queen's half-brother, and Moray was not a man likely to forgive him this intention. At the same time, the friends and dependants of Morton and Ruthven entertained a deadly hatred against Darnley for his behaviour after the murder of Rizzio; and they said, among themselves, that he deserved to die the death of a coward and traitor for sacrificing men whom *he* had induced to stain their hands in blood. In short, Darnley had enemies in all quarters, and friends in none; and it may have been fear which made him embrace at one moment the project of travelling on the Continent.

The birth of James tended in more ways than one to increase the ill-humours and jealousies of Elizabeth. It revived the spirit of Mary's partisans in England, who were mostly, but not all, Catholics. These men, seeing the English queen still unmarried, and likely for ever to remain so, began to calculate as a certainty on the succession falling, if not to Mary, to her son; for at this time the line of Suffolk had almost dropped out of notice. It appears to have been this English party that got up an alarm as to the unsettled state of the succession; but as the danger in case of Elizabeth's death, was so great and so obvious, all parties soon joined in pressing for some settlement, either by Elizabeth's marriage or otherwise. It was scarcely possible for Mary to be indifferent to this question, and in an unlucky hour she again pressed her rival to name her successor, and obtain from the parliament a recognition of her own rights. In fact, during some stormy debates in both houses, Mary was

mentioned as being the first in the order of succession after Elizabeth. But this extraordinary woman stopped further proceedings, by declaring that she intended to marry, and to have, by God's grace, an heir of her own body. These debates occupied a considerable part of the months of October and November, and both lords and commons showed a determined spirit to which they had long been strangers—the commons even proposing that the question of supplies and that of the succession should go hand in hand. Then our old friend, Sir Ralph Sadler, with a serious face told the commons that he had heard the queen's majesty declare, in solemn manner, that she would take a husband for the good of her people. As the house was in all probability not quite convinced by Sir Ralph, Elizabeth ordered Secretary Cecil, Sir Francis Knollys, Sir Ambrose Carr, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and Sir Edward Rogers, comptroller of her household, to make the same declaration. The commons, however, seem to have been still unconvinced; they joined the question of the marriage with the question of settlement, and were proceeding with earnestness when Elizabeth *commanded* them not to proceed further in that matter. This imperative order gave great discontent; but the commons had not as yet settled what were their privileges; and Paul Wentworth, the member that showed more spirit, ventured only to *doubt* whether such an interference on the part of the crown were not an infringement of the liberties and privileges of the house. Cecil endeavoured to restore good humour and a confidence which he scarcely felt himself, by assuring them that Elizabeth pledged to the house the word of a queen that she would marry; after which he made some statements which confirm, what ought never have been doubted by historians, that Elizabeth had been a most troublesome prisoner in the days of her sister Mary. Speaking in the name of her majesty, Cecil told the house, that the naming of a successor must be attended with great danger to her own person; that she had herself experienced, during the reign of her sister, how much court was usually paid to the next heir, and what dangerous sacrifices men would make of their present duty to their future prospects; and that, therefore, she had delayed the naming of any successor. But still the commons were restive—some of them even declaring that the queen was bound in duty to secure them against the chances of a civil war and a disputed succession; that, by persisting in her present conduct, she would show herself the stepmother, not the natural parent of her people, and would seem to desire that England should subsist no

¹ Cecil notices "certain lewd bills thrown abroad against the queen's majesty, for not assenting to have the matter of succession proved in parliament; and bills also to charge Sir W. Cecil with the occasion thereof." See Cecil's curious Journal, extending from November, 1542, to January, 1597, as published by Murden, at the end of his collection of the *Burghley State Papers*. This journal contains an authentic summary of the

great events of Elizabeth's reign; but the entries are, unfortunately, very succinct—mere memoranda.

longer than she should have the glory and satisfaction of governing it. Never had the commons been so bold. Elizabeth was alarmed into civility: she called up the speaker to court, assured him that she was sincere in her intention of marrying, but repeated her prohibition as to the debates still going on. The members, however, showed a determination not to obey this command; upon which she was graciously pleased to revoke it, and to allow the house the liberty of debate. The latter wise measure cooled their heat, and they voted the supplies without hampering them with conditions. Soon after this, the queen dissolved the parliament; but it was not consistent with her temper and her notions of prerogative to permit them to depart without a lesson. As it was Elizabeth's policy never to do anything unpopular with one hand without performing some popular act with the other, she remitted payment of part of the supplies voted to her, making that memorable and captivating speech—that money in the purses of her subjects was as good to her as in her own exchequer.¹

On the 9th of November, while the debates were at the warmest in the English parliament, Mary addressed a letter to Elizabeth's privy council, calling to mind that her hereditary right, as had lately been mentioned in parliament, was indisputable. "And, albeit," continues Mary, "we be not of mind to press our good sister further than shall come of her own good pleasure, to put the matter in question, yet likewise we will be judged by the laws of England. We do affectionately require you to have respect to justice with indifferency, whenever it shall please the queen to put it in deliberation."² As the English parliament was actually engaged on the matter, and seemed determined to press Elizabeth to a decision, nothing could well be more a matter of course than Mary's mentioning her own claims at such a moment. But the measure evidently chagrined her rival, who was further irritated by a request urged by Melville—"to cause certain persons, now living, to be examined of their knowledge of the manner of the last testament of King Henry."³ The will of Henry VIII., which barred in the most irregular manner the Scottish line, was indeed the only obstacle to Mary's hereditary claim, and this will was suspected to have been a forgery. Elizabeth, who was resolved to do no such thing, instructed the Earl of Bedford to tell Mary that she meant to examine her father's will as soon as she should find it convenient; but, on the other hand, he was to request the Scottish queen fully to confirm

the treaty of Edinburgh, which had been deferred, as she said, "upon account of some words therein prejudicial to the queen's right and title before all others, after us." But a compliance with this would have been nothing less than a renunciation on Mary's part of all rights to the English succession (for so much was implied in the treaty of Edinburgh), only softened by a promise from one whose merit in promise-keeping had not been very conspicuous. It might, indeed, have been better for Mary had she gratified her imperious rival in this particular; but her refusal was neither unjust nor unreasonable, but perfectly consistent with an honest diplomacy. Elizabeth, however, was furious. We have not evidence to prove the full extent to which her conscience permitted her to go, but it is certain that she threw more activity into intrigues and proceedings which had never been interrupted, and sought to preserve tranquillity at home, and to avoid naming an odious successor, by stirring up fresh troubles in Scotland. Her agents at Edinburgh had continual conferences with Moray: the lords who had murdered Rizzio were taken under her special and avowed protection: and when the Earl of Bedford attended at the christening of James, he was instructed by his sovereign and Secretary Cecil to take advantage of that happy moment to plead to Queen Mary in their favour. Mary, as we have seen, was not happy or cheerful at that moment;⁴ yet, at the petition of Bedford, she granted the murderers a free pardon; and within a few days the Lords Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay, with seventy-five other conspirators, chiefly the followers of Morton, returned into Scotland, where, within six months, they disgraced and dethroned their forgiving sovereign. Darnley, who was in Stirling Castle, quitted that place for Glasgow as soon as he heard that the queen had caused the privy seal to be put to the pardon of Morton, a man whom he had good reason to dread. According to John Knox, Darnley left the queen abruptly, "without good night." Bothwell, on the contrary, testified great joy at the recall of the exiles, and even went to meet Morton, with whom he had a long conference at Whittingham, on the Scottish borders; where, according to Morton's confession, when his own hour came, he was admitted into the secrets of a conspiracy for murdering Darnley.⁵ At the same time the Earl of Moray, who

¹ Camden; *D'Eices*. Cecil says briefly in his journal, "In this parliament time the queen's majesty did remit a part of the offer of a subsidy by the commons, who offered largely to the end to have had the succession established."

² *Hart. MS.* 4645, as quoted by Raumer.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ According to the French ambassador, she behaved admirably well at the baptism and at the entertainment given to all that goodly company, but yet could not conceal her unhappiness. He says—"She sent for me yesterday, the 22d of December (*five days after the ceremony*), and I found her laid on the bed, weeping sore. . . . I am much grieved for the many troubles and vexations she meets with."—Letter of Le Croc, quoted by Keith.

⁵ This is what Melville calls a *quiet friendship*. "The Earl of Bothwell," he says, "picked up a quiet friendship with the Earl Morton."

had pleaded for the exiles in England, conducted the Earl of Bedford to his house in Fife, and there treated him "with much honour, great cheer, and courteous entertainment," things which we are entitled to surmise, were but a cover to more serious transactions.

It should appear that Bothwell, whose audacity was equal to anything, conceived the notion of marrying the queen, building confidently on her affection for his person. Yet this scheme must have been recent and sudden, as also the love of the queen, upon which it is said to have been founded. Bothwell, not six months before, had married the sister of the Earl of Huntly, and though he got rid of this incumbrance, he would scarcely have taken a wife if he had *then* contemplated a union with the queen. Mary, on the other hand, seems to have given no very striking proof of an ardent and headlong passion. Some little circumstances usually cited against her admit of a very different explanation from the one generally given. We must here descend to minutæ otherwise unworthy of a place in history. On the 27th July, Mary set sail in a vessel, manned by Bothwell, for Alloa, about thirty miles up the Forth. This was called by her enemies a going away with the pirates and with Bothwell; but that earl, as lord high-admiral, was the proper person to attend to such a voyage, and the pirates were Scottish sailors under his command. The queen, who was recovering from the effects of child-bearing, was too weak to travel on horseback, and it appears that she had no wheel-carriage. But even if there had been a carriage and good roads (which were altogether wanting), a voyage by sea was preferable under all circumstances. The queen was going to visit the Earl of Mar, a most honourable and devout man, according to the showing even of his enemies; and that nobleman, together with Moray and most of her officers of state, besides Bothwell, accompanied her. Darnley, it is true, chose to go by land; but Darnley, besides being in different case from his convalescent wife, was at open enmity with the Earl of Moray, and was besides, wayward and capricious, like a spoiled boy. On the 29th of July the queen returned to Edinburgh to meet the French ambassador, who had arrived to congratulate her upon her safe delivery; and, on the 1st of August she ascended the Forth again to Alloa, when her husband joined her and remained two nights with her. During this time Secretary Maitland, who had absconded after Rizzio's assassination, in the arranging of which he had played a foremost part, was pardoned in spite of Bothwell. On the 4th of August Mary again descended the Forth, and took up her abode at Holyrood, to all appearance much improved in health by her stay at Alloa

and her short sea voyages. For two days after her return she and her husband agreed well together, and when dissensions broke out the name of Bothwell was not mentioned; but it was said that Darnley was offended with the queen for keeping so much company with Moray, her half-brother, and then her prime minister; and it was at this moment that Darnley is accused of threatening to make away with Moray. In spite, however, of these brawls, Mary and her husband, attended by Huntly, Moray, and other nobles, hunted together in Peeblesshire for three or four days, and returned in company to Edinburgh on the 20th of August. On the 22d of the same month Mary and Darnley went to Stirling, carrying with them Prince James. Leaving their infant in Stirling Castle, they went together to hunt for a few days in Glenartney, in Perthshire. On the 31st of August they returned to Stirling, where they remained together, with their child nearly a fortnight. On the 12th of September Mary went to Edinburgh to attend public business, and Darnley refused to accompany her. On the 21st of the same month the queen returned to her husband. Two days after she repaired alone to Edinburgh, having in vain endeavoured to make her wayward husband go with her. It was at this crisis that Darnley spoke of going abroad: his own father, the Earl of Lennox, informed the queen of this strange design. Mary instantly laid Lennox's letter before her privy council, and, on that same night at ten o'clock, Darnley arrived at Edinburgh; but he would not enter Holyroodhouse unless three of the chief nobles who were there should be dismissed. These were, according to one account, the Earls of Moray, Argyle, and Rothes; according to another, Moray, Rothes, and Secretary Maitland. In no contemporary account is there mention made of Bothwell, and, in addition to his old grounds of jealousy and enmity against Moray, it is mentioned that Darnley was at this moment enraged because he could not obtain such things as he sought—to wit, the dismissals of Secretary Maitland, the justice clerk, and the clerk of registry. On the morrow, when Darnley came to his senses, the queen, in presence of the privy council and the Bishop of Ross, took him by the hand and conjured him to say whether she had ever given him offence, and to state the true cause of his discontent. He declared that the queen had never given him any cause of complaint, and that he had no real intention of quitting the kingdom; and yet, when he returned from the council, he said to the queen, "Adieu, madam, you shall not see my face for a long space." He went to Glasgow to his father and hired a vessel, and kept it in readiness, as if he really meant to

abscond. Hence also he wrote a letter to the queen, stating grievances which he would not mention before; and yet in these grievances there is no mention of Bothwell, or hint of any jealousy on his account. Darnley complained, first, that the queen did not trust him with so much authority, nor was at such pains to advance him, and to make him be honoured by the nation, as formerly; secondly, that nobody attended him, and the nobility avoided his company. To these avowed grievances Mary replied that she had conferred so much honour on him as had rendered herself very uneasy; and that he had abused her favours by patronizing a conspiracy against her; but, notwithstanding this, she had continued to show him such respect that, though those who entered her chamber with him and murdered her faithful servant, had named him as their chief, yet she had never accused him thereof, but excused him, as if she had not believed the fact. (This passage proves, what has scarcely ever been doubted, that Mary was not deceived by Darnley's protestations of innocence, and that his share in the murder of Rizzio was a crime she could never forget or really forgive, however much she may have been disposed, for the sake of appearances, to live on friendly terms with her husband.) Thirdly, that as to his not being attended, the fault was his own, as she had always offered him her own servants, and could not compel the nobles to wait upon him since it was his own deportment and want of courtesy which drove them from him. This reply was drawn up by the privy council; and a letter addressed to the Queen-mother of France, declaring that Darnley had no ground of complaint, but, on the contrary, the best reason to look upon himself as one of the most fortunate princes of Christendom—if he had only known his own happiness and made a proper use of his good fortune—was signed by Huntly, Argyle, Moray, Athole, Caithness, Rothes, Secretary Maitland, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Galloway, Ross, Orkney, and Dunkeld. And Le Croc, the French ambassador, wrote at this very moment:—"It is in vain to imagine that Darnley shall be able to raise any disturbance, for there is not one person in this kingdom that regards him any further than as agreeable to the queen; and I never saw her majesty so much beloved, esteemed, and honoured, or so great harmony amongst all her subjects as at present, by her own conduct."¹ During part of these transactions Bothwell was not at court, and Darnley's petulance was not directed against *him*, but against Moray and Maitland, two men who were seldom insulted with impunity, or disappointed in carrying any scheme they proposed—

men of consummate craft, who could always turn the fiercer villainies of others to their own purpose. In the afternoon of the 6th of October, Bothwell, in discharge of his duties as warden of the marches, left Edinburgh for the Borders, which were, as usual in a disturbed state. On the 8th of the same month Mary, according to a purpose declared many weeks before, went to Jedburgh to hold Justice Ayres, or to superintend the proceedings of the circuit courts, a common practice, at the regular seasons with Scottish sovereigns. On the same day that Mary set out for the Borders, Bothwell was wounded at Hermitage Castle by an outlaw of those parts named Eliott of Park, whom he had attempted to make prisoner with his own hand. The news of this affray reached Mary at Jedburgh, where she was attended by most of her officers of state. It has been stated by an elegant, but not very correct historian, that she instantly flew on the wings of love to Bothwell;² but it is proved by the most authentic documents that she did not quit her duties and engagements at Jedburgh until eight days had elapsed. This materially changes the aspect of the story. "A journey undertaken," says Walter Scott, "after such an interval, has not the appearance of being performed at the impulse of passion, but seems rather to have flowed from some political motive; and the queen's readiness to take arms in person, both previously to the battle of Corrichie and at the Round-about Raid, may account for her dauntlessly approaching a disturbed district in her dominions without supposing her to be acting upon the impulse of a guilty passion, or even an inordinate favour for her wounded officer."³ On the 16th of October Mary rode on horseback from Jedburgh to Hermitage Castle, to visit the wounded Bothwell. The distance between the two places was about twenty English miles; but she rode back to Jedburgh on the same day, not stopping to sleep at Hermitage, which was *her* castle and not Bothwell's. Historians in general are not good horsemen: they have considered this journey as something much more remarkable than it really was in a spirited, active woman of four-and-twenty, who was a most excellent horsewoman, and they have fancied that no motive short of an amorous one could possibly make the queen ride forty statute miles in one day! But Mary was likely to ride forty miles in a long autumn day for mere pastime, and in the present case there was a sufficiently strong motive in her desire to investigate the cause of an outrage committed on one who, by right of office, represented her royal authority, and who, in her eyes, even without love, may have appeared as an active and deserving lieutenant.

¹ Keith; Chalmers.

² Robertson, *Hist. Scot.*

³ *Hist. Scot.*

But, again, if the journey had been so terrible and Mary so lost to shame as they represented, she would scarcely have been at the trouble of riding back to Jedburgh before night set in. In the enfeebled state of her health the long ride did, however, prove somewhat serious, for, on the following day, the 17th of October, the queen was seized with a dangerous fever, which, in conjunction with uneasiness of mind, caused partly by her husband, and her apprehension of some fresh conspiracy, or of some murder like that of Rizzio, brought her almost to the point of death, and kept her during ten whole days in a very doubtful state. Intelligence of the queen's illness was sent immediately to Darnley, who was then no farther off than Glasgow, and who showed great indifference on the receipt of it. The French ambassador and the Bishop of Ross both wrote to Paris, relating the dangerous state of the queen, and complaining of her husband's neglect. Darnley at last took the road to Jedburgh, but he did not arrive there till the 28th of October. The queen, now convalescent, received him but coolly, and the very next day he left her again. It should appear, however, that Darnley stood in dread of Moray and Maitland, who were almost constantly with his wife, and who had taken measures during her illness to exclude him and his father from all share in the government in case the disease should prove mortal.¹ On the 9th of November Mary, having finished the business of the Ayres, left Jedburgh for Kelso, where she held a council on the following day. "She then returned by the Merse, and being desirous to see Berwick afar off, she ascended Halidon Hill, being well escorted by troops of Borderers on horseback. The English garrison of Berwick honoured her with many shots of artillery; and Sir John Forster, one of the wardens of the English border, came with other officers out of Berwick, and conferred with her majesty as to the keeping of good order in those

wild districts." Melville, who was of the party, adds, "The king followed her about where she rode, getting no good countenance, and therefore he passed to Glasgow, where he fell sick for displeasure, as was alleged, not without some bruit of an ill drink by some of his servants."² But, according to all other accounts, Darnley had gone straight to Glasgow after his short visit to the queen at Jedburgh. On the 19th of November Mary proceeded to Tantallon Castle, and thence, on the following day, to Craigmillar. Here, according to Le Croc, the French ambassador, she was sick and melancholy, and in the hands of the physician. About a week after her arrival at Craigmillar, Darnley, whose conduct



CRAIGMILLAR CASTLE.—From a view by Hearne.

can be reduced to no rational rule, came to visit her, and remained a week! The queen was attended by nearly her whole court. Moray was there, and so also were Argyle, Huntly, Bothwell and Maitland. In the beginning of December Maitland and Moray, after conferring with Argyle, Huntly, and Bothwell, resolved that the queen should be divorced from her unsuitable husband. It appears that all these lords were perfectly agreed as to this plan, but that Moray kept in the back ground, leaving the principal management of the affair to the adroit and eloquent Maitland, who bore a personal and bitter hatred to Darnley. But when the plan was laid before the queen, she rejected it without hesitation, saying that such a measure could not be adopted without throwing discredit on her own character and doubts on the legitimacy of her child; nor could the eloquence of Maitland and the earnestness of Bothwell overcome this

¹ Melville says, "that during the stay of the court at Jedburgh, there was another dark plot on foot, and that the Earls of Bothwell and Huntly enterprised the slaughter of the Earl of Moray, but the Lord Hume came there with forces and prevented that enterprise." Keith, on the other hand, makes it rather probable that there was a purpose entertained to murder Bothwell!

² Melville.

repugnance—a striking proof that up to this time at least, she was chary of her reputation, and anxious to preserve it even at the cost of great suffering.

A few days after this debate, the queen was at Stirling for the baptism of her child. There, as we have related, she pardoned the dark-souled Morton and his confederates; and then it was that Bothwell, Maitland, and Morton met at Whittingham, where it is supposed, and, in fact, almost proved, that *they* concerted the murder of Darnley, who, after the ceremonies at Stirling, in which he did not partake, had again retired, as we have seen, to Glasgow. This doomed man could know nothing of the secret meeting between Bothwell, Maitland, and Morton; but he well knew that the returned exiles were athirst for vengeance against him. He reached Glasgow; but a frightful disease—the small-pox—was there before him, and he caught the infection immediately. When informed of his malady, the queen sent him her own physician.¹ When her own life was in danger at Jedburgh Darnley had shown no solicitude. She did not go to Glasgow herself, but the historians who censure her on this account seem to forget that she had an infant to attend to, and that the disease was in the highest degree contagious. The queen set out from Stirling with the young prince for Edinburgh, where she arrived on the 14th of January, 1567. The capital rung with different rumours, some of which reached her ears, and gave her great uneasiness. It was said, for example, that Darnley intended to crown his infant son, and to take the government on himself. But by another report, which seems to have been equally prevalent, Darnley was to be put in ward, as he could not bear some of the nobles who attended the court, so that he or they must leave it. Other reports, however, had spread on the Continent, and Mary's ambassador at Paris informed her that the Spanish ambassador had desired him to warn her of some secret plot which was ready to be made at Edinburgh, and conjured her to double her guards. Yet, after writing to her ambassador in France, that she knew from good authority, that the king, his father and adherents, were talking and thinking of doing her some injury, only that their power was not equal to their will, Mary consented to a

fresh reconciliation, which is said to have been brought about by her physician, who had attended Darnley, and seen him out of danger; and then set out for Glasgow, where she arrived on the 25th of January. Her interview with her husband is described as having been friendly, if not affectionate, and, as he was convalescent, he agreed to accompany her back to Edinburgh in the course of a few days. On the 29th of January they left Glasgow together, Mary travelling, as usual, on horseback; Darnley, on account of his weakness, being carried in a kind of litter. They rested for nearly two days at Linlithgow—the pleasantest palace in Scotland—and they reached the capital on the last day of January. The king's infectious illness was assigned as an imperative reason for lodging him out of the close and crowded palace of Holyrood, where his wife and his child resided. A lonely house called the Kirk-a-Field, situated near where the College of Edinburgh now stands, but which was then in the suburbs of the town, had been chosen for him by the queen's physician, who is said to have preferred it on account of its open airy situation, and to have fitted it up for the king's reception. This house belonged to one Robert Balfour, the provost of the collegiate church of St. Mary. Here the queen visited him daily, and several times slept in a chamber under that of the king. "But many," says Melville, "suspected that the Earl of Bothwell had some enterprise against him (Darnley)." Upon the fatal day, Moray, who, be it observed, invariably managed to be out of the way when anything doubtful and dangerous was to be done, absented himself from the court under pretence that his wife had fallen sick in the country. This opportune absence is certain, and if we are to believe more questionable authority—the zealous advocates of the queen—Moray, upon his journey, speaking of Darnley's behaviour, told a person in whom he reposed his chief confidence, that the king would not live to see another day.² This same evening the queen, with several of the nobles, spent with her husband, whom she only left at eleven o'clock at night, in order to be present at an entertainment in Holyroodhouse, which was given on occasion of the marriage of Sebastian Auvergnac, one of her servants. About three hours after her departure, at two o'clock in the morning of the 10th February, the ancient palace and the city were shaken by a violent explosion; and when people went forth to see, they found the house of Kirk-a-Field utterly destroyed, and the bodies of Darnley and his valet lying in the garden without any marks of violence on their persons. The body of Darnley was carried to a house close at hand, was laid within a chamber, and kept by one Sandy (or Alexander) Drurum;

¹ Buchanan, Knox, and other writers of that side, assert that Darnley was poisoned by his wife's orders, and that she would not suffer a physician to come to him. This assertion is completely overset, and that, too, by the testimony of one who was always inclined to take the very worst view of Mary's conduct. The Earl of Bedford, who was almost on the spot, wrote to Cecil on the 9th of January:—"The king is now at Glasgow with his father, and there lieth full of the small-pox, to whom the queen hath sent her physician."—Original Letter in State Paper Offices quoted by Keith and Chalmers.

² Bishop Lesley's *Defence of the Queen of Scots*.

but, adds Melville, "I could not get the sight of him." When Melville went to the palace he found her majesty kept her chamber. He says, "I came to the chamber-door the next morning after the murder. The Earl Bothwell said that her majesty was sorrowful and quiet; for he came forth and told me he saw the strangest accident that ever chanced—to wit, the thunder came out of the luft (sky) and had burnt the king's house, and himself found lying dead a little distance from the house under a tree, and willed me to go up and see him, how that there was not a hurt nor a mark in all his body."¹

Never was an atrocious murder more clumsily executed. The elements had been quiet that night, and even an ignorant eye could detect the effects of a mine of gunpowder. Suspicion immediately fell upon Bothwell, but not so immediately either upon the queen or upon Morton and Maitland, and the others who were afterwards proved to have been accessories and in part active participants in the deed with Bothwell. Some light will be thrown on the horrid mystery by our narration of succeeding events, and the reader will weigh the preceding facts, which we have endeavoured to state clearly and without bias. In truth, our own mind is not made up as to the long and hotly debated question of the queen's innocence or guilt in regard to her husband's murder. Notwithstanding the popular accusation of Bothwell, as being the chief murderer, Secretary Maitland, Morton, Huntly, Argyle, in fact all her ministers, and nearly every person that approached her, not excepting even her brother Moray, continued their close friendship with that desperate man, and joined together in maintaining his innocence. But several of them could not admit his guilt without proclaiming their own. There is, at least, a doubt in favour of the queen—*perhaps* even in favour of Moray—but there is none as to the rest having taken part, more or less actively, in the murder. These very men, however, acting as the queen's ministers, issued a proclamation on the 12th of February, offering a reward of 2000 pounds for the discovery of the murderers. On the 16th of the

same month placards were set up in the public places of Edinburgh, designating the Earl of Bothwell and three of his servants as the murderers. At this moment Mary was plunged in grief and dismay; and the same ministers—the allies of Bothwell—offered a fresh reward for the discovery of the author of the placards. No person, either of high or low degree, had courage to come forward in the face of the government. But, in the dead of night, fierce voices were heard in the streets of Edinburgh, charging Bothwell as a principal, and the queen as an accomplice. Other persons, however, were named in the like



ANCIENT HOUSES, near the Kirk-a-Field.—From a map dated 1575

manner; and no one pressed any specific charge, till Darney's father, the Earl of Lennox, at the beginning of the month of March, sent from Glasgow, where he was collecting his friends, to request the queen that such persons as were named in the placards should be arrested. He was answered, that if he, or any, would stand to the accusation of any of the persons so named, it should be done; but not by virtue of the placards or at his request. This information we derive from Henry Killigrew, whom Elizabeth had sent down ostensibly to condole with Mary, and who, on the very day of his writing (the 8th of March), had dined with Moray, Huntly (then chancellor), the Earl of Argyle, Lord Bothwell, and Secretary Maitland—the whole party being still bosom friends.² On the 17th of March the

¹ In this story of horror nearly every point is still a mystery. It has never been ascertained how Darney was killed. According to one account, he was blown up in the house; but this seems to be disproved by the fact (witnessed by hundreds) that the body bore no marks of violence or outward hurt. According to another account, he was strangled in his bed, and the house was then blown up to conceal the deed; but if so, why was the body removed to some distance, and placed under a tree in a perfectly sound state? And then the previous strangling would be a useless process with a sick man in his bed, and a train of

gunpowder under him. Bothwell, it appears, wished people to believe that the house had been struck by lightning; but, unless he was absolutely crazed, he could never fancy that the people would believe that the lightning had first carried Darney out of a window, and deposited him, without a bone broken, under the tree, and had then reduced the house to a heap of ruins, in which everything was buried except Darney and his attendant!

² Letter from Killigrew to Cecil, as given by Chalmers. The original is in the State Paper Office.

Earl of Lennox made a more formal accusation of Bothwell and others.¹ On the 21st Bothwell was allowed by Mary and her ministers to get into his own hands the strong castle of Edinburgh. On the 28th of the same month an order was issued by the privy council for Bothwell's trial to take place on the 12th of April. Lennox, who is more than suspected of having had a principal share in the murder of Rizzio, and in other dishonourable plots, complained of violence and injustice; and he wrote not only to Mary, but to Queen Elizabeth, to obtain a postponement of the trial, stating, with some reason, that the time was too short to allow him to collect his witnesses, and that he could not safely present himself where the murderers of his son were not only at large, but in possession of power and favour.² But it was determined, in spite of this remonstrance, that the court of justiciary should proceed to trial on the day fixed. Lennox then advanced from Glasgow to Stirling, on his way to Edinburgh; but here his fears overcame him—he wrote his excuses—and then fled with all haste into England, where he was kindly received by Elizabeth. On the 9th of April, before the trial came on, Moray, having with great difficulty obtained the queen's permission, set out from Edinburgh for France. He took his journey through England, where he also was well received; and he took care not to return until the course of events left all but the throne open to his ambition: and yet his absence could hardly exonerate him from suspicion of treacherous dealing; for the cunning Maitland was his sworn ally and coadjutor; and he, and others equally devoted to the earl, remained quietly at their posts till the vessel of the state was fairly driven upon the rocks. On the appointed day, when the justiciary court opened, Bothwell appeared at the bar, *supported on the one hand by Maitland, on the other by Morton*. No evidence was produced—no prosecutor appeared—and Bothwell was necessarily acquitted; though, by this time, there was scarcely a man in the kingdom but felt assured of *his* guilt. On the 14th of April, two days after this acquittal, a parliament assembled in a regular manner at Edinburgh. It was opened by the queen's

commissioners; but on the 16th her majesty appeared in person, Bothwell carrying the sceptre before her. The parliament confirmed to the murderer all the estates and honours he had recently received, and at the same time all their estates and honours to the nobles who had acted with him or were willing to aid him in his ambitious designs. Old forfeitures were reversed, new grants were made, every man looking eagerly for a share in the queen's liberality. An allusion was boldly made to the late charges against Bothwell, and accusations by placards or bills stuck up secretly in the streets were prohibited. No Scottish parliament at this time could overlook the great question of religion. The present drew up a bill for the renouncing of all foreign jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs, and for confirming and ratifying the Protestant doctrines and church government; and the queen readily gave the royal assent to this bill, which bestowed a constitutional sanction upon the Reformed church, and proclaimed a total renunciation of the authority of Rome. Bothwell was indefatigable in this parliament, evidently hoping to conciliate the preachers. During the sitting of the parliament reports got abroad of an intended marriage between the queen and Bothwell. "The bruit began to rise," says Melville, "that the queen would marry the Earl Bothwell, who had, six months before, married the Earl of Huntly's sister, and would part with his own wife. Whereat every good subject that loved the queen's honour and the prince's surety had sore hearts, and thought her majesty would be dishonoured and the prince in danger to be cut off by him that had slain his father; but few or none durst speak in the contrary. Yet Mr Lord Herries, a worthy nobleman, came to Edinburgh well accompanied, and told her majesty what bruits were passing through the country, of the Earl Bothwell murdering of the king, and how that she was to marry him; requesting her majesty, most humbly upon his knees, to remember upon her honour and dignity, and upon the surety of the prince, which would all be in danger of tinnell (destruction) in case she married the said earl; with many other great persuasions to eschew such utter wrack and inconveniences as that would bring on. Her majesty marvelled at such bruits without purpose, and said that there was no such thing in her mind."

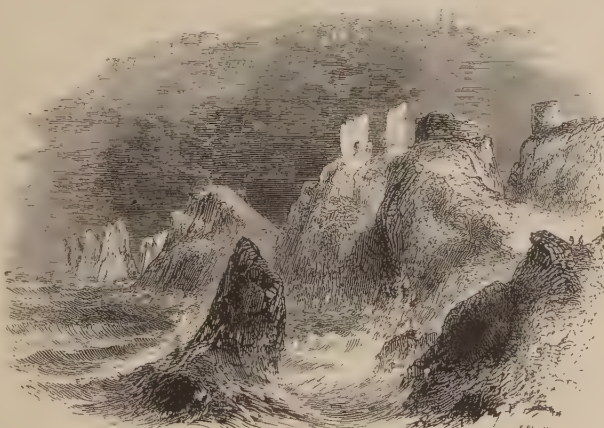
If some remarkable details in Melville's *Memoirs* are honestly and correctly given—and our own impression is that they are so in the main—Mary was evidently at this moment coerced by the ruffianly audacity of Bothwell, who was still in close alliance with Maitland and all her ministers, and permitted by them to menace her true friends in her own palace. Immediately after

¹ He charged Bothwell, with his three partizans or dependants, Balfour, Chalmers, and Spence, and three servants of the queen, Sebastian, Bordeaux, and Joseph Rizzio, the brother of David, whom Mary had promoted after the Holyrood assassination.

² Elizabeth remonstrated with Mary, but the English messenger did not arrive at Holyrood till the very morning of the mock trial. From the 28th of March to the 12th of April are only fifteen days, so that, as a forced journey from Edinburgh to London (and Lennox wrote from Glasgow) occupied six days, and the same time must be allowed for the return, without counting time for consulting with her ministers or allowing for contingencies, the English queen had possibly not been able to get her remonstrance to Holyrood sooner.

the rising of parliament, Bothwell invited the leading members of that body, lay and ecclesiastic, to an entertainment in an Edinburgh tavern,¹ and declared to them his purpose of marrying the queen. Hereupon he drew out a bond from his pocket, wherein, after a full recognition of his innocence of the late king's murder, he (Bothwell) was warmly recommended as a suitable match to her majesty in case she should condescend to marry with a subject; and the bond further stated that the subscribers thereto pledged themselves to advance the said marriage at the risk of life and goods. Voluntarily, or through fear, eight bishops, nine earls, and seven lords subscribed the paper, which Bothwell then returned to his pocket. Maitland and the ex-Chancellor Morton countenanced and supported him; they put their signatures to the bond; and with them signed Argyle, Rothes, and Boyd, who were all sworn allies of the Earl of Moray, and who had joined in his rebellion on the queen's marriage with Darnley. Among the other names appears even that of Lord Herries, for all the part he had taken, according to Melville, only a few days before. Four days after the signing of this bond Bothwell collected about 1000 horse, under pretext of Border service, and lay in wait for the queen, who was then returning from Stirling Castle, whither she had been to visit her infant son. At the Foulbrigs, between Linlithgow and Edinburgh, Bothwell rode up to her, and took her majesty's horse by the bridle. His men took the Earl of Huntly, the Secretary Lethington, and Melville, and letting all the rest go free, carried them with the queen as captives to the strong castle of Dunbar. Huntly (though brother to Bothwell's wife) and Maitland were certainly willing prisoners—were plotters in the dark business; but after all that has been said and written, there is some doubt whether the queen were not taken by surprise and force; and this is the point most decisive of Mary's character, far more so than the subsequent act of marriage with Bothwell. If she went knowingly and willingly, she loaded herself with a crushing weight of guilt and folly; but if she were carried away by violence, the marriage would appear, in

the eyes of most women of that time, as the only means of covering her honour. Melville, who was, as we have seen, with the queen when she was taken, is not very clear on this point; he says, however, that Bothwell, after taking the queen's bridle, "boasted to marry the queen, who would or who would not; yea, whether she would herself or not." But he adds—"Captain Blaiketer (or Blackadder), that was my taker, alleged that it was with the queen's own consent." Yet here, it should be observed, that Blackadder, as an officer or servant of Bothwell—as a person actively engaged in the transaction—would natur-



DUNBAR CASTLE.²—From a view by Allom.

ally make such an assertion; for if it was against the queen's consent, the act was nothing less than treason in all concerned. On the following day Melville was let out of Dunbar Castle, and permitted to pass home. But Bothwell kept the queen five days in that fortress, during which none of her subjects made any efforts for her release—a remarkable fact, susceptible of at least two interpretations: either they believed that she was there willingly; or they wished to see her utterly defamed and ruined by a marriage with Bothwell. The most active of the nobles had conspired to bring this about: Maitland, who remained with her in the castle, continued to urge her to this step. Mary afterwards complained that, while under this thralldom, not a sword was drawn for her relief; but after their marriage a thousand swords flew from their scab-

² It is not known when the castle of Dunbar was erected, but, from historical events with which it is associated, it must be of considerable antiquity. An act of parliament, passed in 1488, directs the immediate demolition of the castle of Dunbar, as a place dangerous to the peace of the realm; but it was not till 1567, when another act of the same import was passed, that the sentence of destruction was carried into effect. The ruins are situated hard by the town of Dunbar.

¹ The house was kept by one Ainslie. Hence the famous transaction was called "Ainslie's Supper,"—a name which was afterwards applied to the house or tavern itself.

bards to drive Bothwell from the country and herself from her throne. On the 20th of April the daring man brought the queen back to Edinburgh Castle, and placed her in seeming liberty, but she was in fact still in a snare, entirely surrounded by crafty and remorseless men. "Afterward," says Melville, "the court came to Edinburgh, and there a number of noblemen were drawn together in a chamber within the palace, where they subscribed, all, that the marriage between the queen and the Earl Bothwell was very meet, he being well friended in Lothians and upon the Borders, to cause good rule to be kept; and then the queen could not but marry him, seeing he had ravished her and lain with her against her will. I cannot tell how nor by what law he parted with his own wife, sister to the Earl of Huntly." This hurried parting with his wife was one of the most revolting features of Bothwell's conduct: and yet, in this respect, he was scarcely more infamous than his high-born wife herself, or her brother the Earl of Huntly, chancellor of the kingdom and guardian of the purity of the laws! He commenced a process in the consistory court of the Popish Archbishop of St. Andrews for a divorce, on the plea of consanguinity; and his wife, in collusion with him, sued her husband in the Protestant court of commissaries of Edinburgh for a divorce, on a charge of adultery. She had been previously gratified by Bothwell with a grant for life of the lands and town of Nether Hailes in Haddingtonshire; and Huntly, her brother, continued in the closest intimacy with Bothwell, and was even present at his marriage with the queen. Both the ecclesiastical courts proceeded with as much speed as Bothwell could have required, and on different grounds passed sentence of divorce. A few days after, the queen appeared in the court of session, and there declared before the chancellor, the judges, and several of the nobility, that though she had been carried off and detained against her will in Dunbar, and greatly injured by the Earl of Bothwell, yet considering his former great services, and all that might be hereafter expected from his bravery and ability, she was disposed not only to forgive him, but also to exalt him to higher honours. Bothwell, of course, had made the best use of his bond signed by the bishops, and earls, and lords at "Ainslie's Supper;" and it is generally admitted that this document had great weight with Mary, who, it should appear, did not see it until she was at Dunbar. And now the said great lords, spiritual and temporal, who had signed the deed, got from the queen a written assurance that neither they nor their descendants should ever be accused on that account.¹ Resolving to have his new marriage performed

in a strictly Protestant and Presbyterian manner, Bothwell commanded that the banns should be published in the regular parish church at Edinburgh. John Knox was then absent, but his place was supplied by his friend and colleague Craig, who, after some hesitation, published the banns as required, and then protested from the pulpit that he abhorred and detested the intended marriage as unlawful and scandalous, and solemnly charged the nobility to use their influence to prevent the queen from taking a step which would cover her with infamy. But the nobles were far indeed from any disposition to make efforts in this way, the influence of the greater part of them being engaged to promote the match, and no complaint on their part being made against it until it was completed, and the queen irretrievably lost. Bothwell was now created Duke of Orkney; and on the 15th of May, only eight days after the dissolution of his former marriage, he was united to the queen. "The marriage," says Melville, "was made in the palace of Holyroodhouse, after a preaching by Adam Bodewell (or Bothwell), Bishop of Orkney, in the great hall were the council uses to sit, according to the order of the Reformed religion, and not in the chapel of the mass, as was the king's marriage." On the same day, however, the ceremony was also performed in private according to the Catholic forms. At the public celebration there was a great attendance of nobles. A few days after, Le Croc, the French ambassador, represents Mary as being in the extremity of grief and despair. "On Thursday the queen sent for me, when I perceived something strange in the mutual behaviour of her and her husband. She attempted to excuse it, and said, 'If you see me melancholy, it is because I do not choose to be cheerful—because I never will be so, and wish for nothing but death.'"² This does not look like an amorous bride who had eagerly thrown herself into the arms of her lover. Envoys were sent to England and to France to communicate the queen's marriage, and to counteract the rumours which were afloat. Elizabeth, who had certainly been warned beforehand by Morton and Maitland—the very men who were most active in bringing about the match—now prepared to lend her assistance to them in taking up arms against the queen. Morton, as has been observed, was aware that, by ruining Mary, he should gratify Elizabeth, and raise his own party to the management of affairs; and, after the lapse of a few short years, when Moray, who was the first to step to greatness by Mary's fall, was laid in a bloody grave, we shall see this same Morton, one of the murderers of Rizzio as of Darnley, made Regent of Scotland, under the protection of the English queen.

¹ Keith; Lesley; Scott.

² Harl. MS., quoted by Raumer

CHAPTER XVI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1567—1569.

ELIZABETH.

The Scottish nobles discontented with their queen's marriage—They attempt to seize her and Bothwell—The queen and Bothwell escape—They raise an army against the confederated nobles—Bothwell's idle challenge at Carberry Hill—He retires from the field—Mary surrenders to the lords—Her treatment on being brought to Edinburgh—She is sent prisoner to Lochleven—Bothwell's escape from Scotland—His miserable end—Proceedings against Mary—She is compelled to abdicate in favour of her son—The Earl of Moray appointed regent—His interview with Mary at Lochleven—Earl of Morton's profitable promotions—Mary escapes from Lochleven—Raises an army—Its defeat at Langside—Mary's flight into England—She is treated as a prisoner—Elizabeth refuses an interview until Mary has proved her innocence in Darnley's murder—Mary's ingratiating behaviour to her keepers—Elizabeth's intrigues to weaken the cause of Mary—Mary's imprudent avowals—She is removed to a more secure confinement—Mary writes to Elizabeth—She consents to a trial about the murder of her husband—Meeting of commission for that purpose at York—Earl of Moray's conduct on the trial—Proofs adduced of Mary's complicity in the murder of Darnley—Answers of Mary's commissioners—Maitland intrigues with the Duke of Norfolk in behalf of Mary—Earl of Moray's additional charges against Mary—He produces the silver casket and its contents—Authenticity of her letters denied—Elizabeth's equivocal verdict at the close of the trial—Her partial behaviour to the Earl of Moray—Mary removed to Tutbury Castle.



AS soon as the queen's honour was inseparably connected with Bothwell, then Morton, Maitland, and the rest began to talk against the marriage, to revive the mournful fate of Darnley, and to intimate that Bothwell was guilty of that murder. At first, all this was said cautiously and secretly; but as soon as they had seen the effects of such discourses, and the great force they could rely upon, they openly declared themselves; and three weeks after the marriage they flew to arms, ostensibly only to punish their colleague and brother assassin, Bothwell, to secure the person of the young prince, and to liberate the queen from the control of her husband. The confederacy of the lords was, in fact, explicitly declared to be for the protection of the queen and her son against the guilty Bothwell; but they had already determined to dethrone Mary, and crown the infant James. On the 6th of June, before any declaration was made, they attempted to seize the queen and Bothwell in Borthwick Castle, about eight miles south-east of Edinburgh; but the earl easily escaped, and after him the queen, disguised in male attire, rode without stopping, on a common saddle, to the castle of Dunbar. The confederates counter-marched upon Edinburgh, where the populace joined them. It was still reported that the life of Prince James was in danger, though the Earl of Mar, who had joined the confederacy, had him in perfect safety in Stirling Castle. The confederates assumed the power of government, issuing proclamations, as if the queen had been already dethroned. They called upon all the queen's people to join their standard under pain

of being deemed murderers of the late king; and in order to move men's hearts, they circulated printed papers, detailing the atrocities of Bothwell. Still, however, with the exception of the lower orders, few flocked to their standard; and at this moment the corporation of Edinburgh sent a deputation to Mary, to excuse the city for admitting the confederated nobles. The queen, in the meanwhile, summoned her faithful subjects in the adjoining counties; and, by the end of two days, 2000 fighting men from the Lothians and the Merse gathered round her standard at Dunbar. Here she ought to have remained—for the castle was almost impregnable, the confederates had little or no artillery, and their force was not increasing so rapidly as her own. But the queen, who was always bold and decisive in the face of such dangers as these, and who could not have forgotten how the lords fled before her in the Round-about Raid, marched out of Dunbar towards Edinburgh on the 14th of June. She halted at Gladsmuir, where she caused a proclamation to be read to her little army, exposing the professions of the insurgents, declaring that her late marriage with Bothwell had been contracted and solemnized with the consent and at the persuasion of the chiefs of the insurrection, as their own hand-writings testified, and affirming that, though they affected to fear for the safety of her son (*who was in their own possession*), yet they only aimed at overthrowing her and her posterity, in order that they themselves might enjoy the supreme power. That night she lay at Seton. On the following morning, Sunday, the 15th of June, exactly one month after her marriage, she advanced to Carberry Hill, and

there drew up in order of battle—for the insurgents had advanced from Edinburgh to meet her, and stood in battle array in two divisions, the one commanded by the Earl of Morton, the other by the Earl of Athole. While the two armies stood thus in presence of each other, the aged Le Croc advanced to the insurgents, and endeavoured to effect a peaceful accommodation. The Earl of Morton made answer that they had taken arms not against the queen, but against the murderer of the king; that if she would deliver up Bothwell, or put him from her company, they would return to their obedience, but that, otherwise, they would make a day of it. And then the Earl of Glencairn told the French ambassador that they were not come to that field to ask pardon for what they had done, but rather to give pardon to those who had sinned. While this lengthened conference lasted, Bothwell sent a herald offering to prove his innocence by the old ordeal of single combat. Two of the insurgents successively accepted the challenge, but Bothwell objected to both as being of inferior rank. According to one account, he now challenged, by name, the Earl of Morton, who is said to have accepted the challenge, and to have chosen the weapons and the mode of fighting, which was to be on foot, with two-handed swords. These two would have been fairly pitted, but neither seems to have been willing to set his life on such a cast: and, in the end, there was no fight at all between them. Lord Lindsay, it is said, offered himself in Morton's place. But Mary refused her consent to this duel; and there were no doubt many with her who were unwilling to stake their cause on the uncertain issue of a single combat. It should appear that, during this idle bravadoing, the force of the confederates was increased by arrivals from Edinburgh, which was only about five miles in their rear, and that symptoms of disaffection were observed among the queen's troops. The crisis is described in very different ways. Some say that Bothwell's heart failed him—that, after demanding a promise of fidelity from the queen, he mounted his horse and galloped away for Dunbar Castle, leaving her to fall into the hands of her enemies: and Camden adds, that the nobles, with Morton, gave him secret notice to provide for himself by flight, lest, being taken, he might impeach them of the part they had had in the Darnley murder. According to another account, the queen sent a herald to desire that Kirkaldy of Grange, the best soldier of Scotland, and a man who retained some chivalrous feelings, might wait upon her to settle terms of accommodation. The lords consented, and gave the Laird of Grange full authority to treat with the queen. He proposed, it is said, in their names, that Bothwell should depart off the field

until the cause might be tried, and that the queen should pass over to them, and use the counsels of her nobles, who bound themselves thenceforward to honour, serve, and obey her majesty. The queen assented, and Grange thereupon took Bothwell by the hand, and desired him to depart, promising that no one should oppose or follow him; and thus Bothwell passed away with the consent of the insurgent lords. Kirkaldy then took the queen's bridle-rein, and led her down the hill to the confederates. Morton waited upon her to ratify the promises which had been made to her on their behalf, and he assured her that she should be more honoured and obeyed than any of her progenitors had ever been. But as Mary advanced into the lines all this homage and respect vanished—the armed ranks closed around her with menacing gestures and the coarsest reproaches. The common soldiers and the rabble from Edinburgh cried out that she ought to be burned as a Papist, a prostitute, and murderess. They carried her on to Edinburgh, where she arrived at seven o'clock in the evening, covered with tears and the dust of the roads, and in that state they led her on horseback through the principal streets, some of the mob carrying a white banner before her, whereon were rudely painted a figure of her husband Darnley lying strangled under a tree, and a figure of Prince James, his son, kneeling beside it, with a label issuing from his mouth with these words upon it:—"Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord!" They lodged her in the provost's house, which was beset the whole night by the yelling populace. When she arose in the morning, the first object that met her eyes was the same dismal banner. As soon as she was able, she sent Maitland to request that the estates of the realm might be summoned forthwith, as she was willing to submit to their determination—she being present and heard in defence of her own cause. But it did not suit Morton and his confederates to adopt this legal course; and on the following evening they hurried her under a strong guard to the castle of Lochleven, situated on an islet in the loch or lake which bears that name, in Kinross-shire. This castle was chosen not only on account of its difficult situation, but because it was the property and stronghold of Sir William Douglas, a uterine brother of the Earl of Moray, and presumptive heir to Morton.¹ Mary was treated with excessive harshness in this her first place of captivity; and the whole conduct of the confederate lords was contrary to the agreement upon which the queen placed herself in their

¹ Moray's mother, the Lady Margaret Erskine, daughter of John, fifth Earl of Mar, afterwards married Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven, and by him became the mother of Sir William Douglas, who was a near connection of James Douglas, Earl of Morton.

hands at Carberry Hill. Kirkaldy of Grange was incensed at their conduct, and upbraided them with having broken their word, and made him, an honourable soldier, the means of deceiving the queen with lying promises.

It was not long before Bothwell had fled the kingdom for ever. On the 26th of June there was issued an act of the privy council for apprehending him, he being charged with the murder of Darnley, and with ravishing the queen's person and enforcing her to marry him (this was, in a manner, declaring the queen innocent); and they offered a reward of 1000 crowns to any one that should bring the traitor and ravisher to Edinburgh. If they had really wished to have Bothwell there, they would have pursued a very different course, and left him much less time. Some twenty days after the queen's imprisonment in Lochleven, Bothwell quietly retired by water from Dunbar Castle into Morayshire, where he stayed some time. He next sought shelter in his dukedom of Orkney, but he was refused admittance into his own castle there by his own keeper or lieutenant. In his desperate fortunes he called around him some

Northern pirates, and threatened to scour the seas with a blood-red flag. The lords then thought proper to despatch a small fleet after him from Leith. If they had caught him, there can be little doubt that they would have buried Bothwell and his secrets in the ocean; but he fled to the coast of Norway, where he was, after a few months, taken by the Danish government, who considered him as a pirate, and threw him into the castle of Malmö, where he is said to have gone mad.¹ At the point of death, nearly ten years after, he is said to have solemnly declared, upon his oath, that he himself committed the murder of Darnley by the counsels of Moray, Morton, and others; but this point, like most of the rest, is involved in doubt and obscurity, and Bothwell's dying declaration, or testament, as it

was called, was purposely kept out of sight by Elizabeth, into whose hands it fell.

The confederate lords had pretended that they only kept the queen in ward till the dangerous Bothwell should be expelled the kingdom; and Elizabeth, or Cecil for her, represented to foreign courts that England would make efforts for Mary's liberation as soon as Bothwell should be out of the kingdom; but when this expulsion had really been effected, the lords kept her in as close confinement as ever, and, changing their tone altogether, they declared that she should be de-throned on account of misgovernment, and com-



LOCHLEVEN CASTLE.—From a drawing by G. Cook.

pelled to resign her crown to her infant son, or, in other words, the entire government to her half-brother, Moray, and his party. There was, however, a strong party that opposed this violent scheme, thinking that they had gone far enough already, and that the queen might now be safely trusted with the government. By the end of June, many of the noblest families in Scotland, including the Hamiltons, the Earl of Huntly, the gallant Lord Herries, and others, began to devise measures for her protection, and insisted that she ought to be restored to her liberty and her throne, upon certain equitable conditions. But Mary's enemies were more powerful than these friends, and the townspeople very generally were set against her, and induced by their preachers to cry aloud, not merely for her de-

¹ It is generally believed that Bothwell was detained by the Danish government in captivity till he died, in 1576, in the castle of Malmö, in the province of Schoonen, now a part of Sweden, but which then belonged to the kingdom of Denmark. A few years ago there was discovered, in the royal library of the castle of Drottningholm, in Sweden, a narrative in French of the transactions in which Bothwell was engaged in Scotland up to the time of his flight, which appears to have been written by himself, or rather by an amanuensis at his dictation: the manuscript is corrected in various places, it is supposed by the hand of Bothwell. An English translation of this paper was given in

the *New Monthly Magazine* (xiii. 521-537), and the French original has since been printed by the Bannatyne Club (4to, Edin. 1829). This statement, however, being merely Bothwell's own account of his conduct, prepared apparently with the view of inducing the Danish government to grant him his liberty, contains nothing of much historical importance. The most interesting parts of his story are passed over very summarily; he denies, of course, that he had any hand in Darnley's murder; he merely mentions his divorce of his first wife in a marginal note; and his ravishment or seizure of the queen he does not notice at all.

thronement, but her execution. On the 18th of June, the day after Mary's journey to Lochleven, the Earl of Glencairn, with his servants and others, went into the queen's chapel at Holyrood, broke down the altar, and demolished the pictures, images, and ornaments. The preachers highly commended this work; but we are not informed what they said to another transaction which took place on the same day: for the insurgent nobles seized all the queen's plate, jewels, and other moveables, without anything like a legal authority. The confederates now assumed the title of the "Lords of the Secret Council"—an appropriate name. The Earls of Athole, Mar, and Glencairn, the Lords Ruthven, Hume, Semple, Sanquhar, and Ochiltree, were members of this council; but the real leader was the Earl of Morton. Having let Bothwell escape—and it seems that they were also glad to see Sebastian, the queen's French servant, who was strongly suspected, get safe out of the kingdom—they seized Captain Blackadder and a few very obscure persons. The captain was condemned and executed for Darnley's murder; but at his death he would no ways confess himself guilty. Four others, by orders of the Lords of the Secret Council, were *ironed and tormented*, then tried and executed; but the lords did not find it convenient to publish either their trials or their confessions. On the 23d of July, Villeroy had arrived on a special mission from France, and desired to speak with the queen; but the lords, who expected no favour from that side, refused to admit him. A very different reception was given to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a special envoy from Elizabeth, who found himself among old friends, and who in a very few days recommended his mistress to be favourable to the Lords of the Secret Council, *who could do her best service*. Soon after, Throgmorton informed his court that he could get no access to Queen Mary, whose life was in great danger, and that he found it would be difficult, if not impossible, to induce the lords to send Prince James into England—a plan which, for obvious reason, Elizabeth and Cecil had much at heart. He mentions having had some conference with Mr. Knox and Mr. Craig, whom he had requested, as he says, to preach and persuade unity.¹ The Assembly of the Kirk having met at Edinburgh, chose George Buchanan for their moderator, and put themselves in close league

with the Lords of the Secret Council; and to increase the prevailing enthusiasm, the assembly appointed a public fast to be held in Edinburgh for a whole week. Elizabeth, meanwhile, made a decent show of remonstrating with the Lords of the Secret Council on the undutifulness of their conduct; but she did nothing to prevent it or succour her relative Mary; and Throgmorton, her negotiator, was the bosom friend of those lords, and a man that, both upon political and religious grounds, would rejoice at the overthrow of the Popish queen. Throgmorton, as we have seen, was denied access to Mary. The communications he received from her, or concerning her, were all conveyed through Maitland or the Lords Lindsay and Ruthven; and hence, to say nothing of his *own violent prejudices*, his despatches to the English court are not entitled to all the credit which has been given to them as historical documents.² The two great and real objects of his mission were to get possession of Prince James and to prevent Mary's going to France.

At the same time these cunning workmen threatened the French court that, if it made any effort in favour of the captive queen, they would throw themselves wholly into the arms of the English, and, peradventure, make Mary taste of sharper pangs. And the Hamiltons and the rest of the nobles opposed to the Lords of the Secret Council took no steps for her release, waiting, it should seem, for the return of their head, the Duke of Chatellerault, who, as well as the Earl of Moray, was absent in France. Thus abandoned by all, and beset with dangers and threats of death and worse, the captive queen, on the 24th of July, put her hand to a deed in the presence of Ruthven, Lindsay, and Sir Robert Melville,³ by which she resigned the crown in favour of the baby James, then about fourteen months old. At the same time she was forced to sign a commission appointing her half-brother Moray to be regent during the minority of her son. Lindsay and Ruthven, who were chosen for the business on account of their superior brutality, solemnly swore that the deeds had been signed freely and willingly.

Now was the time for the Earl of Moray to return to Scotland; but he was careful to take London in his way; and, if we could learn what passed then between him and Elizabeth and Cecil, we should have the clue to many myste-

¹ *Harl. MS.*, quoted by Raumer.

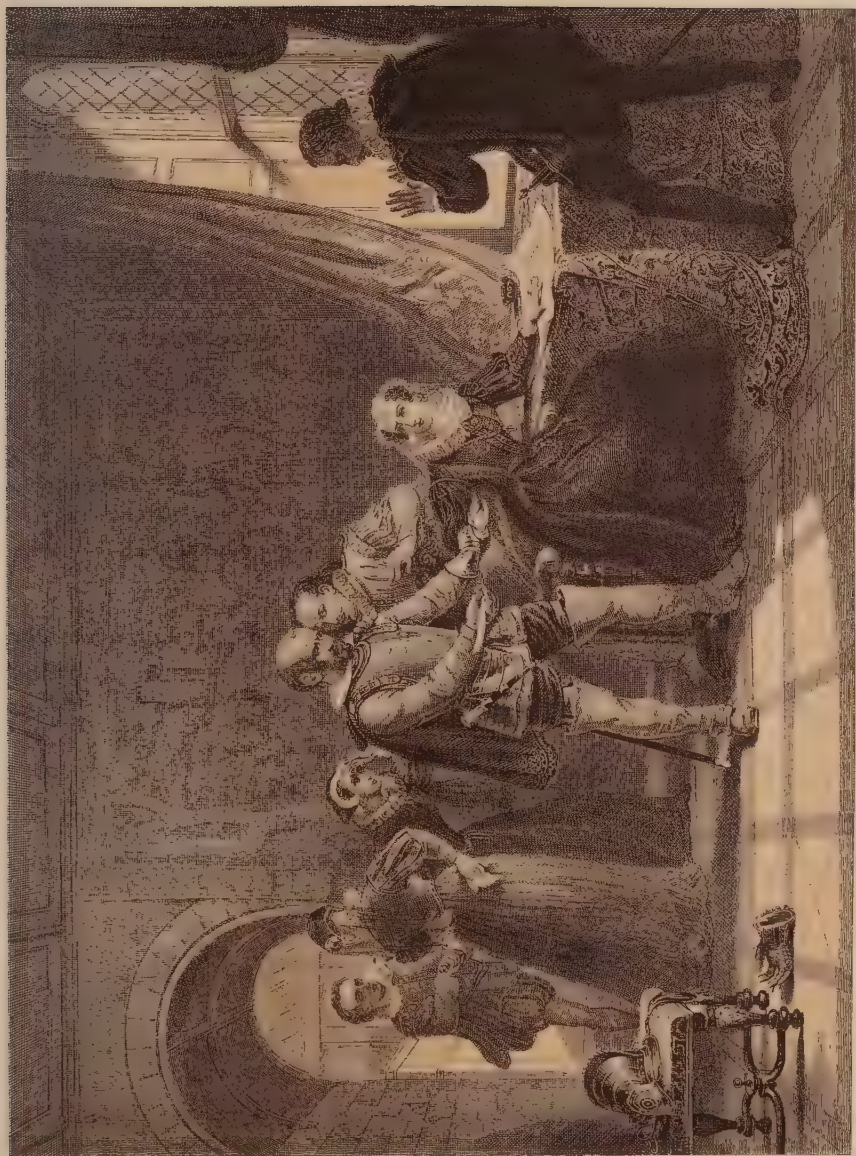
² His chief informer was the crafty Maitland of Lethington, and Throgmorton was too experienced a diplomatist to place much faith in such a man. Such expressions as these escape him, even in detailing the secretary's news—"If there be any truth in Lethington." . . . "If Lethington be not the greatest of liars." But Throgmorton could pretend to believe whenever the story went against Mary.

³ Afterwards against Baron Melville, an elder brother of Sir James Melville, the author of the *Memoirs*, and also, it is sup-

posed, of Sir Andrew Melville, who appears in attendance on Queen Mary at her death. These three Melvilles, sons of the Laird of Raith in Fife, from whom are descended the Earls of Leven and Melville, are not to be confounded with their countrymen and contemporaries, Andrew Melvill, professor of divinity at St. Andrews, one of the most distinguished of the friends and fellow-labourers of Knox; and his relation James Melvill, minister of Anstruther, whose curious *Diary*, or memoir of his own life, has recently been printed by the Wodrow Society, 8vo edition, 1843.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS COMPELLED TO SIGN HER ABDICATION.

During the early morning of February 10th, 1567, the citizens of Edinburgh were startled by a loud explosion in the neighbourhood of the city wall. When day broke it was seen that a small mansion-house near the Kirk of the Field had been blown up, and the lifeless body of Henry Darnley, the young king, who had lodged there, was found in the garden. Suspicion pointed to the Earl of Bothwell as the author of this murder, and this suspicion was extended to Mary Queen of Scots when she married Bothwell, some three months after the assassination of her husband. After this fatal step the Scottish nobles led an army against the Queen and Bothwell, but the latter fled from Carberry Hill without fighting, and Mary surrendered. The confederate nobles led her to Edinburgh, and from thence she was conveyed to Lochleven Castle. *There, on the 24th July, 1567, the unhappy queen was compelled by Ruthven, Lindsay, and Sir Robert Melville, to sign a deed of abdication in favour of her son, who was afterwards crowned at Stirling.*



MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS COMPELLED TO SIGN HER ABDICATION IN LOCHLEVEN CASTLE, 1567.

FROM THE PICTURES BY WILLIAM ALLAN P.A.

ries. Moray left London on the 31st of July, about a week after his sister had been made to sign the deeds in Lochleven Castle. When he reached Berwick he was met by a deputation from the lords: when he reached Edinburgh, on the 11th of August, he was received with all honour and joy by Morton, Ruthven (son of the murderer of Rizzio), Maitland, John Knox, and all the preachers. It was evidently not without calculation that the astute Moray did not arrive till after the coronation of his nephew. That previous ceremony had been performed at Stirling on the 29th of July. Throgmorton had orders not to attend; and it appears that none of the foreign ambassadors were present. About the middle of August, Moray, with others, went to Lochleven, where he held a "long conference with Mary, in which he told her all her bad government, and left her that night with no hopes of life, and desired her to seek God's mercy, which was the only refuge she could expect." Next day, Moray gave her some hope of life and preservation of her honour, telling her that her liberty lay not in his power, and that it was not her interest to ask it—that the things that would hazard her life were any disturbance or rising made in her favour, any attempt to escape from her prison, any encouragement given to her party, any engagement on her part to induce either the French king or English queen to attempt her liberty by force or treaty, or any further signs of affection for Bothwell. In conclusion, Moray exhorted his sister to repent of her sins, and regard the confederate lords as her best friends, who only sought the reformation of her religion and morals. Moray had already professed a decent reluctance to step into his sister's place; and so, on the 22d of August, he was proclaimed regent, protesting "that it was now past deliberation; and as for ignominy and calumny, he had no other defence against it but the goodness of God, his upright conscience, and his intent to deal sincerely in his office."¹ One of his first measures was to destroy the seals which bore the name and titles of the queen; his next to get possession of Edinburgh Castle: and, on the 24th of the same month, Sir James Balfour, Bothwell's lieutenant, who had for some time been driving a good bargain for himself, surrendered the fortress, upon condition of having a free pardon for his concern in Darnley's murder, a pension out of the revenues of the priory of St. Andrews for his son, and £5000 in cash. On the 30th of September, being aided by Morton, the regent got possession of the strong castle of Dunbar. Soon after he heaped fresh honours and emoluments upon the murderer Morton—

thus confirming the suspicions of thousands, that this man had done his business during his absence in France. He restored him to the office of chancellor, which he had forfeited by keeping the door while Ruthven and his satellites murdered Rizzio; and to this high legal office, by a curious combination, he added that of lord high-admiral, which was left vacant by the flight and attainder of Bothwell. Morton, chancellor and high-admiral, was also made sheriff of the shires of Edinburgh and Haddington, and received sundry other emoluments. He accompanied the regent on an expedition to the south, where, under pretence of punishing the moss-troopers on the Borders, they took vengeance on several districts which had manifested an affection for the captive queen. Whenever there was a fine to be imposed, Morton was there with an open palm. If this curious revolution had been conducted with any attention to constitutional forms, a parliament would have been called at least six months earlier; but at last Moray assembled one at Edinburgh on the 15th of December, in order to legalize the recent changes. The Hamiltons kept away; the seats were crowded with the partizans of Moray; Morton presided as chancellor, and his nephew Angus, a boy of fourteen, carried the royal crown, and voted with his uncle. John Knox preached at the opening of this parliament, and exhorted them to begin with the affairs of religion. It was not likely that this subject should be neglected, for Moray's main strength was in the preachers, whom, however, he left almost as poor as he found them. All the acts which had been passed in 1560 against Popery were revived, and new statutes, in accordance with the spirit of the times, were added to them. Other acts were passed confirming all that had been done in the deposition of the queen, and the appointment of Moray to the regency.

On the 3d of January, four obscure men, servants and retainers of Bothwell, were executed for assisting in the murder of Darnley: it is said that they all acknowledged their guilt, and acquitted the queen. But by this time—in part, no doubt, owing to the awkward course pursued in parliament and in the privy council—in part from the favours heaped upon Morton and others who had gone hand in hand with Bothwell to the very last moment—many who before had deemed Mary guilty, now began to consider her as innocent—as a victim to the craft and villainy of others. The Hamiltons still banded together; all who were disappointed in their hopes of profit and advancement from the revolution joined them more or less openly; and nothing was wanting but the presence of the queen to induce these men to try the fortune of the sword. Mary was most vigilantly watched; but she was resolute,

¹ Throgmorton's letters to Elizabeth, quoted by Raumer and Wright.

she was adroit, and she possessed in her person and manner a charm which few men could resist. She had also beyond her prison walls, and the deep waters of Lochleven, friends and servants who were enthusiastically attached to her, and ready at every moment to peril life in her behalf. Communications were opened with the islet; bands were stationed in ambush round the loch; horses were provided, the fleetest that money could procure. "On the 25th of March," writes Sir William Drury to Cecil, "she enterprised an escape, and was the rather nearer effect through her accustomed long being a-bed all the morning."¹ But notwithstanding this failure, and the consequent increase of vigilance in her keepers, the queen repeated her attempt on the 2d of May. Within the castle there was a lad of seventeen or eighteen, called William Douglas, or the "Little Douglas," who is supposed to have been a relative, either legitimate or illegitimate, both of the lord of the castle and of the Regent Moray. He is described as being a poor and simple lad, who escaped suspicion on account of his innocence and simplicity. He stole the keys of the castle from the keeper's chamber, where they were always deposited, set the queen at liberty in the middle of the night, locked the castle gates upon all the inmates, threw the keys into the loch, led the queen with one female attendant to a little skiff, and then rowed her to shore. There the Lord Seton, George Douglas, and a party of the Hamiltons, received her with transports of joy, and carried her in triumph to Hamilton. Many of her friends were prepared; others came in on the morrow, and a solemn association for her defence was drawn up and signed by the Earls of Argyle, Huntly, Eglinton, Crawford, Cassilis, Rothes, Montrose, Sutherland, Errol, by nine barons, by nine bishops, and by many other gentlemen. These chiefs presently brought 4000 or 5000 men into the field, and, placing the queen in their centre, they moved from Hamilton towards Dumbarton. The Regent Moray was lying at Glasgow, holding courts of justice. At first he was thunderstruck, and would not believe in the possibility of his sister's escape. Some of his friends advised him to retire from Glasgow to Stirling, and avoid an encounter; but Moray, who was a good soldier, knew the difference between the undisciplined host that followed the queen and the regular troops which he had about him; and he also counted on the resources of the town of Glasgow, and the religious zeal of its inhabitants. Mary offered a free pardon to all save five—the Earl of Morton, the Lord Lindsay, the Lord Semple, Sir James

Balfour, and the provost of Edinburgh; but the lords were not inclined to any composition, but spoke of killing the queen, whom they had found so difficult a prisoner. The two armies met on the 14th of May, at Langside, in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, and attacked each other with desperate fury. Mary remained on an adjacent hill, the spectatress of the doubtful fight. Now victory appeared to incline to her party; but anon her evil genius Morton, sweeping round an eminence with a strong detachment, charged her friends in flank, broke them, and decided the day. The defeated fled in all directions; and the queen herself, attended by the Lord Herries and a few other friends, rode almost without stopping to Dundrennan Abbey, in Galloway, near to Kirkcudbright, and sixty miles from the field of battle. Here she was brought to an awful pause. There were only three courses open to her: she might remain, and throw herself upon the mercy of her subjects—upon men who had shown her little mercy; she might flee to France; or, lastly, she might seek a refuge in England. The first she naturally avoided, as what would lead to certain destruction; she would have adopted the second, but there was no ship to France; and the voyage, whether she circumnavigated England or Scotland, was dangerous on many accounts, besides that of the elements. There remained, then, the desperate resource of a flight into England, and upon this she finally resolved. Her wisest counsellors represented this course as the most dangerous of the three; but Mary would not believe her royal sister Elizabeth capable of the conduct they surmised. The Lord Herries then wrote to Lowther, the deputy captain at Carlisle, informing him of his queen's situation, and asking whether she might go safely into England. Elizabeth could not have had time to hear of the battle of Langside, and to send down positive instructions, but she was certainly well informed by this time that Mary had no chance of success, and might have given orders in contemplation of a sure defeat; or, again, her officers near the Borders, who were in communication with Moray, might of themselves have devised a plan for entrapping the fugitive queen without any direct breach of promise on the part of the high authorities. Lowther, the deputy, wrote a doubtful answer, saying that Lord Scrope, the warden of that march, was at court, whither he had written; but if the queen found herself obliged to cross the Borders he would meet and protect her till his mistress's pleasure was known. Without waiting for this letter,² Mary, with sixteen attendants, the chief of whom was the honest and

¹ Raumer, *Contributions to Modern History*, has given part of this letter, but the whole of it is in Wright's *Elizabeth and her Times*.

² The letter was not received, it should appear, till Mary was in England; but we think that the view in which it was written is most obvious.

gallant Lord Herries, embarked in a common fishing-boat to cross the Solway Firth; and on the evening of Sunday, the 16th of May, 1568, she arrived at Workington, in Cumberland, without money, without a change of raiment—with nothing but the tender affection of her almost helpless retinue, and her hope in the magnanimity of Elizabeth. She immediately wrote to that “good sister,” informing her of her misfortunes, and her arrival in her dominions. Some gentlemen of the neighbourhood, who probably entertained just notions of the sacred rights of hospitality, gave her a kind reception, and honourably conducted her to Cockermouth, where, on the following day, Lowther waited upon her with what appears to have been a little army. On the following day Mary was conducted to Carlisle, and lodged in the castle, not as a royal and unfortunate guest, but as a prisoner. Sir Francis Knollys, who was sent down post to the north with letters and “messages of comfort” from Elizabeth, greatly praised Lowther’s good behaviour and discretion towards her highness, in securing the fugitive queen, and in refusing to admit the Earl of Northumberland into Carlisle Castle with any more company than his page. It is evident that even at this moment Northumberland was an object of suspicion. Knollys, in mentioning that the earl met him in Yorkshire, says, that he had with him Sir Nicholas Fairfax, Sir William Fairfax, his son, Mr. Hungate, and Mr. Vavasor, who were “all unsound in religion,” and had been with his lordship at Carlisle. The great uneasiness of Elizabeth as to any communication between her royal prisoner and her own subjects professing the ancient religion, is a very significant feature in the history. Lord Scrope, the warden and governor of Carlisle, was despatched from Cork nearly at the same time as Knollys, and they both waited upon Queen Mary in Carlisle Castle, apparently on the 28th or 29th of May, having previously spoken with Lord Herries, who hoped that Queen Elizabeth would either give his mistress aid and comfort, or permit her to pass through England into France to seek relief elsewhere. They delivered their sovereign’s letter, in which Mary was told that Elizabeth could not honourably receive her into her presence until she was cleared of all suspicion of being concerned in Darnley’s murder. Mary had expected a different treatment. She solemnly affirmed to Scrope and Knollys, that both Maitland of Lethington and the Lord Morton had been concerned in the murder of her husband, as could well be proved, although now they would seem to prosecute the murderers. The two envoys repeated that their mistress was “inwardly sorry and very much grieved” that she “could not do her that great

honour to admit her solemnly and worthily into her presence by reason of this great slander of murder; but they assured her of her highness’s great affection, and that if she would depend upon her highness’s favour without seeking to bring in strangers into Scotland, then undoubtedly her highness would use all the convenient means she could for her relief and comfort. Mary agreed to send up Lord Herries to London to plead her cause with Elizabeth, and she then dismissed Scrope and Knollys, “complaining of delays to her prejudice, and the winning of time to her enemies.”

On the following day, or the day after—it was the 30th of May—Knollys and Scrope had another interview with Mary, who inveighed against her brother Moray and his adherents, saying, among other things, “that when she was but nine days old they had a reverent and obedient care of her, but now that she was twenty-four years old they would exclude her from the government.” Knollys, who was fully aware of the main course which his royal mistress meant to pursue (for the silver box, with letters from Mary to Bothwell, true or forged, which was afterwards brought into the case, had really no weight whatever in Elizabeth’s decision), ventured to tell the Scottish queen that, in some cases, princes might be deposed by their subjects lawfully; and he mentioned the case of a prince falling into madness. “And,” added he, “what difference is there between lunacy and cruel murdering?” Mary, however, had almost captivated the cautious vice-chamberlain, with her beauty, and spirit, and graceful familiarity. “And yet,” he says, “this lady and princess is a notable woman. She seemeth to regard no ceremonious honour besides the acknowledging of her estate regal. She showeth a disposition to speak much, to be bold, to be pleasant, and to be very familiar. She showeth a great desire to be avenged of her enemies; she showeth a readiness to expose herself to all perils in hope of victory. . . . So that, for victory sake, pain and peril seemeth pleasant unto her; and in respect of victory, wealth and all things seemeth to her contemptuous and vile. Now what is to be done with such a lady and princess, or whether such a princess and lady be to be nourished in one’s bosom, or whether it be good to halt and dissemble with such a lady, I refer to your judgment.” The vice-chamberlain then proceeds to recommend a bold and direct course, in order to prevent any danger to Elizabeth.¹ From the tone of his letter he was evidently not very particular as to the proofs which might be brought against Mary; it was only necessary to declare

¹ Sir Henry Ellis has a part of this letter in his *Collection*, but the whole of it is given by Mr. Wright in *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*.

her guilty, and so prevent any mischief to Queen Elizabeth, who, by such a sentence, would be justified in assisting the Regent Moray, and keeping his sister a close prisoner.

Lord Herries did little good with Elizabeth, who induced him, in a manner, to appoint her judge or arbitrator between Mary and her subjects. At his solicitation, however, the English queen thought fit to send an agent, Mr. Middlemore (or Meddlemore), into Scotland, to stop the civil war there; for Mary's partizans, though sorely pressed and persecuted, were not wholly discouraged by the battle of Langside, and the Earls of Huntly and Argyle were up in arms in her favour. This Middlemore, whose secret instructions were no doubt of a very different kind from that which was given out, travelled northward with Lord Herries, to the great "discontentation" of Sir Francis Knollys, who was not let into all the secret, or informed of the real object of his errand. But as soon as this Mr. Middlemore got across the Borders, he hastened rather than retarded Moray's business, and encouraged the regent in his energetic measures against those who favoured the queen. On the 21st of June the Scottish queen wrote a striking letter to her good sister and cousin, which was forwarded to London by means of a gentleman who had been despatched by the French court to ascertain the real situation of the fugitive, and the manner in which she was treated in England.¹ Here the captive complains that Middlemore, who was sent, as was pretended, as a safeguard to her faithful subjects, had allied himself with her enemies, who, in her presence, had destroyed the house of one of her principal barons, and who were now treating her friends and adherents more harshly than ever. "Mine enemies," she continues, "proceed still farther, and boast that they are authorized *by him*; and while they are executing their enterprise, which tends to the conquest of my kingdom, they abuse you, with a hope of proving to you their false calumnies, which the unequal treatment we are receiving would make me fear, if my innocence and reliance on God, who has hitherto protected me, did not give me assurance. For, consider, madam, they have now the authority which belongs to me—the sovereign power by usurpation, my property to bribe and corrupt, the finesses which are at their command throughout the country—and your own ministers, who, day by day (at least some of them), write to them and advise them what to do that they may convince you. Would to God you knew what I know of them!" "I can-

not do less," she continues, "than complain to you, and beg you to send for me, that you may hear my griefs, and assist me as promptly as necessity requires, or permit me to retire into France or elsewhere. . . . And I entreat you, as you see what are the effects, do not make an unequal combat, they being armed, and I destitute; on the contrary, seeing the dishonour they do me, make up your mind to assist me or let me go; for, without waiting for their giving me a third assault, I must supplicate both the King of France and the King of Spain, if you will not have regard to my just quarrel; and they, restoring me to my place, then will I make you know their falsehood and my innocence: for if you let them conquer the country first, and then come to accuse me after, what shall I have gained by submitting my cause to you? . . . I blame no one; but the very worm of the earth turns when it is trodden upon."²

On the same day on which she wrote this letter, Mary told Knollys that she expected to be let go into France, or to be put safely into Dumbarton Castle, "unless," she added, "she will hold me as a prisoner, for I am sure that her highness will not of her honour put me into my Lord of Moray's hands." Under her circumstances, nothing could be more imprudent than her continual talk about France and Spain; but she again assured Knollys that she would seek aid in those quarters, *because* she had promised her people aid by August. "And she said that she had found that true which she had heard often of before her coming hither, which was, that she should have fair words enow, but no deeds. . . . And, saith she, I have made great wars in Scotland, and I pray God I make no troubles in other realms also."³ This, if true, was another imprudence. Knollys was, or pretended to be, much startled; and he again advised a close union with Moray, throwing a little devout unction into his worldly policy and tenderness for Elizabeth. Other courtiers and statesmen did their best to increase the alarm. Sir Henry Norris wrote from Paris to warn Cecil, on the authority of an anonymous informer, that the queen's majesty "did now hold the wolf that would devour her," and that "it is conspired betwixt the King of Spain, the pope, and the French king, that the queen's majesty should be destroyed, whereby the Queen of Scots might succeed her majesty."⁴ This alarm, considering where Mary then was, was rather ridiculous, yet scarcely more so than some of the hundred other stories which followed in a *crescendo* of horrors, and which never ceased till Elizabeth had brought her rival to the block.

¹ As to her treatment, Mary says, in this same letter to Elizabeth, "It grieves me to have so little occasion to praise the behaviour of your ministers, for of yourself I cannot and will not complain."

² *Burghley State Papers*. The letter is dated Carlisle, the 21st June. Like all Mary's letters, except a very few, it is in French.

³ Letter from Knollys to Cecil, dated 21st of June, 1568.

⁴ *Burghley Papers*.

It was soon resolved to carry her further into the realm to some place of greater safety, being "well moated round." Mary made a spirited protest, that was of no avail; and on the 16th of July she was carried under a strong escort to Bolton Castle, a house of Lord Scrope's, in the north riding of Yorkshire, not far from Middleham.¹ By this removal Mary was cut off from all communication with her subjects, excepting such as Elizabeth chose to admit. Sir Francis Knollys and Lord Scrope dealt very sharply with all English subjects that attempted to see or correspond with the captive, particularly if they were Papists. They thought Bolton Castle a much safer

should come into England for that purpose. She assured the English queen that she had warned her faithful subjects who were still up in arms for her to abstain from hostilities, and the seeking of any aid from France; that she herself had withheld her despatches to France and Spain, in order to avoid contracting any further obligations in those parts, desiring that if she were to be reinstated it might be only by means of the English court.² The whole of this letter is cool and diplomatic, except where she speaks of Moray.³ Elizabeth, however, cared little for her warmth on this head, for she and the regent had come to a perfectly good understanding. Moray, on his

side, had a confident reliance on Cecil; and he sent up his secretary, John Wood, to London, to show the minister and the queen copies of sundry secret papers. The regent, however, was not so ready as his imprisoned sister to bring matters to an issue; and though Elizabeth wrote to him to come into England with a commissioner, to treat, and to answer to the Scottish queen's complaint, he found it very easy to delay so doing till the month of October; and during all that time he was allowed to establish his own authority in Scotland, and was even assisted by Elizabeth in so doing. It will strike every reader, that



BOLTON CASTLE.—From a drawing by Whittock.

place than Carlisle, but, at the same time, they suggested that their prisoner should be moved still farther from the Borders, telling Cecil, however, that Mary, though otherwise very quiet and very tractable, declared that she would not remove any farther into the realm without constraint. On the 28th of July Mary wrote another letter to Elizabeth, telling her that she relied on her former promises, and expected that she would replace her in her kingdom, when she had heard her justify her own conduct, and expose that of her enemies. She consented that Moray and Morton should be heard on the other side, as Elizabeth required, and that these two lords

there was no possibility of constituting a court to try Mary, and, until the very last moment, it was pretended that Elizabeth would merely arbitrate in a friendly manner, or that, if any party was to be tried, it should be Moray with his adherents. But Herries clearly foresaw the course which would be pursued, and he guarded against it as well as he could with forms and declarations of his sovereign's entire independence of the English crown. Elizabeth declared that if Mary would "commit her cause to be heard by her highness's order, not to make her highness judge over her, but rather as committing herself to the council of her dear cousin and friend," her highness would treat with the Scottish nobles, and bring things to a happy conclusion. Elizabeth would, for example, restore the Queen of

¹ Before she was removed from Carlisle she wrote once again, or oftener, to Elizabeth, whom she reminded of promises of protection which she had recently sent to her in Scotland. She implored her to suffer her to depart "whithersoever it be out of this country." "I came," said she, "of mine own accord—let me depart again with yours; and if God permit my cause to succeed, I shall be bound to you for it; happening otherwise, yet I cannot blame you."—*Ellis*.

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² *Burghley State Papers*.

³ Mary had begun to call Moray *mon frère bastart*—my bastard brother; and in this particular letter she reminds Elizabeth that Moray is only related to her majesty of England *par bastardise*.

Scots to her royal seat, by honourable accommodation, the Queen of Scots agreeing, that the lords and all her other subjects should continue in their honours, states, and dignities; and this was the promise in case of Moray making out "some reason against her;" but, if Moray and his party should fail in proving anything against the queen, then her majesty Elizabeth would replace Mary absolutely by force of arms, Mary agreeing in this case, and as a reward for Elizabeth's assistance, to renounce all claims to England; to convert her close alliance with France into a league with England; and to use the counsel of her dearest sister and her estates in parliament in abolishing Papistry, encouraging Protestantism, and in establishing in her dominion the Episcopal and Anglican church—an order of things considered by John Knox, and the whole body of the Puritans, as only a few degrees less idolatrous than the Church of Rome. Thus, in all cases, Mary was promised her liberty and her restoration to her kingdom. But very different language had been held in secret with Moray; to him it had been declared, that if he could establish his sister's guilt, she should never return to Scotland; and it had also been intimated that he could *easily* prove what he desired.

The famous commission met at York on the 4th of October. Elizabeth was represented by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, who was still alive and stirring, though this business was destined to embitter his old age. Mary was represented by Lesley, Bishop of Ross, the Lords Herries, Livingston, and Boyd, Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, and Sir James Cockburn of Stirling: the Regent Moray appeared in person, attended by the Earl of Morton, the Bishop of Orkney, the Lord Lindsay, the abbot of Dunfermline, Maitland of Lethington, James M'Gill, Henry Balnaves, the Laird of Lochleven, and George Buchanan (the celebrated poet and historian). On the 8th of October the friends of Mary, as the plaintiff, were allowed to open the charges against Moray and his associates. In the afternoon of the same day Moray and his colleagues artfully said to the Duke of Norfolk, that they were "desirous to understand that, if in this action they shall prove all things directly where-with they may and do emburden the queen, their sovereign's mother, how they be assured to be free and without danger of the said queen's displeasure, and what surety may be had for the young prince, their king, if *she* should be restored to her former estate?" Elizabeth's commissioners, who, against the spirit of the agreement, had allowed Moray to refuse his sister the title of sovereign, and to advance the coronation of the infant James as a constitutional act, now de-

parted still more widely from the promises which had been given to Mary and her agent Lord Herries. They said that, indeed, their mistress's desire "hath always been, from the beginning, that the said queen might be found free, specially from the crime of her husband's murder; nevertheless, if her majesty shall find to be plainly and manifestly proved (whereof she would be very sorry) that the said Queen of Scots was the deviser and procurer of that murder, or otherwise was guilty thereof, surely her majesty would think her unworthy of a kingdom, and would not stain her own conscience in maintenance of such a detestable wickedness by restoring her to a kingdom."¹ Moray then declared that it was set forth and published in Scotland that Mary should be either amply restored, or otherwise by some degrees restored, and sent home amongst them, by the Queen of England. Elizabeth's commissioners, with a bold face, denied that any such promise had ever been made. But Moray was not fully satisfied, suspecting that, although the Queen of Scots were not wholly restored, yet she might, "peradventure, be relieved in some degrees by the queen's majesty, which might breed unto them no little danger."² On the following day, when he and his commissioners were to give in their reasons against Mary, Maitland raised certain doubts as to the extent of the commission given by Elizabeth to Norfolk, Sussex, and Sadler:—1st, "For that they see no express words in the commission to authorize her grace's commissioners to deal in the matter of the murder;" 2dly, "That delay might be made in judgment, which would be very dangerous to them." He then, with Moray and the other commissioners of that side, moved that Elizabeth ought to be advertised of these their doubts, "specially for that it standeth them upon, and they think it very reasonable that her grace should put them in sufficient surety to be free from danger of the queen, their sovereign's mother, before they enter to declare against her." A letter was, therefore, despatched to Elizabeth, to request additional instructions.

But Moray and Maitland certainly did not wait for an answer to charge Mary with such things as, to use their own words, they had "hitherto been content rather to conceal than publish to the world to her infamy and dishonour."³ They secretly laid before the English commissioners translations of certain letters in French, said to have been written by Mary to Bothwell, some just before the murder of her husband, others before the seizure of her person; two contracts of marriage; and a collection of

¹ *Burghley Papers.*

² *Burghley State Papers.* The transactions of the commission York are given day by day.

³ *Goodall.*

love sonnets, described as being the queen's composition, and as sent by her to Bothwell.¹ On the 11th of October, before any answer could have possibly been received from court, the English commissioners made an abstract from these papers, which might tend to Mary's condemnation for "her consent and procurement of the murder of her husband, as far forth as they could by their reading gather." They had evidently read the letters and the amorous rhymes with great attention; but they omitted altogether making any inquiry touching the authenticity of these papers, which from first to last Mary and her friends maintained were forgeries. They assumed, "from plain and manifest words contained in the said letters, that the inordinate and filthy love between Mary and Bothwell" was proved; that she had hated and abhorred her husband Darnley; that she had taken her journey from Edinburgh to Glasgow, to visit him when sick, with the intent of inveigling him to Edinburgh, where he was murdered, &c.² These sweeping conclusions, as well as the documents upon which they were founded, were carefully concealed from Mary's commissioners, who were requested to seek an enlargement of their commission, or, in other words, to ask their mistress to agree, in the dark, to acknowledge Elizabeth's authority. Lord Herries raised some objections, but Mary agreed to alter the words of her commission, and add a clause that her commissioners might treat, conclude, and determine all matters and causes whatsoever in controversy between her and her subjects.³ She still, however, maintained the perfect independence of her crown, while Moray and her enemies now showed themselves ready to acknowledge Elizabeth's supremacy over Scotland, that, as "superior lady and judge over that realm, she might determine in this case." In order to consume time, Moray presented to the commissioners an answer to the charges of his queen, in which he alleged that his friends had never taken up arms but against Bothwell—that they had afterwards sequestered their queen because she adhered to Bothwell—and that they had at last accepted her resignation, which was willingly given merely from her disgust at the vexations attending power, and never extorted

from her. To this Mary's commissioners replied, that the queen had no means of knowing the atrocities of Bothwell, who had been acquitted by a Scottish jury, and recommended to her as a husband by the Scottish nobility—that she had ever been desirous that Bothwell should be arrested and brought to trial—that the resignation of the crown was extorted from her—and that Throgmorton, the English ambassador, had advised her to sign that paper, as the only means of saving her life; assuring her, at the same time, that, under circumstances, such an act could never be considered binding on her part. Mary had by far the best in the controversy; but she did not know that she was only fighting with shadows. The city of York, in the meantime, had become the scene of the most complicated intrigues. The Duke of Chatellerault, who had lately returned from France, made a faint effort in favour of Mary. Other Scottish nobles were anxious for a compromise, and the settlement of a government in which they should all have a part: and Moray at this moment would have agreed to allow his sister a large revenue, provided she would confirm her resignation of the crown, and consent to reside in England with an English husband. We profess our utter inability to understand the complex game—we do not believe that it ever has been, or ever will be, clearly understood: but the words of the Earl of Sussex, one of Elizabeth's commissioners, contained an undisputed fact, which is that these parties tossed between them the crown and public affairs of Scotland, caring neither for the mother nor the child, but seeking to serve their own turns without any reference either to Mary's guilt or innocence.⁴ Maitland, whose ways were always inscrutable, suggested a marriage between Mary and the Duke of Norfolk, her divorce from Bothwell being effected; and he had the address to bring Norfolk, perhaps Mary herself, into this scheme. But what seems the most extraordinary part of this story is, that the Regent Moray himself entered into the project, and professed a great earnestness for the marriage with Norfolk, whose favour with Elizabeth, he pretended, would enable him to procure tranquillity to Scotland, and place the Protestant religion in security. It

¹ "A casket, containing a correspondence purporting to be carried on by Mary with Bothwell, which, if genuine, establishes her guilt, was said to be seized by the insurgents on the 20th of June, 1567. The genuineness of these letters, and their irresistible force as evidence against the queen, have been already demonstrated by Mr. Hume and Mr. (Dr.) Robertson, and most of all by Mr. Laing, who, in the acuteness with which he employs the rules of historical criticism, is not inferior to either. The proofs of Mary's guilt are her own acts. It suffices here to observe that these documents were seen at Edinburgh, at York, at Westminster, by hundreds of persons, friends as well as foes to Mary, but most of whom knew her handwriting; and yet that proof of their forgery, which must have been easy, was then never attempted; that they relate to a succession of minute

facts, multiplying beyond calculation the means of detecting imposture; that the letters only serve the purpose of an accuser by hints and allusions, such as would be found in genuine correspondence, not by those clear and positive manifestations of guilt by which an eager partizan betrays his forgeries; that they are full of inimitable proofs of burning passion, of which the extreme grossness, in such an age, and from such parties, is rather a corroboration of their truth than a difficulty in the way of assenting to it."—Sir James Mackintosh, *History of England*.

² *Burghley Papers*.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See Sussex's letter from York, in Lodge. The Duke of Norfolk, the head of the commission, also said—"Some seek wholly to serve their own particular turns, the which being done, they care not what becomes either of queen or king."—*Goodall*.

is barely possible to understand how Moray could fall in with such a scheme,¹ even for the moment; but he may have been spell-bound by the superior craft and audacity of Maitland, whose whole soul was an intrigue, and who, since his late arrival in England, may have even proposed to himself the daring scheme of overthrowing Elizabeth and of placing Mary on her throne. It did not require his talent to see that the whole Catholic population of England was oppressed—that many Protestants were averse to Elizabeth's government—and that the Duke of Norfolk, who was both rich and brave, had an immense party in the north, counting among his friends the great Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, who, upon many grounds, were dissatisfied with the queen and with Cecil. Maitland of late had not been eager to press the question of Mary's guilt, and, even if he had done so, it would cost little to a supple man like him to change his tack, and hold her up as the model of queens and women. And he certainly assured Norfolk that Mary was innocent of her husband's murder. But Maitland was watched with vigilant eyes: his intrigues with the Duke of Norfolk were discovered, and an order came suddenly down from London for the instant removal of the conference from York to Westminster. Elizabeth now openly declared that Mary should never be restored to the crown of Scotland if Moray could make good his accusations; and she assumed as a right that she and her privy council should proceed to sentence.² At the same time Elizabeth joined Leicester, Cecil, Bacon, and others, to the commission, and commanded the immediate attendance not only of Norfolk and Sussex, who had purposely kept out of the way, but also of the Earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Worcester, and Huntingdon, of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. Mary, it should appear, made no complaint until she learned that Moray had been admitted into the presence of Elizabeth, in violation of a promise given by the English queen; but then she ordered her commissioners to require of Elizabeth, in the presence of her court and the foreign ambassadors, that she, too, might be allowed to go up to London, in order to meet her accusers face to face. Mary's commissioners were coldly received; and the opposite party were not only encouraged, but excited by Elizabeth and Cecil to urge publicly their charges. At the end of November, Moray, therefore, declared that Mary had been "persuader and commander" of the murder of her husband: and here

he ought to have stopped; but he went on to add the incredible charge (which cast a doubt on all the rest), that she had also intended to cause the death of the innocent prince, her own son, "and so to transfer the crown from the right line to a bloody murderer and godless tyrant." Mary's steadfast friends, the Bishop of Ross and Lord Herries, then demanded of Elizabeth, that, as she had admitted Moray and his associates into her presence to accuse their queen, she would also be pleased to admit into the same presence Mary herself to prove her own innocence; and they represented, at the same time, that the accusers of their sovereign ought to be detained in the country. Elizabeth replied that this was a difficult subject, which required long deliberation; and she would never give any other answer to their requests. Mary's commissioners then did what they ought to have done long before—with the advice of the French and Spanish ambassadors, they declared the conference to be at an end.³ But Cecil would not accept their protest and declaration, and the mock conference went on all on one side.

At last came the decisive moment, and on the 14th of December the Earl of Moray produced a silver box or casket full of the *original* love-letters, sonnets, &c.; and he contended that these unproved and unsifted documents, together with a previous decree of the Scottish parliament, were quite sufficient to establish the queen's guilt. Elizabeth had had copies of these documents long before, but she was desirous that there should be an open and unreserved production of the originals. The papers were laid before the privy council, including Norfolk, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Leicester, and all the great earls, and letters written by Mary to Elizabeth were laid beside them, that the hand-writings might be compared. But, instead of asking the council to pronounce on the authenticity of the documents, Elizabeth merely told them that Mary had demanded to be allowed to answer to the charges in the royal presence, and that she now thought it inconsistent with her modesty and reputation as a virgin queen to admit her. And on the following day she sent for the Bishop of Ross and Lord Herries, and told them that she never could receive their mistress into her company, and that Mary ought to answer the charges in some way, or submit to eternal infamy. If we are to believe the Spanish ambassador, Elizabeth and her minister had been thwarted in council by the great earls, some of whom had shown a little spirit, and checked a little the terrible fury with which Secretary Cecil sought to destroy Mary: but we can scarcely believe that, under any circumstances, either Elizabeth or

¹ At a later period, when Moray wanted to return to Edinburgh, there was a reason why he should *pretend* to approve of the projected match.

² Proceedings in the council at Hampton Court, 30th of October.—*Burghley Papers*.

³ Goodall.

Cecil wished at present to do more than cover the captive queen with disgrace, and to oppress her with imputations of enormous guilt, which might render her odious and harmless. Mary, though labouring under every difficulty, would not sit down in silence like a convicted criminal, and she rejected, with scorn, a proposal made to her by Knollys, at Elizabeth's orders, that she should ratify her resignation of the crown, and so save her honour—her enemies upon that condition agreeing not to publish their proofs against her.¹ She immediately wrote to her commissioners, bidding them declare to Elizabeth and her council, that, "where Moray and his accomplices had said that she knew, counselled, devised, persuaded, or commanded the murder of her husband, they had falsely, traitorously, and wickedly lied, imputing unto her the crime whereof they themselves were authors, inventors, doers, and some of them the proper executioners."² She solemnly denied that she had stopped inquiry and due punishment. "And," she continued, "they charge us with unnatural kindness towards our dear son, alleging we intended to have caused him follow his father hastily: howbeit the natural love a mother beareth to her only child is sufficient to confound them, and merits no other answer: yet, considering their proceedings by-past, who did him wrong in our womb, intending to have slain him and us both, there is none of good judgment but they may easily perceive their hypocrisies, with how they would fortify themselves in our son's name till their tyranny be better established." She then revoked her order for breaking up the conference, saying, "And, to the effect our good sister may understand we are not willing to let their false invented allegations pass over in silence (adhering to our former protestations), we shall desire the inspection and doubles of all they have produced against us; and that we may see the alleged principal writings, if they have any, produced. And with God's grace we shall first make such answer thereto, that our innocence shall be known to our good sister, and all other princes, so that we but have our good sister's presence, as our adversary has had, and reasonable space and time to get such verification as pertains thereto." Elizabeth took no notice of this remonstrance, and Moray's silver box was never submitted to examination. The Bishop of Ross put into Elizabeth's own hands a plain and striking defence to the charges which had been produced, affirming—1. That nothing was alleged but presumptions. 2. That it could not be proved that the letters in Moray's box had been written with her own hand; "and she was of too much honour to commit such a fact, and of too much wit to have conceived such matter in writing."

3. That neither her hand, nor seal, nor date was to the letters, nor any direction to any. 4. That her hand might easily be counterfeited: "whereof some assistant to the adversary, as well of other nations, as of Scots, can do it;" and that, "by comparison of writings, no truth can be had." 5. That, for the marriage with Bothwell, the nobility solicited and advised it, and subscribed thereto, especially some of the adversaries, as by a writing under their hands would be testified.³ At the same time, Mary reminded Elizabeth that she had promised her that she "would have her queen still"—that she would never permit her own (the Scottish) subjects to sit in judgment upon their queen, and that she would bide all extremities rather than look back from the hope that was given her. "And," writes Knollys privately to Elizabeth, "unless your Majesty will proceed against her, and *forcibly* maintain my Lord of Moray's government, you shall never bring her to a yielding; for she hath courage enough to hold out as long as any foot of hope may be left unto her."

During the Christmas holidays the commission reposed from its labours; but three or four separate parties prosecuted a variety of intrigues. After the holidays the Bishop of Ross, who had received fresh instructions from his mistress, waited upon Elizabeth, to demand copies of the documents, that Mary might answer them, and prove her accusers to be liars as well as traitors. Elizabeth coolly replied, that she must take time to deliberate on such demand; but she now gave as her own opinion, what she had before ordered Knollys to suggest to Mary as his own friendly advice—that it would be best for her to resign her crown, and lead a peaceful life in England. The bishop assured her that his mistress had authorized him to declare that she was resolved rather to die than do any such thing—that her last word in this life should be that of a Queen of Scotland.⁴ The bishop was brought up before the full council; but he gave the same bold answer; and on the 11th of January, 1569, Elizabeth put a strange end to the conference, which of late had been carried on at Hampton Court. She told the Regent Moray, before her court and ministers—in private her conversation was different,—that nothing had been proved against the honour and loyalty of him and his adherents, but that they, on the other hand, had shown no sufficient cause why she should conceive any evil opinion against the queen her good sister. This was admitting Mary's innocence of the crimes for which alone it had been pretended she was detained a prisoner; but, as we have said before, the question of Mary's guilt or innocence had little to do with any of these measures. Eliza-

¹ *Burghley State Papers; Goodall.*² *Burghley State Papers.*³ *Burghley State Papers.*⁴ *Goodall.*

beth, who had tried to get possession of the Scottish queen by various means, was fully resolved to keep her now that she had got her. She turned to Moray, and assured him that he might safely go back to Scotland, and rely upon her good-will. The Bishop of Ross then told her that if his mistress's accusers were permitted to return to Scotland, it would be most unfair to detain her a prisoner in England; and he and his colleagues solemnly protested, in Mary's name, against any act which should be performed whilst she remained in captivity. The regent locked up

Duke of Norfolk's project for marrying Mary. But we think one part of the story disproved by an intercepted letter written by the captive queen to her subjects in Scotland, and calling upon them to assemble and resist the regent to the best of their might, and to do all the evil they could to the said rebels, and to stop their returning home if it were possible.² Escorted by an English guard, the earl reached the city of Edinburgh on the 2d of February, 1569, after an absence of nearly five months. But before he got there—before he began his journey from London—Eliza-

beth sent down strict orders to her unhappy vice-chamberlain Knollys, and to Lord Scrope, to move the Queen of Scots with all haste to Tutbury, as a place further in the realm, and more secure. Mary had protested that she would not move farther from the Border except by force; and many unnecessary pains were taken to make it be believed that no force was used.

On the 26th of January, in inclement weather, without money, or the proper means of transport, the Queen of Scots and her attendants, male and female, were obliged to mount some sorry steeds, which had been lent to Knollys by the Bishop of Durham. Mary's friend,

Lady Livingston, was taken ill on the road, and left behind at Rotherham. At Chesterfield the queen herself complained of the violent pain of her side to which she had been subject ever since the Rizzio murder, and also of headache, so that the cavalcade was obliged to remain at a gentleman's house near Chesterfield, where they had good accommodations, which seem to have been wanting in all other parts of the journey. It was not until the 3d of February that the captive queen reached Tutbury Castle, a strong place upon the river Dove, in Staffordshire, the property of the Earl of Shrewsbury, under whose charge she was now placed; but the poor vice-chamberlain Knollys, whose wife had died at court without his being allowed to make a journey to see her, was not relieved from his charge, being joined in commission under the earl.

Elizabeth was soon made to feel that, in resolving to keep Mary in captivity in the heart of England, she had done that which cast a threat-



TUTBURY CASTLE.—From a drawing by Buck, in the British Museum.

the originals, and took them with him; Elizabeth kept copies of the love-letters and sonnets. Nor was this all: Moray wanted money, and she gave him £5000; he wanted a proclamation to satisfy certain national jealousies in Scotland, and he got it; he wanted an unusual pass for the lords wardens of the English marches, and letters of favour to the English nobility near the Borders, and he got them also.

If we are to believe some extraordinary statements which were afterwards made upon the Duke of Norfolk's trial, Moray did not depend wholly upon the assistance of Elizabeth,¹ but procured from his sister Mary letters to her friends in the north, both English and Scotch, to give up their design of setting upon him, and to permit his peaceful return to Edinburgh; Moray having, according to this showing, entered fully into the

¹ The enemies of Moray were not confined to the Borders. At this very moment Lord Hunston, who was at Berwick, wrote to Cecil that there was great stir in all parts of Scotland—that Scotland was all in arms—that the Hepburns and Hamiltons were besieging towns—that the Earl of Huntly had gathered 7000 or 8000 men for Queen Mary, and meant to call a new parliament at Glasgow.

² This intercepted letter was sent to Moray just as he was on the point of leaving the English court.

ening cloud over her own liberty and greatness, and deprived her of her peace of mind: in fact, for many years she was incessantly haunted with the fears of plots, escapes, and bloody retaliation; no castle seemed strong enough, no keepers sure enough, for her hated rival, who, in many respects, had become more dangerous to her than ever. From time to time these jealousies and apprehensions were stirred up by zealous Protestants and the friends of Cecil. Meanwhile some of Elizabeth's noblest subjects were secretly devising how they might liberate the prisoner—*perhaps* how they might revolutionize the whole country, and place Mary upon the throne of England; and foreign princes were openly complaining of the English queen's cruel and un-

seemly treatment of a crowned head—of one who was as much an independent princess as herself. But no foreign power was at the time either in a condition or in a disposition to hazard a war with the powerful Queen of England for the weak and ruined queen of a weak, poor, and anarchic country. To their remonstrances Elizabeth replied, that they were all labouring under a great mistake—that she was the dear sister of Mary, the best friend she ever had—that she had given her an asylum, when her subjects drove her from her kingdom and sought her life—that she had been delicately watchful of her reputation, and had suppressed, and was still suppressing, documents which would render her infamous to her contemporaries and to all future ages.

CHAPTER XVII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1564—1572.

ELIZABETH.

Affairs of the Huguenots in France—Depression of the Netherlands under the Spanish rule—Philip II. establishes the Inquisition—Revolt in the Netherlands—The Duke of Alva sent to suppress it—His sanguinary proceedings—Alarm of the Huguenots of France—They revolt against their king—Conflicts of Alva with the Protestant troops in the Netherlands—Matrimonial negotiation of Queen Elizabeth with the Archduke Charles—Duke of Norfolk seeks the Queen of Scots in marriage—Conditions proposed for this union—Elizabeth warns him against it—One of the murderers of Darnley apprehended and executed in Scotland—His alleged confessions—The Duke of Norfolk sent to the Tower—Elizabeth sends aid to the Huguenots—Successes and defeats of the Huguenots—Privateering war of the English against the Spaniards—Misunderstandings with France—Elizabeth covertly assists the Huguenots—France and Spain retaliate by stirring up the English Papists—A rebellion of the Papists on the Borders—They attempt to liberate Queen Mary—They are defeated—The Earl of Northumberland, their leader, imprisoned in Scotland—Lord Dacre rebels, and is defeated—Assassination of the Earl of Moray—Civil war in Scotland—Destructive English invasion of Scotland—Executions of Papists in London—Statutes enacted against them—The Puritans of England—Elizabeth's antipathy to them—Their successful resistance to her despotic encroachments—Embassy to France—Negotiations for the marriage of Elizabeth to a French prince—Endeavours of the embassy to prejudice the cause of Queen Mary—Fresh plots of the Papists for her liberation—They are detected—The public mind kept in alarm—Trial of the Duke of Norfolk—He is condemned and executed—The Earl of Northumberland delivered to Elizabeth—He is executed—Continuance of the civil wars in Scotland.



LEAVING Mary in her prison at Tutbury Castle, we must now take up several important events which occurred previous to her committal there. The burning heat of the Huguenots and Catholics, added to the heat of ambition (for the princes and great men on both sides were, for the most part, indifferent to the question of religion) kept France in a blaze. In 1564 Elizabeth's friend, the Prince of Condé, was disgusted by being refused the post of lieutenant-general of the realm, left vacant by the death of the King of Navarre; and as the Protestants saw that the treaty of peace made in the preceding year in order to expel the English from Havre was not kept, and that the

court was revoking the liberty of conscience, it was easy for the prince to assemble once more a formidable army. But for some time the Huguenots were kept in awe in the north of France by a large force, which the court had collected to guard the frontier from any violation that might arise out of the disturbed state of the Netherlands, whose discontent, which became in the end another war of religion, was at first common to both Protestants and Catholics. The industrious and commercial citizens, who had grown enormously wealthy under the rule of the Dukes of Burgundy, saw their prosperity dwindle and waste away as soon as the government of their country was transferred by marriage to the monarchic and despotic Spaniards. Charles V., a

native of the country, had some sympathy with the people, and was too wise to force them at all points; but when his dominion fell to his bigoted son Philip II., no moderation was preserved. The nobility were insulted, the merchants were robbed by illegal imposts, the privileges of the free cities were violated, and every constitutional right was declared to be of no weight against the will of the monarch—the anointed of the Lord, the chosen of Heaven. And while few or no Dutchmen and Belgians could find provision or promotion in Spain, Spaniards were thrust into almost every office in the Netherlands. The rich abbeys, which had hitherto been possessed by natives, were dissolved to found bishoprics, and these new sees were all given to foreigners. Under these circumstances it is not strange that even the Catholic clergy of the Netherlands should become disaffected; but, to their honour be it said, this portion of the Roman church, orthodox as it was, abhorred the Inquisition, which Philip very soon resolved to establish in the country as a completion of his benefits to it; and some of them who regretted the spread of Protestantism, asked whether it were not better to employ milder remedies than fire and sword. But Philip had no taste for mild remedies, and he told one of his ministers who had ventured to reason with him, that he would rather lose all his kingdoms than possess them with heresy.¹ A detestable tribunal, after the model of that of Spain, was therefore established. The powerful Prince of Orange and the Counts of Egmont and Horn placed themselves at the head of their countrymen, and a confederacy, in which the Catholics acted with the Protestants, was formed in the spring of 1566, with the avowed object of putting down this institution, and with the more secret design of recovering the constitutional rights of the country. The Duchess of Parma, who governed the provinces in the name of Philip, yielded to the storm, and declared that the Inquisition should be abolished. At this point the Catholics and Protestants separated: the latter required not only an exemption from the secret tribunal, but liberty to profess and teach their own doctrines: the Catholics were quite satisfied with what had been done, and were not at all disposed to do more for the rights of conscience, nor indeed to tolerate any open profession of the Reformed faith. The Protestants therefore met in their places of worship with arms in their hands. The preacher preached with his sword naked before him, the congregation, men, women, and children, carried arms or bludgeons. In Antwerp and other great trading cities, which were crowded with English and German Protestants, the people set the regent at

defiance. At the same time the country people who were out of the reach of the Spanish garrisons, not only gave an asylum to the persecuted preachers, but began to declare that it was time to root Papistry out of the land; and they soon proceeded to knock down the churches, to break the images, to destroy the pictures, and to do all that had been done in other reforming countries. Presently Antwerp became in Catholic eyes a horrible scene of impiety and sacrilege. Only the Walloon provinces refused the signal and remained devout and tranquil.² For a short time the Reformers had the field to themselves, but then the Duchess of Parma fell upon them with a mixed host of Spaniards, French, and Walloons. A battle was fought near Antwerp; but the burghers and peasants were as yet unequal to a contest with regular troops: some were burned alive in a house to which they had fled for refuge, some cut to pieces, and some drowned in the Scheldt as they were fleeing from their pursuers. Then, partly by force and partly by stratagem, the regent introduced a strong garrison into Antwerp. Her severity, it is said, was tempered by clemency, but her master Philip had determined that no clemency should be shown to men who were doubly damned as heretics and rebels. He recalled the Duchess of Parma, and despatched the famous Duke of Alva, who was as admirable as a military commander as he was detestable as a bigot, or as a passive instrument to despotism, with an army still more formidable than his discipline than from its numbers, to restore obedience and a uniformity of belief in the Low Countries. At the approach of Alva, the Prince of Orange retreated to his principality of Nassau; Egmont and Horn, who stayed in the hope of justifying their conduct, were cast into prison; the rest of the leaders fled to England and France. The success of Alva alarmed the Protestants everywhere; in England and in Scotland it cast a cloud, which was never to be removed, over the fortunes of Mary, but it was in France that it excited the wildest panic. The Huguenots, who were always a minority, saw that they must be crushed, and maintained that Alva was specially appointed to carry into effect the secret treaty of Bayonne, for the forcible restoring of all Protestants to the obedience of the church. With this conviction the Huguenots resolved to anticipate their enemies. The Prince of Condé renewed an old correspondence with the Prince of Orange, with the English court, and with others interested in opposing the Bayonne treaty; and he, with Colligny and other chiefs of the party, laid a plot for surprising the king—the contemptible and wretched Charles IX.—and all his court at Monceaux.

¹ Bentivoglio, *Guerra di Fianara*.

² Bentivoglio.

King Charles was saved from the hands of his Protestant subjects by the fidelity and bravery of his Swiss mercenaries. Elizabeth had sent Condé money and advice; and it has been asserted that she was privy to this plot, and that her ambassador, Sir Henry Norris, was deeply implicated in its arrangement. What is more certain is, that when the conspiracy failed and the Huguenots were driven into an open and desperate war, Cecil instructed Norris to comfort them, and exhort them to persevere. Charles soon found himself shut up in his capital; but he was liberated, or freed from a siege, by the battle of St. Denis, in which the Huguenots were defeated. The Constable Montmorency, however, was slain, and the king found himself obliged to conclude another hollow pacification. In the following spring (1568), 3000 French Protestants crossed the northern frontier, to join the Prince of Orange, who had taken the field against the Spaniards. In the month of June the Prince of Orange was obliged to retreat before the Duke of Alva; but in August he re-appeared with 20,000 men. Alva skilfully avoided a battle with this superior force, and manœuvred in such a manner as to exhaust the strength, spirits, and resources of the Protestants. At the end of the campaign the Prince of Orange was obliged to recross the Rhine, and disband what remained of his army. These Protestant troops had been in a good measure raised by English money, secretly supplied by Elizabeth, who at the same time was at peace with Philip, and in public took care to proclaim her respect for the Spanish monarch, and her dislike of all rebellions; nor did she relax her efforts, or despair of success to the insurgents, either in the Netherlands or in France. The government of the latter country had given, in the preceding year, what might have been considered a provocation to war, but she and Cecil were determined to have no *open* war. When, at the expiration of the term fixed by the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, Sir Henry Norris demanded the restitution of Calais, the French chancellor quoted an article of the treaty, by which Elizabeth was to forfeit all claim to that town if she committed hostilities upon France; and further told Norris that, as she had taken possession of Havre, she had brought herself within the scope of that clause.

In 1567 Elizabeth had entered anew into matrimonial negotiations. Her old suitor, the Archduke Charles, wrote her a very flattering letter, and though she had not the most distant intention of marrying him, she despatched the Earl of Sussex on a solemn embassy to Vienna. There were two particular obstacles to be overcome:—the queen would marry none without sight of his person beforehand, and without his agreeing to

adopt her own religion.¹ Sussex, who was anxious for the match, attempted to obviate both these difficulties.² This matrimonial negotiator, who had been deceived by his mistress and by his own eagerness for the marriage, assured the archduke that Elizabeth did not now mean a lingering entertaining of the matter, but a direct proceeding to bring it to a good end, with a determination to consummate the marriage if conveniently she might. The archduke said, that he had heard so much of Elizabeth's not meaning to marry as might give him cause to suspect the worst; but he was, or pretended to be, satisfied with Sussex's assurance, and, putting off his cap, he said he would honour, love, and serve her majesty all the days of his life, provided only she would bear with him for his conscience; but when Sussex hinted that he (the archduke) was only temporizing in matters of religion, and might be expected to change his faith, "in order to settle in this marriage," the Austrian prince honourably and frankly informed him that he was mistaken—that his ancestors had always held the religion which he held—that he knew nothing of any other religion, and therefore could have no mind to change. And then he asked, how the queen could like him in any other thing, if he should be so light in changing of his conscience.³ The archduke afterwards wrote letters to Elizabeth herself, to stipulate for the liberty of hearing mass in England, in a private room of the palace, at which none but himself and his servants should attend—consenting to accompany the queen to the Protestant church regularly, and even to intermit for a time the exercise of his own religion, if any serious disputes should arise thereupon. But Elizabeth now fell back upon the fears and the strong religious feelings of her Protestant subjects, protesting to the Austrian that they would never tolerate a Catholic prince, and pointing out to them how difficult it was for her to find a suitable husband; and there is little doubt that the majority of the people were more content to see her remain single than to see her marry a Catholic. The treaty was carried on for years; but in the end the archduke found a less difficult bride in the daughter of Albert, Duke of Bavaria. The queen ought certainly to have kept a matrimonial secretary, for all these interminable negotiations, added to the weight of his other business, nearly proved too much for Secretary Cecil, who was constantly praying to the Lord to deliver him from them.

¹ *Hardwicke and Burghley Papers*; Ellis' Collection, &c.

² More than a year before Cecil informed his friend Sir Thomas Smith, that "the whole nobility of England favoured this match very much;" and that "my Lord of Leicester hath behaved himself very wisely to allow of it."—*Ellis*.

³ *Lodge*. All this matter, with more particulars, is contained in letters written by the ambassador Sussex to Elizabeth herself.

But intrigues for an obnoxious marriage—that of the Duke of Norfolk with the Queen of Scots—were now in full activity. In that dishonourable age it was a common practice (as it has been in some later times), for people to enter into plots for the sole purpose of betraying them to the government, and reaping a suitable reward. There were too many engaged in the present scheme to allow of any hope of secrecy. Even before Moray had returned to Scotland, or Queen Mary had been removed to Tutbury Castle, Elizabeth had alternately reproached and tempted the Duke of Norfolk, who assured her that if there had been a talk of his marrying the Scottish queen, the project had not originated with him, and had never met his wishes—"and if her majesty would move him thereto, he would rather be committed to the Tower, for he meant never to marry with such a person where he could not be sure of his pillow."¹ The allusion to the fate of Darnley gratified the queen, and she accepted Norfolk's excuses. But it is said that only a day or two after his making this protestation, the duke conferred in secret, in the park at Hampton Court, with the Earl of Moray, and then with the Bishop of Ross, and Maitland of Lethington, when he agreed that if Mary could be restored to her liberty and her throne he would marry her; they, on the other hand, assuring him, that such a nobleman as himself, courteous, wealthy, and a *Protestant*, could not fail of restoring tranquillity to Scotland, and maintaining peace and a perfect understanding between the two countries. It should appear, however, that Norfolk did not commit himself very seriously until he was propelled by the insidious favourite Leicester, by the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, and by Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, the experienced diplomatist and plotter, who had suddenly coalesced with Leicester, in the hope of throwing Cecil into the Tower, and changing that minister's system for one that would more promote his own interests. Throgmorton and Leicester were, in effect, the most active in pressing the match: but Norfolk turned round suddenly, being probably startled at the danger, and recommended Leicester himself, who had formerly been proposed to Mary by Elizabeth, to marry the captive queen. Leicester adroitly declined the honour. Norfolk then put forward his own brother, the Lord Henry Howard, but he also was afraid.

At last the duke agreed to be the husband, and then a letter, subscribed by the Earls of Leicester, Arundel, and Pembroke, and the Lord Lumley, was privately addressed to Mary in her prison, urging her to consent to the marriage, but requiring her at the same time "to relinquish all such claims as had been made by her to the

prejudice of the queen's majesty; and that religion might be established both in Scotland and England; and that the league of France might be dissolved, and a league made betwixt England and Scotland; and that the government of Scotland might be to the contentation of the Queen of England."² And the Duke of Norfolk is said to have assured as well the Scottish queen as the lords who subscribed this letter, that unless these articles were agreed to, he would have nothing to do with the matter. Leicester and the others assured him that if Mary would agree to the articles, then *they* would "be means to the queen's majesty to like of the marriage."³ Norfolk and his friends said afterwards, that they had assured themselves, from the letter being *written by the Earl of Leicester*, there would be nothing in it "but for the queen's majesty's security."⁴

Mary was ready to do a great deal in order to open her prison gates, but she demurred at this proposal, stating that the previous consent of Elizabeth was necessary, and that *all her calamities had, in effect, arisen out of her sister's wrath at her marriage with Darnley*. The lords, however, naturally thought that it would not be difficult to overcome her objections; and Norfolk, in his own name, wrote letters to the fair captive as a lover and liberator. These letters were conveyed to the queen by the Bishop of Ross. *He* was true to his trust, but Norfolk had admitted into the secret Wood, the agent of the Regent Moray, and this Wood soon put himself in direct communication either with Elizabeth or Cecil, or probably with both. The consent of the French and Spanish courts to the match was asked through their ambassadors: everything seemed to favour the project and flatter the ambition of Norfolk. Many of the principal nobility of England encouraged him, and none remonstrated, save the Earl of Sussex, who saw clearly the real nature of the plot, and the ruin it would bring upon his friend the duke. Sussex wrote to Cecil, regretting the great coldness which he had observed between him and the Duke of Norfolk; a feeling which, he says, must have had its origin in misrepresentations and the ill offices of their enemies—of men who were eager to profit by their dissensions and ruin them both.⁵ Norfolk, on the faith of promises pledged, was fool enough to expect that the Earl of Moray would now approve the articles of marriage, and charged Maitland to open the subject to her majesty of England.

The regent pretended to recommend his sister's liberation to a Scottish parliament which he had assembled; but, at the same time, he was taking all the measures in his power to keep her a closer

¹ *Burghley Papers*.

² *Burghley Papers*.

⁴ *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Lodge's Illustrations*.

prisoner in England than ever. Here Maitland and he quarrelled; for the astute secretary, dissatisfied with Moray's government, and full of his grand state intrigue, which embraced England as well as Scotland, was now more anxious for the restoration of Mary than he had been two years before for her deprivation. But Maitland, for the moment, was overmatched, and, fearing for his life, and cursing what he called the double dealing and perfidy of Moray, he fled from Edinburgh to seek an asylum in the mountains of the north. In the month of August, Elizabeth and her court being at Farnham, and the Duke of Norfolk being in attendance on her, there suddenly arose a whispering among the ladies of the court, "who," as Camden saith, "have much sagacity in smelling out amatory matters," that the Queen of Scots and the duke were privately contracted to each other. Elizabeth took the imprudent Duke of Norfolk to dine with her; she was courteous as usual; but, when she rose from table—still, however, "without any show of displeasure"—she bade him "be very careful on what pillow he rested his head."¹ The court then proceeded to Titchfield, where the Earl of Leicester found it convenient to fall very sick—sick, it was said, unto death! Alarmed—and, as is generally represented, still amorous—Elizabeth flew to the bedside of her unworthy favourite, who, with many sighs and tears, began to disclose every particular of the plot into which he had inveigled Norfolk. Leicester received a fond pardon, Norfolk a severe reprimand. The duke protested that he had never meant ill to her majesty, and readily promised to let the project drop. But Elizabeth could not conceal her anger against him, and Leicester, who was soon up and well, began to treat him rudely. The duke, upon this, left the queen, promising to return within a week; but, after paying a short visit to London, he went into Norfolk and fixed himself at his great house of Kenninghall. At the same time, the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, who had signed the letter which Leicester had written to Mary, withdrew from court. Upon this the queen became greatly alarmed. The Earl of Huntingdon and the Viscount Hereford were joined in commission with the Earl of Shrewsbury, "to prevent the departure and escape out of the realm" of Queen Mary, which, it was said, "could not be but both perilous and very dishonourable to us and our realm."² Urgent requisitions were sent to Kenninghall for the immediate appearance of the duke at court; and it should appear that the government suspected that he was arming his friends and retainers.³

While the matrimonial intrigue had been in progress, one Paris, a Frenchman, commonly called French Paris, was apprehended in Scotland on a charge of being actively concerned in the Darnley murder. Here seemed to be an opportunity of fixing the guilt on Mary more directly and convincingly than the letters of the silver box had done; and Elizabeth sent down to Moray to request, or command, that the prisoner should be delivered up to her. But Moray replied that French Paris was already executed. This horrid execution has been justly assumed as a circumstance casting much doubt on the nature of the Frenchman's confessions. If Paris had been really disposed to make such important revelations, his life ought to have been preserved, in order that he might deliver his evidence, if not before Queen Elizabeth, at least before a Scottish parliament or court of law; and Mary the accused, or her advocates, ought to have had the opportunity of cross-examining the prisoner. There was no urgent motive of fear of a rescue, or of any other kind, to prevent his lying for a while in prison. Paris was only a page or footman; he was well ironed (he had been *tortured* before); and his life was at all times in their hands. In short, to use the words of a writer who was instantly struck with the parallel case furnished by Shakspeare, "The fact of having put Paris instantly to death, with every other person connected with the murder, resembles the act of the usurper in the play, who stabs the warders of Duncan, lest a public examination should produce other sentiments in the minds of the judges than those which he who really committed the crime desired should be inferred."⁴ Instead of French Paris, the regent sent the English queen two depositions which the prisoner *was said* to have made before his trial. We need not stop to inquire whether they were made *before* torture. In those days *ironing* and *tortmenting* were coupled together—that is, in all such cases the prisoner was put to the rack as soon as he was caught. This practice was of itself enough to cast a doubt on all confessions when they were unsupported by other evidence. But these very depositions differed. In the first, Maitland of Lethington was charged as the original contriver of the plot for murdering Darnley; the Earls of Argyle and Huntly, with Balfour, were set down as accomplices in the murder; and the Earls of Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay, as the abettors and supporters of Bothwell. Here there was no mention of the queen; but in the second deposition it was inserted that Mary had been privy

ague; but the hot and cold was of a moral kind. He was told to come, his "ague notwithstanding." But only a week before he came, Elizabeth wrote to her "right trusty and entirely beloved cousin and counsellor," that his fears were without cause. —*Burghley Papers.*

⁴ Walter Scott, *Hist. Scot.*

¹ Camden; *Burghley Papers.*

² *Burghley Papers.*

³ Norfolk told Cecil, by letter, that he was ill of a fever and

and assenting. Maitland, it will be remembered, was at this moment a fugitive from the wrath of the regent, who had resolved to destroy him, well knowing that nothing but death could prevent the Machiavelli of Scotland from intriguing and manœuvring. The most cunning men have momentary fits of credulity. Maitland was made to believe that the regent was desirous of a reconciliation with him: he went to Stirling, where Moray welcomed him by putting him under arrest, and naming a day for his trial. Then, counting upon the prisoner's fears, he urged him to become the open accuser of the Duke of Norfolk, and of others, their common friends, in England. But this, Maitland, who seems to have been in no fear at all, flatly refused; and on the day appointed for his trial the secretary's friends assembled in such numbers that Moray was fain to put off the process for an indeterminate period.¹ But the work must be done; and now Moray himself undertook the odious office of informer, and forwarded all the Duke of Norfolk's letters to the English queen, humbly protesting that he had not devised the project, and that he would never have given his feigned assent to it had it not been to preserve his own life. When this evidence was in Elizabeth's hands, or when it was promised her, she again invited the Duke of Norfolk to court; and this nobleman, trusting that her anger had cooled, at last obeyed the summons, and set out from Kenninghall. At St. Alban's, on the 2d of October, he was met by Edward Fitzgarrett, a gentleman of the court, who attached him, and conveyed him to the house of Mr. Wentworth, near Windsor.² On the 9th of October the duke was brought up to London and committed to the Tower. On the 11th of the same month the Bishop of Ross, who in vain pleaded his privilege as the agent and ambassador of a crowned head—the helpless prisoner Mary—was sharply examined at Windsor, and then committed to prison. At the same time the Lord Lumley and some others of less note were placed under arrest; “and the queen's majesty willed the Earl of Arundel and my Lord of Pembroke to keep their lodgings, for that they were privy of this marriage intended, and did not reveal it to her majesty.”³

The alarm of the English Protestant court was the greater on account of the successes which had recently attended the Catholic arms on the Continent, notwithstanding the encouragement and assistance sent to the French Huguenots by Elizabeth, who, of late, had permitted many of her subjects—some zealous for religion, some

anxious to learn the art of war on tented fields—to pass over to France, where they fought along with Condé and Colligny, but of course not under English colours. Among these volunteers was a youth who afterwards rose to fame. “They were all,” says De Thou, “a gallant company, nobly mounted and accoutred; but the most noted of them all was WALTER RALEIGH.” This gallant band, however, was far too weak to turn the tide of fortune. At the battle of Jarnac the Huguenots were defeated, and their leader, the Prince of Condé, being taken prisoner, was shot in cold blood after the battle by Montesquiou, captain of the guards to the king's brother, the Duke of Anjou, one of Elizabeth's suitors. Being reinforced by some Protestant troops from Germany, the Huguenots gained a victory at La Roche Abeille; but, in the beginning of October, a few days before Norfolk's committal to the Tower, they were again defeated, and with tremendous slaughter, at Moncontour.

At the same time Elizabeth, by a measure of very questionable morality, had given a deadly provocation to the powerful Philip. She had sent over money and men to the Prince of Orange, but as this was done secretly, she could deny that it had been done by her authority. But in the course of the preceding autumn (1568) a Spanish squadron of five sail, carrying stores and money for the payment of Philip's army in the Low Countries, took refuge on the English coast to escape a Protestant fleet which had been fitted out by the Prince of Condé. For a while the queen hesitated: she was at peace with Spain—a Spanish ambassador was at her court, and her own ambassador, Mr. Mann, was at Madrid: but the temptation was very strong—the money was destined for the support of those who were mercilessly bent on destroying a people who professed the same religion as her own subjects; and, besides, Elizabeth much wanted money, for she had spent, and was then spending, a great deal to support the Protestant religion abroad. In the end it was resolved to seize the specie, upon pretence that it, in truth, belonged not to the King of Spain, but to certain Italian bankers and money-lenders, who had exported it upon speculation. The Duke of Alba presently retaliated by seizing the goods and imprisoning the persons of all the English merchants he could find in Flanders. On the 8th of January Elizabeth resolved in council that the Spanish ambassador should be admonished of the strange proceedings of the Duke of Alba, and asked whether he took this act to be done by the King of Spain or not; that he, the ambassador, should be let to understand that her majesty can do no other for her honour and for satisfaction of her subjects than arrest all the subjects of the king his

¹ *Laing; Chalmers.*

² *Cecil's Diary.*

³ Letter from Cecil to Sir Henry Norris. The minister says that he thinks none of them had any evil meaning, and bears witness that my Lord of Pembroke meant nothing but well to the queen's majesty, but he does not name Norfolk.

master, and likewise appoints some gentlemen to keep guard over him (the ambassador) in his house, until she may hear what shall become of her subjects; and that some ships should be sent to the seas to stop all vessels passing for Spain or for the Low Countries.¹ But according to La Mothe Fénelon, the narrow seas were already swarming with English privateers—the Frenchman calls them pirates—and with armed vessels manned by French and Flemish Protestants; and he mentions that Elizabeth had had a long conversation with the principal commander of the sea-rovers. The English cruisers of course offered no molestation to the Protestant privateers of the Low Countries, but assisted them in landing troops on the French coast for the service of the Huguenots.² The French court and the court of Spain were almost equally incensed; but they had both so many troubles on their hands that they resolved to avoid for the present a declaration of war. Privateering flourished and trade decayed, but the English ships had not the whole harvest to themselves: corsairs under the Spanish flag, or under no flag at all, pillaged peaceful and honest merchantmen, and occasionally committed depredations on the English coast. At the end of January, however, the French government, after remonstrating against the supplies sent in English ships to the Huguenots, seized all the English merchandise in Rouen. There was a loud outcry in England at this seizure, and some of the lords of the council advised an immediate declaration of war against France. Elizabeth made great preparations as if for immediate hostilities, taking care that the foreign ambassadors should be made to see the formidable state of her arsenals and the warlike spirit of her subjects.³ At the same moment plots against the French government were discovered in Brittany, in Normandy, and in the neighbourhood of Calais. It was suspected that the English court was no stranger to these conspiracies, and for many months great apprehensions were entertained lest the town of Calais should be put into the hands of Elizabeth as the price of greater services to the conspirators. Meanwhile the privateers were reinforced, and they now received permission to take and plunder the ships of France as well as those of Spain. At last, in the month of March, the French court demanded from Elizabeth a formal declaration as to whether she wished for peace or for war, and they only allowed

her fifteen days to make up her mind. When La Mothe Fénelon delivered his message, Elizabeth again assured him that she was most desirous of maintaining peace—that if the King of France would liberate the English property at Rouen she would deliver all the French property which had been taken by her privateers, a class of men whose exploits, she said, she had always much detested, having frequently given orders to have them punished.⁴ She denied that she had ever maintained any intelligence with French subjects; but, in the end, she told the ambassador that the affair was of such weight she must refer it to her whole council. Again the more ardent of the Protestant lords would have recommended an open drawing of the sword; but a double war with France and Spain was unpromising, and, at the end of seven days, the queen declared that it was her full intention to be at peace with France. This declaration was taken for what it was worth; and while the French negotiator echoed promises of good-will, he saw with delight that troubles were breaking out in Ireland, and dissensions in the English cabinet connected with Leicester's project for overthrowing Cecil, and with Norfolk's scheme for marrying the Scottish queen.⁵ In a very few days after Elizabeth's pacific declarations, it was found that her ambassador at Paris, Sir Henry Norris, was again intriguing with the Huguenots and promising them assistance. Upon this the French government made a fresh seizure of English merchandise at Rouen, Calais, and Dieppe. Elizabeth's privateers retaliated on the French coasts; but she again negotiated, and promised to put an end to that kind of warfare upon condition that the French would recall their commissions, for they also had begun to fit out swarms of privateers. But again, within a few weeks, Elizabeth gave audience to envoys from the Huguenots and to envoys from the Prince of Orange, and the other leaders of the Protestants in the Low Countries, who all wanted from her loans of money, arms, and gunpowder. She held a grand review of her troops, horse and foot; and, inflamed at this aspect of war, many gentlemen bought themselves swords and pikes and went over to join the Huguenots. Elizabeth denied that this last was done by her permission, but presently a fleet of ships, armed for war, and escorted by the largest vessels in the queen's service, set sail for Rochelle, which was, and long continued to be, the principal port

¹ According to the French ambassador, La Mothe Fénelon, the money seized amounted to 450,000 ducats, and the five ships were Biscayans.—*Correspondance Diplomatique de Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon*. Publié pour la première fois sous la direction de Monsieur Charles Purton Cooper.

² A great quantity of arms and ammunition had recently been landed at La Rochelle for the French insurgents, from four English men-of-war!

³ Alva sent over the Sieur d'Assolville to treat about the money. The queen sent orders to arrest him at Rochester, and to detain him there two days, that he might see and hear in that principal arsenal what a vast number of workmen she had employed on her great ships of war!—*Correspondance Diplomatique de la Mothe Fénelon*. This old diplomatist might well complain of the little respect shown by Elizabeth to the character of ambassadors.

⁴ De la Mothe Fénelon.

⁵ Ibid.

and stronghold of the French Protestants. But this fleet was detained by contrary winds; the Huguenots were defeated in the interval, and then Elizabeth made fresh protestations, and issued a proclamation against privateers and all such as made war without her license upon the French king. Her conduct had irritated the French court to the extreme, and as the power of the Protestants in France seemed to be broken, it was resolved, by parties as crafty as herself, to give encouragement, if not more, to the Catholics in England, and to excite an interest in all the Papistical countries of the Continent in favour of the captive Mary. The Duke of Alba entered into this scheme; a Florentine, named Rudolphi, well acquainted with England, acted as agent for the pope; and sanguine hopes were entertained, if not of restoring England to the bosom of the church, of distracting and weakening her by internal dissensions.

The penal statutes against the professors of the old religion had gradually increased in severity, and as the Catholics triumphed on the Continent, their religion became more and more an object of suspicion and of persecution in England. Elizabeth cared little for the dogmas of either church. She was altogether free from intolerance as to speculative opinions in religion, unless they went to weaken the royal prerogative. Her intolerance was all of a political kind, and she persecuted, not because men believed in the real presence, but because she believed that no Catholic could possibly be a royal subject.¹ In the month of October, immediately after the Duke of Norfolk's arrest, the counties of York, Durham, and Northumberland betrayed symptoms of open insurrection. Doctor Nicholas Morton came from Rome with the title of Apostolical Penitentiary. This emissary was the more effective as he was a man of energy and ability, and connected with some of the best families in the north. At the same time Queen Mary had found means to establish a correspondence with the Catholic Earl of Northumberland, with the Earl of Westmoreland, whose wife was the Duke of Norfolk's sister, with Egremont Ratcliffe, brother of the Earl of Sussex, Leonard Dacre, the Tempests, the Nortons, and the Marquenfields. Most of these noblemen were excited by many motives, the chief of which was the restoration of the Catholic faith in England. Their ostensible leader was the Earl of Northumberland, a very munificent but a very weak lord. He talked imprudently and did nothing; and when at last, in the middle of November, he put himself in motion, it was only

because he was frightened out of bed at the dead of night in his house at Topcliffe in Yorkshire, by a panic-fear that a royal force was approaching to seize him. He then rode in haste to the castle of Branspeth, where he found Norfolk's brother-in-law, the Earl of Westmoreland, surrounded with friends and retainers, all ready to take arms for what they considered a holy cause. On the morrow, the 16th of November, they openly raised their banner. If an ingenious stratagem had succeeded, that banner would have floated over the liberated Mary. The Countess of Northumberland had endeavoured to get access to the captive queen, in the disguise of a nurse, in the intention of exchanging clothes with her that she might escape. But as this device had miscarried, the insurgents proposed marching to Tutbury Castle to liberate the queen by force of arms. They issued a proclamation calling upon all good Catholics to join them, and, marching to Durham, they burnt the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, and celebrated mass in the cathedral. From Durham they advanced to Clifford Moor, where they held a council of war, finding to their great discomfort that their forces did not increase—that the people south of them regarded their proceedings with horror—and that even many Catholic gentlemen, instead of joining them, were repairing to the royal banner, which was moving northwards with the Earl of Sussex. They also learned that Sir George Bowes was assembling an army in their rear. Under these circumstances an advance was deemed too desperate; and, in fact, if they had got to Tutbury they would not have found what they sought, for the Queen of Scots had been removed in great haste to Coventry.² With 7000 men Northumberland and Westmoreland retreated to Raby Castle. Their retrograde movement forced Sir George Bowes to throw himself and his forces into Barnard Castle. A part of the insurgent army laid siege to this fortress, which surrendered upon terms in a few days, while the rest besieged and took the seaport town of Hartlepool, where they established themselves, in the confident hope of receiving succour from the Spaniards in the Low Countries, and, if they had not before, they now certainly despatched agents to treat with Alva, the great champion of Catholicism. Meanwhile the royal army lay inactive at York, a circumstance which made Elizabeth suspect the loyalty of the Earl of Sussex, who had been in former times a close friend to the Duke of Norfolk, and whose own brother, Egremont Ratcliffe, was now out with the insurgents. Sir Ralph Sadler was hurried down to York, to exercise his sharp eye and detect what were the real feelings of Sussex.

¹ There were, however, occasional exceptions. Matthew Hammond, a Unitarian, was burned alive in the castle ditch of Norwich! But this poor man had also spoken what were called "words of blasphemy against the queen's majesty and others of her council."—*Stow*.

² Cecil's *Diary*.

When Sussex had remained nearly a month at York he was joined by the lord-admiral and the Earl of Warwick with 12,000 men, raised in the south, and of indisputable Protestantism and

fered to exchange Northumberland for Mary.² Thus Northumberland remained in captivity in Lochleven. After a while the Earl and Countess of Westmoreland, Egremont Ratcliffe, and

the other refugees, were conveyed to the Spanish Netherlands. But the vengeance of the law, unmitigated by any royal mercy, fell upon the retainers and friends of the fugitives. On the 4th and 5th of January threescore and six individuals were executed in Durham alone; and thence Sir George Bowes, with his executioner, traversed the whole country between Newcastle and Netherby, a district sixty miles in length and forty miles in breadth, "and finding many to be fautors in the said rebellion, he did see them executed in every market-town and in every village, as he himself (says Stow) reported unto me."

All that country was dotted



WATERGATE AND WALLS OF HARTLEPOOL.
Drawn by J. W. Archer, from his sketch on the spot.

loyalty. He then marched northward. The Duke of Alva had ventured nothing for the insurgents; they were ill supplied with money and provisions, and they retreated towards the Scottish borders. Their infantry presently disbanded and fled in all directions, but a body of about 500 horse dashed into Liddesdale, being escorted by 300 Scottish horse, the partizans of Mary, who had fondly hoped to see them bring their queen with them. Elizabeth instantly demanded that the fugitives should be delivered up; but, notwithstanding all his good-will to serve her, the Regent Moray found it impossible to comply with her request. The Earl of Westmoreland, with his enterprising wife, Egremont Ratcliffe, Norton, Marquenfield, Tempest, and the rest, had been taken under the protection of the Humes, the Scotts, the Kers, and other Border clans, who set the authority of the regent at defiance. Moray, however, bribed Hector Græme, or Graham, of Harlow; and that traitor delivered up the Earl of Northumberland, for which deed the fierce Borderers wished to have Græme's head, that they might eat it among them for supper.¹ The unfortunate earl was sent by the regent to the castle of Lochleven, the old prison of Queen Mary. When Elizabeth pressed him to deliver up his captive, that she might do justice on him, Moray affected a delicate concern for his own honour and the honour of his country; but he afterwards of-

fered to exchange Northumberland for Mary.² Thus Northumberland remained in captivity in Lochleven. After a while the Earl and Countess of Westmoreland, Egremont Ratcliffe, and

the other refugees, were conveyed to the Spanish Netherlands. But the vengeance of the law, unmitigated by any royal mercy, fell upon the retainers and friends of the fugitives. On the 4th and 5th of January threescore and six individuals were executed in Durham alone; and thence Sir George Bowes, with his executioner, traversed the whole country between Newcastle and Netherby, a district sixty miles in length and forty miles in breadth, "and finding many to be fautors in the said rebellion, he did see them executed in every market-town and in every village, as he himself (says Stow) reported unto me."

All that country was dotted in every direction with gibbets, Elizabeth imitating pretty closely the conduct of her sanguinary father on the suppression of the Pilgrimage of Grace.

Among the Catholic gentlemen whose loyalty had been suspected by Sadler, was Leonard Dacre, the representative of the ancient family of the Dacres of Gillsland. This bold man had resolved to risk his life and fortunes in the cause of the captive queen, whom he regarded with a romantic devotion: he raised a gallant troop to join Northumberland and Westmoreland; but when those two weak earls fled so hastily, he endeavoured to make Elizabeth believe that he had taken up arms, not for, but *against* the insurgents. But Elizabeth and her council were seldom overreached or deceived, and an order was sent down to the Earl of Sussex to arrest Dacre, cautiously and *secretly*, as a traitor. He fled; but he resolved to try his good sword before he submitted to the hard doom of exile and beggary. Within a month from the flight of Northumberland, Dacre was at the head of 3000 English borderers. But before a body of Scots could join him, he was attacked on the banks of the river Gelt by a far superior force, commanded by Lord Hunsdon. Leonard Dacre, however, was not defeated without a desperate battle. He fled across the Borders, where he was received and honourably entertained by some noble friends of Mary, and he soon after passed over to Flanders.

¹ Sadler.

² Sadler; Anderson.

Before this rising of Leonard Dacre the Regent Moray had gone to his account: and it has been reasonably conjectured that the hopes of the English insurgent had been excited by this event in Scotland. On his return from Elizabeth's court, and the mock trial of his sister, Moray had encountered many difficulties; but he had triumphed over them all by means of English money and his own wondrous caution and dexterity. There was one Hamilton of Bothwell-Haugh, who had been made prisoner fighting for Queen Mary at Langside. With other men in the like situation, he had been condemned to death; but the regent had pardoned him and all the rest with a few exceptions. But life was all that was granted to Bothwell-Haugh. His house, his lands, were declared to be forfeited, and were given by the regent to one of his favourites, who brutally drove out Bothwell-Haugh's wife, half-naked, by night, into the fields. The poor woman, who had recently been delivered, became frantic, and in the morning she was found a maniac. Her husband swore that he would make the original author of the horrible injury he had suffered pay for it with his life. He consulted with the Hamiltons, his kinsmen, with the retainers of the Duke of Chatellerault, and these men applauded his design, and assisted him in carrying it into execution. Bothwell-Haugh engaged an empty house in the principal street of Linlithgow, through which the regent was accustomed to pass frequently on his way to and from the palace. There he lurked for some time; but at length, on the 22d of January, 1570, he saw the regent riding up the street, accompanied by Sir Henry Gates, and by Drury, the marshal of Berwick, who had been sent by Elizabeth to treat for the giving up of the Earl of Northumberland and others. He levelled his carbine at Moray, shot him through the body, and then, though hotly pursued, escaped into France.¹ On the very night of the murder, the Scotts and the Kers dashed across the English frontiers with unusual fury, and apparently with the purpose of producing a breach between the two nations, or of giving fresh encouragement to the malcontents of Northumberland and Westmoreland.² It is said that, when intelligence of this untimely death of her half-brother was conveyed to the captive

queen, she wept bitterly, forgetting, for the moment, all the injuries which he had done her.

On Moray's death, the Duke of Chatellerault and the Earls of Argyle and Huntly assumed the government as the lieutenants of Queen Mary. Kirkaldy of Grange, who had long regretted the overthrow of the queen, and the part he had had in it, put these noblemen in possession of the capital and of Edinburgh Castle. But the opposite faction, or the *king's* men, as they were called, from their pretended adherence to the infant James, under the guidance of the Earl of Morton, flew to arms, denied the authority of Mary, and invited Elizabeth to send a strong English army to their support. This was precisely what Elizabeth intended to do for her own interests. In the month of April, under the pretence of chastising those who had made the raid in her dominions on the night of Moray's murder, she sent two armies into Scotland. The Lord Scrope entered on the west, the Earl of Sussex with Lord Hunsdon on the east. According to no less an authority than Secretary Cecil, Sussex and Hunsdon, entering into Teviotdale, gave 300 villages to the flames, and overthrew fifty castles—mostly, no doubt, mere Border peels.³ Nor was the raid of the Lord Scrope in the west less destructive. After a week's campaign of this sort, the two armies returned out of Scotland, and the Earl of Lennox, the father of Darnley and the grandfather of the young king, was sent down from England, as a proper person to have the rule, by Elizabeth, who of late had taken him into favour. But Lennox presently found that he could do nothing without an English army at his back; and on the 26th of April, Sussex and Hunsdon entered Scotland anew, and laid siege to Hume Castle and Fast Castle, both belonging to the Earl of Hume, who was doubly obnoxious for his friendship to Mary, and for his having given an asylum to Elizabeth's rebels. Both castles were taken, but none of the English refugees of any note were found in them. On the 11th of May, Sir William Drury, the marshal of Berwick, penetrated into Scotland with another force, consisting of 1200 foot and 400 horse. Having received hostages from the king's men, Drury marched to co-operate with the Earl of Lennox, who was engaged in laying waste the

¹ The subsequent history of this Hamilton of Bothwell-Haugh is little known, but it appears that, forty-nine years after murdering the regent, he found a quiet grave in the churchyard of a country parish of Ayrshire.

"The fate of Moray's name is singular, even among conspicuous and active men, in an age torn in pieces by contending factions. Contemporary writers agree in nothing, indeed, but his great abilities, and energetic resolution. Among the people, he was long remembered as 'the good regent,' partly from their Protestant zeal, but in a great measure from a strong sense of the unwonted security of life and property enjoyed in Scotland

during his vigorous administration. His Catholic countrymen abroad bestowed the highest commendations on his moral character, which are not impugned by one authenticated fact. But a powerful party has for nearly three centuries defamed and maligned him, in order to extract from the perversion of history an hypothetical web to serve as a screen for his unhappy sister; in the formation of which they are compelled to assume, that she did nothing which she appeared to have done; and that he did all that he appears to have cautiously abstained from doing."

—Sir James Mackintosh, *History of England*.

² *Walter Scott*.

³ *Diary*.

vale of the Clyde, and destroying the castles of the Duke of Chatellerault and the houses of all that bore the name of Hamilton. Their vengeance was so terrible, that that great family, with nearly the entire clan, was brought to the verge of ruin. Drury returned to Berwick on the 3d of June, having done a great deal in the way of destruction in a very short time.¹

It was during these flying campaigns in Scotland that the pope, Pius V., found a man bold enough to affix his bull of excommunication to the gates of the Bishop of London's town residence. Elizabeth and her council seem to have been thrown into a wonderful consternation, as if they were not aware that the thunders of the Vatican had become an empty noise. The gentlemen of the inns of court were still suspected of being unsound in religion: the first search and inquest seems to have been made among *them*, and another copy of the bull was found in the chamber of a student of Lincoln's Inn. The poor student was presently stretched on the rack, and then, to escape torture, he confessed that he had received the paper or parchment from John Felton, a gentleman of property who lived near Southwark. Felton was apprehended and stretched upon the same infernal instrument: he acknowledged, before he was laid upon the rack, that it was indeed he who had affixed the bull on the gates, but more than this no torture could force from him. He was kept in the Tower from the 25th of May to the 4th of August, when he was arraigned at Guildhall, and found guilty of high treason.² Felton bore his horrible fate like an enthusiast, elevated by the conviction that he had been doing God service; but, at the same time, to show that he bore the queen, personally, no malice, he drew a diamond ring from his finger of the value of £400, and sent it to her as a present. His wife had been maid of honour to Mary and a friend to Elizabeth. A conspiracy made by certain gentlemen and others in the county of Norfolk was detected a short time after the exhibition of the bull of excommunication; but it appears that there was no connection between the two things. John Throgmorton of Norwich, Thomas Brook of Rolshby, and George Redman of Cringleford, all people of condition, and devoted friends to the Duke of Norfolk, were arrested, tried, and all three hanged, drawn, and quartered. In the evidence produced against them was a proclamation of their composition, in

which they denounced the immorality and wantonness of the court.³

A.D. 1571. On the 2d of April a parliament met at Westminster, wherein was granted a subsidy of 5s. in the pound by the clergy, besides two-fifteenths and a subsidy of 2s. 8d. in the pound on the laity, "towards reimbursing her majesty for her great charges in repressing the late rebellion in the north, and pursuing the rebels and their faitours into Scotland." But there was other business of a more remarkable nature than this liberal voting of supplies. A bill was brought in with the object of crushing the pretensions and the partizans of the Scottish queen, and isolating the English Catholics more than ever from the pope and their co-religionists on the Continent. It was declared to be high treason to claim a right to the succession of the crown, during the queen's life, or to say that the crown belonged to any other person than the queen, or to publish that she was an heretic, a schismatic, a tyrant, an infidel, or usurper, or to deny that the descent of the crown was determinable by the statutes made in parliament. It was further enacted that any person that should, by writing or printing, mention any heir of the queen, except the same were *the natural issue of her body*,⁴ should, for the first offence, suffer a year's imprisonment; and, for the second, incur the penalty of præmunire. Another bill enacted the pains of high treason against all such as should sue for, obtain, or put in use any bull or other instrument from the Bishop of Rome. By another bill all persons above a certain age were bound, not only to attend the Protestant church regularly, but also to receive the sacrament in the form by law established. Besides the unfortunate insurgents of the north, many individuals of rank, among whom was Lord Morley, had retired to the Continent in order to avoid persecution, or a compliance with forms of worship which they believed to be erroneous and sinful. Another bill was therefore brought in, commanding every person who had left, or who might hereafter leave the realm, whether with or without the queen's license, to return in six months after warning by proclamation, under the pain of forfeiting his goods and chattels and the profits of his lands. By these enactments the Catholics could neither remain at home without offence to their consciences, nor go abroad without sacrificing their fortunes. There was a

¹ Diary.

² *Stow*.

³ *Stow*; *Holinshed*; *Burghley Papers*.

⁴ Camden says that an incredible number of indecent jokes and reports rose out of this clause. Some said that the queen was actually with child, and the report spread the wider soon after when she became liable to swoonings and fainting fits. There is a passage in a letter from the favourite Leicester to Walsingham (then at Paris), written in the month of November

of the following year, which, if nothing more, is very oddly expressed. "We have no news here," says Leicester, "only her majesty is in good health; and though you may hear of bruits of the contrary, I assure you it is not as hath been reported. Somewhat her majesty hath been troubled with a spise or shew of the mother, but, indeed, not so—the fits that she hath had, have not been above a quarter of an hour, but yet this little in her hath bred strange bruits here at home."—*Digges*.

talk of a remonstrance, but the House of Commons¹ and the people were most zealously Protestant; and the Catholic lords in the upper house, though forming a considerable party, had not courage to do much. Elizabeth, however, voluntarily gave up her bill for the forced taking of the sacrament—a thing horrible in Catholic eyes.

But it was not every class of Protestants that was to rejoice and be glad. There was one class of them, great, and constantly increasing, dangerous from their enthusiasm, odious from their republican and democratic notions, that were feared equally with the Catholics, and hated much more by the queen. These were the Puritans—men who had imbibed the strict notions of Calvin—a sect which Elizabeth, however much she hated it herself, had forced upon Queen Mary in Scotland. This sect had always taught that the church of Christ ought to be separate from, and independent of the state—a doctrine that went to overthrow the queen's supremacy. But there was another heinous offence which Elizabeth could never forgive: they fraternized with the Puritans of Scotland; they regarded John Knox as an inspired apostle—Knox, who had written against “the monstrous regiment of women.” The first striking instance of actual punishment inflicted upon any of them was in June, 1567, when a company of more than a hundred were seized during their religious exercises, and fourteen or fifteen of them were sent to prison. They behaved with much rudeness and self-sufficiency on their examination; but these defects became worse and worse under the goads of persecution. Yet, at this very moment, unknown to Elizabeth, three or four of her bishops were favourable to the non-conforming ministers, in whose scruples touching many ceremonies and practices in the church they partook; and in her very council the Earls of Bedford, Huntingdon, and Warwick, the Lord-keeper Bacon, Walsingham, Sadler, and Knollys, inclined from conviction to the Puritans, while Leicester, who saw that their numbers were rapidly increasing—that in the great industrious towns, the strength of the people, or *tiers état*, they were becoming strongest—intrigued with them underhand, in the view of furthering his own ambitious projects. In the preceding year Thomas Cartwright, the Lady Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge, and a man of virtue, learning, and a ready eloquence, had electrified numerous audiences by inculcating the unlawfulness of any form of church government except the Presbyterian, which he maintained to have been that instituted by the first apostles; and the same powerful Puritan soon began to make a wider and more lasting

impression by his polemical writings. In the House of Commons, which was so very anti-Catholic, there was a large and powerful section who agreed with Cartwright, and who were bold enough to show their discontent at the queen's church. In this present parliament they introduced seven bills for furthering the work of reformation and for extirpating what they considered as crying abuses. Elizabeth was furious; and, in her own way, she commanded Strickland, the mover of the bills, to absent himself from the house, and await the orders of her privy council. But Strickland's friends, who were beginning to feel their strength, moved that he should be called to the bar of the house, and there made to state the reason of his absence. And as this reason was no secret to them, they proceeded to declare that the privileges of parliament had been violated in his person; that, if such a measure was submitted to, it would form a dangerous precedent; that the queen, of herself, could neither make nor break the laws. This house, said they, which has the faculty of determining the right to the crown itself, is certainly competent to treat of religious ceremonies and church discipline. The ministers were astounded, and, after a consultation apart, the speaker proposed that the debate should be suspended. The house rose, but on the very next morning, Strickland re-appeared in his place, and was received with cheers! Elizabeth's caution had prevailed over her anger; but she felt as if her royal prerogative had been touched, and her antipathy to the Puritan party increased. In a political sense this was a great revival; and the base servility of parliament would hardly have been cured but for the religious enthusiasm. The case of Strickland was the first of many victories obtained over the despotic principle—the first great achievement of a class of men who, in their evil and in their good, worked out the cause of constitutional liberty to a degree which very few of them, even at a later period, foresaw. At the end of the session not all Elizabeth's prudence could restrain her wrath. At her command, the Lord-keeper Bacon informed the commons that their conduct had been strange, unbecoming, and undutiful; that, as they had forgotten themselves, they should be otherwise remembered; and that the queen's highness did utterly disallow and condemn their folly, in meddling with things not appertaining to them, nor within the capacity of their understanding. But this only confirmed the Puritans' suspicion that Elizabeth, in conjunction with some of her bishops, really thought of creating herself into a sort of Protestant pope, that was to decide as by a Divine inspiration and legation in all matters relating to the next world.

¹ By the statute 5 Eliz. c. 1, § 16, Roman Catholics had been excluded from the House of Commons.

Notwithstanding the omissions made by parliament, the bishops continued to exact a subscription to the whole Thirty-nine Articles, and to deprive such ministers as refused to subscribe them. Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, also persevered in his persecutions, which only wanted an occasional burning to render them a tolerable imitation of the doings in the days of Queen Mary. The Puritan ministers were hunted out of their churches and seized in their conventicles; their books were suppressed by that arbitrary will of the queen, which would allow of nothing being published that was offensive to her; they were treated harshly in all civil matters; they were constantly called before the detestable Star Chamber; they were treated with contumely and ridicule, and the members of their congregations were dragged before the high commission for listening to their sermons and forms of prayer; and whenever any one refused to conform to the doctrines of the Establishment, he was committed to prison. There were not wanting instances of persons being condemned to imprisonment for life, and numerous were the cases in which whole families of the industrious classes were reduced to beggary by these persecutions. This court of high commission has been compared to the Inquisition; and, in fact, there was a great family likeness between them. It consisted of bishops and delegates appointed by the queen, Parker, the primate, being chief commissioner. They were authorized to inquire into all heretical opinions; to enforce attendance in the Established church, and to prevent the frequentation of conventicles; to suppress unorthodox and seditious books, together with all libels against the queen and her government; to take cognizance of all adulteries, fornications, and other offences liable to the ecclesiastical law, and to punish the offenders by spiritual censures, fine, and imprisonment. Parker always maintained that bold measures would terrify the Nonconformists into his orthodoxy; "for," said he, in a letter to Cecil, "I know them to be cowards."¹ He never made a greater mistake! A very slight knowledge of history might have taught him that people excited by religious enthusiasm are always brave. What was to come he might hardly have foreseen, even if he had made a juster estimate of their spirit; for the struggle, now begun, never ceased till the Puri-

tans laid both mitre and crown in the dust at their feet.

A report had got abroad that the Queen of Scots was sought in marriage for the Duke of Anjou, one of the brothers of the French king, and though Elizabeth held Mary in a close prison, she was alarmed at this news. In order to prevent any such scheme, she entered into negotiations with Charles IX., or rather with his mother Catherine de' Medici, once more pretending to offer herself as a bride. But there were other causes which rendered the friendship of the French court very desirable. The Huguenots seemed crushed and powerless after their defeat at Moncontour; there appeared no hope of their renewing the civil war in the heart of the kingdom; and if France, at peace within herself, should throw her sword on the side of Spain and zealously take up the Catholic cause, the result might be dangerous, particularly at this moment, when there was great discontent in England, and when the Protestants at home seemed almost on the point of drawing the sword against one another. The sagacious Walsingham was sent over as ambassador to France, with such complicated instructions as must have puzzled even him. One of his principal duties was to blacken the character of Mary; another to lengthen out the matrimonial negotiation as much as possible, making sure, in the meantime, not merely of a truce, but of a fixed treaty of peace with France. He was also to have some by-dealings with the Huguenots; but he was to be more than ever cautious and secret in that matter, and to profess at court on all occasions that her majesty, his mistress, had a natural aversion to rebellious subjects of all kinds. After many months had been consumed, it was said that the Duke of Anjou declined the match because Elizabeth insisted, as a *sine quâ non*, that he should change his religion.² Then his younger brother, the boy Duke d'Alençon, was spoken of. In the spring of the year 1572, Walsingham was joined by Sir Thomas Smith, who was sent on a special mission, and it was not till then that this new matrimonial business was fairly entered upon. Elizabeth had been vexed and distressed by reports that the Duke of Anjou had declined the match on account of certain rumours, that she had had two children by the Earl of Leicester, and an

¹ Styrpe, *Life of Parker*.

² Great was the deliverance England experienced from this breach. Sismondi quotes the unfavourable portrait of the Duke of Anjou, given by the King of Navarre, as too well verified by his conduct. "And as for this prince whom you are going to serve," said Navarre to Rosny, afterwards Duke of Sully, in 1581, "he will much deceive me if he do not deceive all that trust him and, still more if he ever love those of the religion (the Protestants), or do anything for their advantage; for I know, from having heard him say it several times, that he hates them as he hates the devil in his heart. And then he has a double

heart so malignant, a courage so cowardly, a body so ill put together, and is so unfit for all sort of manly exercises, that I never could persuade myself that he could do anything generous, or happily possess the honours, grandeurs, and good fortunes that seem now to await him. And whatever show of kindness he may make me, in calling me his good brother, I well know his design, that it is because he dreads my preventing the Viscount of Turenne, who, Esternay, Salignac, and others of the religion, from going with him into Flanders. And know that he hates me more than any one in the world, as on my part I have no great liking for him."—Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*.

amorous intimacy with Sir Christopher Hatton besides.¹ Walsingham was instructed to complain of these foul reports; and Catherine de' Medici was fain to protest she had never believed them.

Sir Thomas Smith and Walsingham, between them, had prevented the taking of any serious steps for the release of the captive queen, in which, indeed, the French court had never showed much earnestness.² Though allies in religion, there were many old jealousies between his most Christian and his Catholic majesty: the English envoys revived these feelings, and Mary's correspondence with the Duke of Alva was turned to good account. They told the French king and his mother that there were letters intercepted of the Queen of Scots to the duke, imploring for his assistance, and offering to send her son, Prince James, to be brought up in Spain, and proposing other things which would make a perpetual pique between England and Scotland, France and Spain; and they informed Cecil that King Charles had exclaimed, in acknowledging Mary's imprudence—"Ah! the poor fool will never cease till she lose her head: in faith they will put her to death; I see it is her own fault and folly—I see no remedy for it: I meant to help, but if she will not be helped, *Je ne puis mais*, that is, I cannot do withal." Charles had indeed requested that Mary might be sent to live in France; and had said that, by the ties of relationship, he was bound to secure to her a kinder and milder treatment. But the captive's sufferings were forgotten in the bright prospect of seeing one of his brothers married to Elizabeth. He agreed to leave her where she was, and began the arrangement of an alliance offensive and defensive with the English queen's able envoys, altogether disregarding the warning of his own ambassador, who had assured him that Elizabeth would never marry any one.

While these negotiations had been in progress the case of Mary had been still further complicated, the hatred of Elizabeth increased, and the whole Protestant party in England thrown into agonies of alarm, by revelations of plots and conspiracies. In the month of April one Charles Bailly, a servant of the Queen of Scots, was seized at Dover as he was returning from the Duke of Alva with a packet of letters. The

Bishop of Ross ingeniously contrived to exchange these letters for others of an insignificant kind, which were laid before the council; but Elizabeth and her ministers sent Bailly to the Tower and to the rack.³ Under torture Bailly confessed that he had received the packet from Rudolf, formerly an Italian banker in London, and that it contained assurances that the Duke of Alva entered into the captive queen's cause, and approved of her plan for a foreign invasion of England—that, if authorized by the King of Spain, his master, he should be ready to co-operate with 40 and 30. Bailly said he did not know the parties designated by the ciphers 40 and 30, but that there was a letter in the packet for the Bishop of Ross, desiring him to deliver the other letters to the proper parties. Suspicion immediately fell upon the Duke of Norfolk. That nobleman had lain in the Tower from the 9th of October, 1569, till the 4th of August, 1570 (the day on which Felton was arraigned for the affair of the bull of excommunication), when he was removed in custody to one of his own houses, in consequence of the plague having broken out in the Tower. Some time before this delivery he made the most humble submission to the queen, beseeching her most gracious goodness to accept him again into favour to serve her in any manner that it should please her to direct and command. He acknowledged himself in fault for that he did unhappily give ear to certain motions in a cause of marriage to be prosecuted for him with the Queen of Scots; "but surely," he adds, "I never consented thereto into any respect, save upon reasons that were propounded to induce me for your highness's benefit and surety." He then solemnly binds himself to have nothing more to do with the marriage or with anything that concerns Queen Mary.⁴ Cecil had long since assured the queen that it would be very difficult to make high treason of anything Norfolk had done as yet. Of course the duke, though he had been ten months a prisoner, had never been brought to any trial, but only interrogated and cross-questioned by the lords of the privy council. Nor did he even now obtain much more than a milder sort of imprisonment. He was watched and closely warded in his own house by Sir Henry Nevil; he was afterwards removed to the house of another nobleman devoted to the court, and then to another, and another, being everywhere in custody or closely watched. He petitioned the queen, Cecil, and others, to be restored to his seat in the council;—this was refused him; and it was a thing which the sovereign, having the free choice of her counsellors, might refuse without the infringement of law or constitutional right. He requested that he might

¹ "On le taxa de ce qu'ayant l'entrée, comme il a, dans la chambre de la Reine lorsqu'elle est au lit, il (Leicester) s'estoit ingéré de luy bailler la chemise au lieu de sa dame d'honneur, et de s'azarder de luy meisme de la bayer, sans y estre conyvé."—*La Mothe Fénelon*. The ambassador says that, at the instigation of the Earl of Arundel and others, the Duke of Norfolk had ventured to complain of these familiarities to the queen herself!

² Walsingham was instructed to say that Mary was kindly treated and liberally supplied with everything; but La Mothe Fénelon had informed his court that she was harshly treated, and in want of every comfort.

³ *Burghley Papers*.

⁴ *Ibid.*

be permitted to attend in his place in parliament; but this also was refused, and illegally, for he had been convicted of no treason, no crime by law. If Norfolk had been ever so well inclined to keep his engagement, this was certainly the way to make him break it in sheer desperation. Upon the arrest of Bailly he was more closely looked to; but some months elapsed before the matter was brought to his own door. At the end of August, 1571, one Brown, of Shrewsbury, carried to the privy council a certain bag full of money, which he said he had received from Hickford, the Duke of Norfolk's secretary, with directions to carry it to Bannister, the Duke's steward. The lords opened the bag, and counted the money, which amounted to £600. But there was something else in the bag that gave them more trouble, in the shape of two tickets, or notes, written in cipher. As Brown named Hickford, the poor secretary was apprehended, and on the 2d of September, he deciphered the two notes, which, with the money, were destined for Lord Herries in Scotland, who was making fresh exertions there with her party in favour of the captive queen. Sir Ralph Sadler was immediately sent for to guard the Duke of Norfolk, who was then at Howard House; where, on the 5th of September, on a strict examination, he denied all that Hickford had confessed. Two days afterwards he was committed to his old apartment in the Tower.¹ In the meanwhile Bannister, and Barker, another secretary of the duke's, had been arrested; and as the Bishop of Ross had long been in custody with the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Ely, and others, it was easy to lay hold of him.² Hickford did not stop at betraying the key to the ciphers; he confessed many other things against his master the duke, without much pressing, and voluntarily offered to show some secret places in his house where his master had deposited letters. As the rest of Norfolk's servants were much attached to their master, and would confess nothing till they were tortured, or threatened with torture, it has been supposed by many that this Hickford had been for some time in the pay of the court. Bannister's fortitude and fidelity did not give way till he had suffered torture, but Barker's forsook him when he was shown the horrid rack. On the 20th of September Sir Thomas Smith, the matrimonial diplomatist, wrote to Cecil, now Lord Burghley,³ in a pleasant humour. "We have,"

said he, "good hope, at last, that we may come home: we think surely, that we have done all that at this time may be done. Of Bannister with the rack, of Barker with the extreme fear of it, we suppose to have gotten all. Bannister, indeed, knoweth little. . . . Barker was common doer in the practice, but rather, it may seem, chosen for zeal than for wit."⁴ He then proceeds to tell the upright Cecil that he and his coadjutors had been putting Barker's confessions into proper order—that is, they had been tampering with the evidence which they had procured by threatening a weak and silly man with the rack. Barker confessed sundry other things, in a most confused way, which went to prove that Norfolk had never intermitted his correspondence with the Scottish queen, neither during his first confinement in the Tower nor after his release from that prison—that he had corresponded with the friends of Mary in Scotland by means of the Bishop of Ross, and with the Duke of Alva by means of Rudolfi, who had once delivered to him a letter from the pope. Although Smith had asserted that Bannister knew little, they made his evidence declare a good deal, and so shaped it as to make it agree with that of Barker and Hickford. When it came to the turn of the Bishop of Ross to be questioned, that prelate was found deficient in the nerve and courage which he had recommended to Bailly; but it is much easier to excuse his want of fortitude than the atrocity of his inquisitors. The bishop claimed the privileges of an ambassador, asserting that, even if he had been somewhat implicated, he was not liable to their jurisdiction, being the representative of an independent sovereign; but Lord Burghley cut him short, by saying that he must answer or be put upon the rack.⁵ Then the bishop wavered, but still he did not confess until he was told that his depositions were merely required to satisfy the mind of Queen Elizabeth, and should not be used against the life of any man. The duke had continued to deny everything, as at first, "with such confidence and ostentation," say Sir Thomas Smith and Dr. Wilson, "that he did astonish us all, and we knew not how we should judge of him." But when the commissioners showed him the confession of Barker and his other servants, the letters of the Queen of Scots, of which they had obtained possession through Hickford and Barker, and the deposition of the Bishop of Ross, he exclaimed that he was betrayed and undone by his confidence in others, and began to confess to sundry minor charges; for he never allowed that he had contemplated treason against his sovereign. Upwards of fifty interrogatories were put to him in one day; but the purport of the

¹ Cecil's *Diary*.

² It appears that the Scotch bishop was not brought to London till the end of October, when he was removed from Ely, and that he was not committed to the Tower till the month of November.—*Ibid*.

³ Cecil was created Baron Burghley in 1571. In 1572 he received the order of the Garter, and in the same year succeeded the Marquis of Winchester as lord high-treasurer, which office he held till his death.

⁴ *Burghley Papers*.

⁵ *Anderson's Collections*.

disclosures which were then made is unknown, as the examination cannot be found.¹

But the rumours which were sent abroad beyond the dungeon-cells and the walls of the Tower, and industriously spread among the people, were of a terrific nature. The Duke of Alva was coming with an army of bloody Papists to burn down London, and exterminate the queen, the Protestant religion, and all good Protestants; and the pope was to send the treasures of Rome to forward these deeds, and was to bless them when done. Every wind might bring legions of enemies to the British coast; every town in England, every house, might conceal some desperate traitor and cruel Papist, bound by secret oaths to join the invaders, and direct their slaughter and their burning; so that none should escape that professed the true religion, and none suffer that bore the marks of the beast of Rome. A wonderful alarm was excited by one Herle, who disclosed what was called a plot for murdering some of her majesty's privy council.² Kenelm Barney and Edmund Mather, men as obscure as himself, were put upon their metal in the Tower, Herle, their former associate, being witness against them. All that could be proved against them was, that they were two contemptible scoundrels (each ready to betray the other), who were discontented with the court and the present government, which gave no promotion except to such "as were perfumed and court-like," meaning such men as Leicester and Hatton; and who had talked in public-houses and lodging-houses about rescuing the Duke of Norfolk from the Tower and from certain death. Little confidence can be placed in the revelations of such men, whose imaginations were stretched by the rack and the dread of death. But on the trial Mather and Barney were convicted on the strength of their joint confessions, and on the evidence of Herle. They were drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered, for treason. Herle received a full pardon.³

Much time had been spent in preparing for the public trial of the Duke of Norfolk; but at length, on the 14th of January, nearly a month before the executions last alluded to, the queen named the Earl of Shrewsbury, the keeper of Queen Mary, to be lord high-steward; and Shrewsbury summoned twenty-six peers, selected by Elizabeth

and her ministers, to attend in Westminster Hall on the 16th day of the same month. Among these were included, with other members of Elizabeth's privy council, Burghley, who had been active in arranging the prosecution, and the Earl of Leicester, who had originally excited Norfolk to attempt a marriage with the Scottish queen, who had signed the letter to Mary, and who was now athirst for the blood of the unfortunate prisoner, his miserable dupe. On the day appointed the peers met in Westminster Hall at an early hour in the morning, and the duke was brought to the bar by the lieutenant of the Tower and Sir Peter Carew. The lords were assisted by the judges and all the law officers of the crown. About half-past eight the lord high-steward stood up at his chair bare-headed, and the gentleman-usher holding the white rod before him, the serjeant-at-arms made proclamation. The duke, with a haughty look, perused the countenances of all the lords, first those on the right hand of the lord high-steward and then those on the left. After a fresh proclamation of silence, the clerk of the crown called upon the duke,—"Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, late of Kenninghall, in the county of Norfolk, hold up thy hand." The duke held up his hand, and then the indictment was read, charging him with compassing and imagining the death of the queen, with levying war against her within the realm, and with adhering to the queen's public enemies. The overt acts charged were:—"1st. That, against the express command of the queen upon his allegiance, he had endeavoured to marry the Queen of Scots, and supplied her with money, well knowing that she claimed a present title to the crown of England; 2d. That he had sent sums of money to the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, and other persons concerned in the rebellion in the north; 3d. That he had despatched one Rudolph to the pope, to the King of Spain, and the Duke of Alva, in order to excite them to send a foreign army into England, to join with such a force, as he, the Duke of Norfolk, might raise, for the purpose of making war against the queen within the realm, with intent to depose her, and to effect his own marriage with the Queen of Scots; 4th. That he had relieved and comforted, with money and otherwise, the Lord Herries and other Scots, being the queen's public enemies."

¹ Jardine, *Criminal Trials*. If this examination had been made for the prosecution it would probably have been carefully preserved.

² The first inkling of this business was given by Herle in a letter to Lord Burghley, dated the 4th of January, 1572. "Of late," he says, "I have, upon discontent, entered into conspiracy with some others to slay your lordship; and, the time appointed, a man with a perfect band attended you three several times in your garden, to have slain your lordship. The which not fallen out, and continuing in the former mischief, the height of your study window is taken towards the garden. minding, if they

miss these means, to slay you with a shot upon the terrace, or else in coming late from the court, with a pistol." He then says, in a breath, that he had been "touched with remorse of so bloody a deed," and that he hopes he shall receive at his lordship's hands, "at more convenient time, when these storms are past," the reward which he had merited.—*Burghley State Papers*. Herle, the informer, was afterwards taken into Burghley's service. There are grounds for suspecting that he had been engaged before the plot. Mr. Wright publishes several letters, afterwards addressed by Herle to Burghley, on secret state matters.

³ *Stow; Burghley Papers; Digges*.

The duke besought the lords, if the law would permit it, that he might be allowed counsel. Catline, the chief-justice, told him that the law allowed no counsel in cases of high treason. Upon this Norfolk complained that he was hardly handled. "I have had," said he, "very short warning to provide an answer to so great a matter—not fourteen hours in all, both day and night. I have had short warning and no books; neither books of statutes, nor so much as a breviary of the statutes. I am brought to fight without a weapon." He said that he was an unlearned man—that he hoped that they would not overlay him with speeches; that his memory was never good, but now much worse than it was. The duke, however, showed no lack of memory and ready wit, and his acquaintance with the statutes and with Bracton was such that the attorney-general thought proper to taunt him with his nice knowledge of the law. He pleaded not guilty, maintaining—1st. That the Queen of Scots was not the enemy or competitor of his sovereign—that, on the death of her husband, the French king, she put away the title of Queen of England—that, though her assumption of that title was now cited as the sole proof of her being an enemy, and having always been an enemy, yet the queen, his mistress, had had friendship with her during the ten years which had elapsed since that offence, standing godmother to her son, and doing other kind offices, and that, therefore, in trying to marry the Scottish queen, or in assisting her, he was not guilty of treason. 2d. That he had never spoken with Rudolphi the Italian but once, and then only regarding some private loan and banking business; hearing from him, indeed, that he (Rudolphi) was intending to seek aid of money among the friends of the Scottish queen, but, as he (the duke) understood him, not for the purpose of levying war in England with this money, but merely that it might be applied by Mary to her own comfort and the encouragement of her own faithful subjects in Scotland. 3d. That he had never supplied the English rebels in the north with money at the time of their insurrection, although he acknowledged having since sent some assistance to the Countess of Westmoreland, who was his own sister, and in the greatest distress; and that he had given his opinion as to the proper mode of distributing certain sums which had been sent into Flanders by the pope for the relief of the noble English exiles. He admitted that a letter from the pope, of about six or seven lines in Latin, and beginning, *Dilecte, fili, salutem*, had been delivered to him; but he said that he was offended with this liberty, and asked what he had to do with the pope, who was an enemy to his religion and his country?

Norfolk, who in his early life had been the pupil of the puritanic Fox, the martyrologist, and who had always passed for a good Protestant, vowed repeatedly on his trial that he would rather be torn to pieces by wild horses than entertain for a moment the notion of any change of religion. Everything the duke said was declared to be false, and was met by the written depositions (all cobbled and garbled) of his servants and accomplices. When he objected to such evidence he was told that the oaths of the witnesses, who had sworn to all they alleged, were worth more than his bare denial. He demanded to be personally confronted with the witnesses; but this was denied to him. There was, indeed, one witness produced, but he had known neither chains nor torture; he was an agent who had been employed by the Earl of Leicester to ensnare the prisoner, and it would have been well for the decency of the process if he had been kept out of sight altogether. We have mentioned in what manner the evidence of the Bishop of Ross had been extracted: Dr. Wilson, the master of the requests, and who, with Sir Thomas Smith, had taken his depositions, wanted him to appear in court and give his evidence orally, but, lacking in courage as he was, the bishop refused, saying, "I never conferred with the duke myself in any of these matters, but only by his servants, nor yet heard him speak one word at any time against his duty to his prince and country; and if I shall be forced to be present, I will publicly profess before the whole nobility that he never opened his mouth maliciously or traitorously against the queen or the realm." Norfolk repeatedly said that the bishop was a very timid man—that Barker was a timid man—that only Bannister had courage united to fidelity, and that he was "shrewdly cramped" when he made the false confession they produced. And then Barham, the queen's serjeant, most impudently asserted that Bannister had been no more tortured than the duke himself had been. The famous letter inculcating Norfolk, written by Moray, the late regent, was read in court, together with a letter said to have been sent by the duke to Moray, without going into any proof of the genuineness of those documents.¹ A great deal of the evidence went upon mere hearsay, and that at second or third hand, but the strangest thing of all—the grossest possible interference of the queen—occurred in enforcing that particular part of the prosecution which related to the Rudolphi conspiracy. The solicitor-general stood up, and said, "I have also, my lords, one thing more to say to you from the queen's own mouth. The lords of

¹ It was merely said, with respect to the duke's letter, that the regent had sent a copy of it to Elizabeth in his (Moray's) handwriting. They did not even profess to have seen the original.

the privy council do know it very well, but it is not meet here, in open presence, to be uttered, because it toucheth others that are not here now to be named; but, by her highness's order, we pray their lordships that they will impart it unto you more particularly. In Flanders, by the ambassador of a foreign prince, the whole plot of this treason was discovered; and a servant of his, not meaning to conceal so foul and dishonourable a practice, gave intelligence hither by letters. But I refer the more particular declaration thereof to the peers of the privy council." No objection was raised by any one to this strange declaration; on the contrary, they all acted as if it were decisive of the case, and at eight o'clock at night, when the trial had lasted twelve hours, the peers unanimously returned a verdict of guilty. Then the edge of the axe was turned towards the duke, and the lord-steward said—"Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, the lords, your peers, having now found you guilty, what have you to say why I may not proceed to judgment?" The duke replied, "The Lord's will be done, and God be judge between me and mine accusers:" and then the lord high-steward, with tears in his eyes, pronounced judgment: "Thomas, late Duke of Norfolk, you have been indicted of high treason, and my lords, your peers, have found you guilty: therefore, this court doth award that you be taken hence to the Tower of London, and from thence be drawn through the midst of London to Tyburn; and there you shall be hanged till you be half dead, and being alive you shall be cut down quick, your bowels shall be taken forth of your body, and burned before your face; your head shall be smitten off, and your body shall be divided into four quarters; your head and quarters to be set up where it shall please the queen's majesty to appoint: and the Lord have mercy upon your soul." Then the duke said, "This, my lord, is the judgment of a traitor; but (striking himself hard upon the breast) I am a true man to God and the queen as any that liveth, and always have been so."¹

We are not informed as to the countenance and behaviour of Leicester, who sat through the trial and voted the death of his confiding and generous-hearted victim.

The mode in which a case of constructive treason was made up will afford a curious exercise to the mind, and may be studied at length with some advantage.² But, after all, it will not be easy to arrive at any clear notion of the extent of Norfolk's imprudence or guilt. That the Rudolfi conspiracy compassed and imagined the overthrow of Elizabeth, in part by the aid of

foreign arms and foreign money, there can be little doubt; but it would have been no unusual case if the conspirators had cloaked and concealed their extremest views from the duke, who was evidently a tool in the hands of more crafty, more daring, and inveterate plotters. If he were privy to the conspiracy in its full extent—which he always denied, and which was never proved against him by unsuspected evidence—he was guilty at the least of misprision of treason. He seems to have had a thoroughly English heart; and not only a patriotic feeling for the independence of his country, but also many of the prevailing national prejudices against foreigners of all kinds, not excepting even the Scots. Our own impression is, that he contemplated nothing more than the reinstating of Mary, the sharing in her authority in Scotland, and in her hopes of the English succession on Elizabeth's death. As a man of honour (if we may speak of such a character in such a time), the worst part of his conduct was his breaking his word to Elizabeth; but even there he was goaded and maddened by her harsh usage, beset by agents ever ready to work on his susceptible temper, and fascinated by the letters and messages of Mary.

But, though thus condemned, Elizabeth hesitated to inflict capital punishment on so popular a nobleman, who was her own kinsman, and who had been for many years her tried friend. Five days after his trial the duke wrote a long letter to her majesty, confessing that he had been undutiful, that he had most unkindly offended; but he still denied that he had ever contemplated treason. He told the queen that he was now but as "a dead dog" in this world, and preparing himself for a new kingdom—that he would not ask her for life, but only beseech her to extend her merciful goodness to his poor orphan children. Elizabeth insidiously urged him to make an ample confession, and accuse others; but this Norfolk nobly refused, even when pleading for his children. "The Lord knoweth," he says, "that I myself know no more than I have been charged withal, nor much of that, although, I humbly beseech God and your majesty to forgive me, I knew a great deal too much. But if it had pleased your highness, whilst I was a man in law, to have commanded my accusers to have been brought to my face, although of my own knowledge I knew no more than I have particularly confessed, yet, if it had pleased your majesty, there might perchance have bolted out somewhat amongst them which might have made somewhat for mine own purgation, and your highness perchance have thereby known that which is now undiscovered. . . . Now, an if it please your majesty, it is too late for me to come face to face to do you any service; the one being a shameless

¹ Jardine, *Criminal Trials*; *Burghley Papers*.

² See Mr. Jardine's remarks appended to his clear and valuable account of this remarkable trial.

Scot, and the other an Italianised Englishman,¹ their faces will be too brazen to yield to any truth that I shall charge them with."² This letter was written from the Tower on the 23d of January. On Saturday, the 8th of February, Elizabeth signed the warrant for the duke's execution on the Monday following; but at a late hour on Sunday night she summoned to her presence the wily Burghley, who had been earnest with her to permit the law to take its course. The queen, according to Burghley's own words, "now entered into a great misliking that the duke should die the next day, and said she was, and should be, disquieted, and that she would have a new warrant made that very night to the sheriffs, to forbear until they should hear further; and so they did."³ Another warrant was countermanded in the same manner, and a third, obtained, as the queen gave out, by importunate counsel, on the 9th of April, was recalled with her own hand at two o'clock in the morning. She was evidently most anxious to lighten the odium of the execution, or to shift it from herself. The preachers, who had of late received regular political instructions from her council, took up the matter, and, unmindful of the evangelical forbearance, clamoured for vengeance on the duke. Private letters were written to the same effect to her majesty, but still she hesitated. In the meanwhile, parliament had assembled. On the 16th of May the commons communicated with the lords, and then drew up a petition to the throne, representing that there could be no safety till the duke was dead. The fanatic reasoning or declamation of the commons had a wonderful effect out of doors—every Protestant seemed to echo their call for blood; and at last Elizabeth put her hand to a death-warrant, which was *not* revoked. Out of regard to his high rank, the brutal punishment awarded by the sentence was commuted into beheading. On the 2d of June, 1572, at eight o'clock in the morning, the duke was brought to a scaffold erected upon Tower-hill, attended by Alexander Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, and Fox, the martyrologist, who had formerly been his tutor. Dr. Nowel desired the multitude to keep silence; after which the duke made a dying speech, which was nearly always expected, if not forcibly exacted, on such occasions. He proceeded to confess neither more nor less than he had done on his trial; to aver that he had never been Popishly inclined, though some of his servants and acquaintance were addicted to the Romish religion. Then, after the reading of a psalm or two, he said, with a loud voice, "Lord Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit." The headsman asked the duke's forgiveness, and

had it granted. One offering him a handkerchief to cover his eyes, he refused it, saying, "I am not in the least afraid of death." He then fell on his knees, praying, and presently he stretched his neck across the block, and his head, at one blow, was cut off, and showed by the executioner to the sorrowing and weeping multitude.⁴ "It is incredible," continues Camden, a spectator of the sad scene, "how dearly he was loved by the people, whose good-will he had gained by a princely munificence and extraordinary affability. They called likewise to mind the untimely end of his father,⁵ a man of extraordinary learning, and famous in war, who was beheaded in the same place five and twenty years before."

But the Protestants, whose wild alarms had not yet subsided, were eager for a still greater sacrifice, and they turned a ready ear to an anonymous casuist, who proved, in his own way, that it stood, not only with justice, but with the honour and safety of Elizabeth, to send the unfortunate Queen of Scots to the scaffold; and to another writer, who supported his arguments with numberless texts of Scripture, all made to prove that Mary had been delivered into the hands of Elizabeth by a special providence, and deserved to die the death, because she was guilty of adultery, murder, conspiracy, treason, and blasphemy, and because she was an idolater, and led others to idolatry.⁶ Both houses would have proceeded against the captive by bill of attainder, but Elizabeth interfered, and they were obliged to rest satisfied with passing a law to make her unable and unworthy of succession to the crown of England.⁷ The captive queen had been restored to her old prison in Tutbury Castle immediately after the defeat of the Earl of Northumberland, and, after some hurried removes to Chatsworth and other places, she was now at Sheffield Castle, in the tender keeping of Sir Ralph Sadler and my Lady Shrewsbury, who both wished her in her grave, and seized the opportunity afforded by the trial and condemnation of Norfolk to exult over her sufferings, and insult her to her face.

But Mary had soon to weep for more blood. The Earl of Northumberland, after lying more than two years a prisoner in Lochleven Castle, was basely sold to Elizabeth by the execrable Morton, who, during his own exile in England, had tasted largely of the northern earl's hospitality and generosity. This transaction was the finishing touch to the character of the murderer

⁴ Camden.

⁵ The accomplished Earl of Surrey, the last noble victim of Elizabeth's father.

⁶ *D'Eves.*

⁷ Burghley was disappointed and angry that Elizabeth did not now send Mary to the block. In a letter dated 21st May, 1572, addressed to Walsingham, who was at Paris, he says that there was "soundness" in the commons, and "no lack" in the higher house, but the queen had spoiled all.—*Dudley Digges.*

¹ Alluding to the Bishop of Ross and Barker.

² *Burghley Papers.*

³ *Ibid.*

of Rizzio. He permitted William Douglas, the Laird of Lochleven, to enter into a negotiation with the exiled Countess of Northumberland for the liberation of her husband. Two thousand pounds, the price agreed upon, was deposited by the countess at Antwerp. Morton, at the same time, drove another bargain with Elizabeth. In the month of June or July the unfortunate earl was carried on board a vessel to proceed, as he was told by these infernal traitors, to join his dear wife in Flanders. We need scarcely add what followed; as a matter of course he was landed at Berwick, the first English port; from Berwick he was conducted to York, and there beheaded without a trial. The earl, in the parlance of those times, continued obstinate in religion, and declared he would die a Catholic of the Pope's church. Sir Thomas Gargrave, who communicates the particulars of the earl's execution to Lord Burghley, adds, "I beseech the Almighty to preserve the queen's majesty and all good subjects from their (the Papists') deceitful and cruel practices, the which, in my opinion, they intend, if time would serve. They have too much liberty and scope, and wax hard-hearted, wilful, and stubborn."¹

In Scotland many had forfeited their lives for their passionate attachment to Mary. Encouraged and assisted by Elizabeth, the father of Darnley, the imbecile Lennox, had established himself in the regency. More than a year before Norfolk's death, he gained, by surprise, the strong castle of Dumbarton, which had held out most gallantly for the queen. Among the prisoners taken in that fortress was Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, whom Lennox caused to be hanged at Stirling without trial. The civil war than raged more fiercely than ever. The regent, in a parliament, attainted Secretary Maitland as one of the assassins of his son Darnley, and some chiefs of the house of Hamilton for their opposition to the

king's government. He assembled a second parliament, with the intention of passing more attainders, but his own hour was come. The Earl of Huntly, Lord Claude Hamilton, and Scott of Buccleuch, secretly assembled 500 men, made a night march, and got possession of the town of Stirling without opposition. The Hamiltons, on their onslaught, cried, "Remember the archbishop!" for the prelate of St. Andrews was of their kindred, though only illegitimately so.² In a few moments they broke open the lodgings of the principal lords of the regent's faction, and made them all prisoners, together with Lennox himself. It was the intention of the insurgents to convey their captives to Edinburgh Castle, which was still in their hands; but Morton escaped, barricaded his house, and made a vigorous resistance; the burghers of Stirling rose upon the intruders; some troops arrived under the Earl of Mar, and the victors found themselves obliged to turn and flee. One of the Hamiltons, determined that the regent should not escape, bade him remember the archbishop, and shot him through the head. As another regent was now wanting, the lords nominated the Earl of Mar—a man far too honourable for those men and those times. Morton had more power than the new regent, and was the devoted friend and servant of Elizabeth, whom he obeyed in all particulars. But, in spite of Morton and Elizabeth, the banner of Mary still floated over the walls of Edinburgh Castle; and in the mountains of the north the Gordons and other Highlanders kept her cause lingering on.

Under the able management of Walsingham and Sir Thomas Smith, the treaty with France had been concluded in the month of April, 1572, about six weeks before the Duke of Norfolk's execution. The French king bound himself to give Elizabeth aid in all cases of invasion whatsoever; but Elizabeth did not show any readiness in proceeding with the matrimonial treaty, which was interrupted and renewed several times, and altogether ingeniously prolonged for the space of ten years.

¹ Wright, *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*. Sir Thomas Gargrave was not unusually intolerant; there is scarcely a letter of those times but laments that the persecuted Papists are not much more harshly dealt with. If some persons had had their own way, they would have made a sort of Protestant Bartholomew before the Catholic one.

² He was natural brother to the Duke of Chatelleraut, the head of the clan.

CHAPTER XVIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1572—1587.

ELIZABETH.

Massacre of St. Bartholomew—Insidious measures of the French court to effect it—Atrocities with which it was accompanied—Followed by an outcry in England for Mary's death—Earl of Morton succeeds to the regency in Scotland—Death of Charles IX. of France, and accession of his brother Henry III.—War for independence in the Netherlands—Elizabeth aids the revolt—She is again sought in marriage by the Duke of Anjou—Her incomprehensible conduct—The duke visits England—Troubles in Ireland—Plots and outbreaks against the English ascendancy—Affairs in Scotland—James' early favourites—They procure the downfall of the Earl of Morton—His execution—Intrigues in Scotland for the liberation of Mary—The "Raid of Ruthven"—Alarms of Popish conspiracies in England—Executions of Papists—The Throckmorton plot—Execution of Francis Throckmorton—Fresh penal statutes against the Papists—Naval exploits of the English against the Spaniards in America—Elizabeth aids the Netherlands against Spain—The Babington conspiracy—Detection and execution of the conspirators—Earl of Leicester's proposal to poison Queen Mary—Treatment of Mary in her different prisons—She is charged with being accessory to Babington's conspiracy—Her denial of the charge—Design announced to her of bringing her to trial—The trial held at Fotheringhay Castle—She is charged with conspiring the death of Elizabeth—Her answer and defence—The attempts to inculpate her—She is pronounced guilty and sentenced to die—Popular triumph at the sentence—Mary's heroism—Fruitless interposition of Henry III. to save her—Apathy of James, her son—Intrigues to thwart his applications in her behalf—Elizabeth's irresolution to confirm Mary's sentence—She at last signs it—Elizabeth's attempts to throw the blame on others—Mary's conduct on receiving the sentence—Her preparations for death—Her execution—Elizabeth's hypocritical conduct on receiving tidings of the execution.



HE English queen had been feasting at Kenilworth Castle with the Earl of Leicester, and had reached Woodstock on her way homeward, when she received the dismal intelligence of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, at Paris. The late pacification between the French Catholics and Huguenots had been as hollow as all the preceding ones. The nominal head of the Huguenots was the young King of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. of France; but the real leader was the veteran Coligny, Admiral of France. In the spring of 1571, King Charles professed a wonderful eagerness to reconcile the two parties, and offered the hand of his sister to Henry of Navarre. At the same time, he tempted Coligny with the offer of the command of a great French army to be sent into Flanders to co-operate with the Prince of Orange against the King of Spain. In the summer of the same year, Charles again earnestly solicited the admiral to repair to court, writing to him with his own hand, and sending the letter, backed by warm solicitations from the admiral's near relations, by the hands of Teligny, the admiral's son-in-law. The admiral, in the autumn of 1571, went to Blois, where Charles was keeping his court. He was received with all honour—was restored to all his former dignities, and the king called him "Father." Meanwhile the match between Henry of Navarre and the Princess Margaret went on; and on the 18th of August of the present year (1572) the marriage was celebrated at Paris. Coligny and a great number of the

Protestant lords attended. The three following days were spent in festivity. On the fourth day (Friday, the 22d of August) the admiral attended a privy council, after which he went to the tennis-yard with the king, the Duke of Guise, and others of the court. As he walked thence homeward through the streets an arquebuse was discharged at him from the window of a house occupied by a dependant of the Duke of Guise. He was struck in two places, but neither of the wounds was dangerous. The Huguenots crowded to his house uttering menacing language against the Guises, for they suspected that the Duke of Guise had directed the blow in revenge for the death of his father, who had been assassinated by Poltrot, the Huguenot, at the siege of Orleans.¹ On Saturday, the 23d, the queen-mother held secret conferences in the Louvre, and after dinner, or about noon, she entered the king's chamber, where her other son, the Duke of Anjou, and several lords soon joined her. All united in representing to Charles that the Huguenots were at that moment plotting his destruction, and that, if he did not destroy them before night, he and his whole family would be sacrificed before the next morning. According to his own account, he thereupon gave a reluctant consent to a general massacre, the execution of which was intrusted

¹ The Guises had maintained that Poltrot was an agent of Coligny. The Huguenots did occasionally resort to assassinations as well as the Catholics. Nearly four years before this attempted assassination of Coligny, an attempt was made to murder another of Queen Mary's uncles, the Cardinal of Lorraine, at Rheims.—Letter from Sir Henry Norris to Cecil, given by Wright.

to the Dukes of Guise, Anjou, and Aumale, Montespan, and Marshal Tavannes, who are generally believed to have arranged the whole plan beforehand with the queen-mother. Charles and Catherine then went to an open balcony to await the result, the young king trembling all over. At a concerted signal—the tolling of the church bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois—the work of blood began. The house of Coligny was burst open, and he and all in it were murdered. The butchers threw the bodies out of the windows into the streets, where they were treated with brutal indignity: and then the tocsin was sounded from the parliament house, calling upon the people to protect their religion and their king. Forthwith all Paris resounded with the horrid cries of "Death to the Huguenots!—Kill every man of them!—kill!—kill!" And the Protestants, wherever they could be found, were atrociously slaughtered—men, women, and children. Towards evening proclamation was made, by sound of trumpet, that it was the king's will that the slaughter should cease; but the Parisians were drunk with blood, and the massacre was partially continued through that night and the two following days. Scenes of precisely the same sort were enacted in Rouen, Lyons, and other cities. In Paris alone, 500 men of rank, and nearly 10,000 of inferior conditions, were butchered in cold blood. All were not Huguenots, for many a Catholic took this easy opportunity of despatching his personal enemy without regard to his creed. In all France 30,000 individuals are said to have perished on St. Bartholomew's Day and the days of slaughter which followed it.¹

Of the French Protestants who escaped the massacre, some threw themselves into Rochelle, whence they cast an imploring eye towards England: others fled across the Channel, until every English port on the south coast was crowded with them. The English people would have rushed at once into a war to punish the treachery and cruelty of the French Catholics; but Elizabeth peremptorily forbade any of her subjects to take up arms except on their own account, and as private volunteers. She did not recal her ambassador; nay, she scarcely interrupted her matrimonial treaty, though she was glad to have an opportunity of telling the French court that a visit to England, which had been projected for her young suitor, the Duke of Alençon, would not be desirable in the present temper of her people.²

¹ The number of the dead is variously stated, according to the religion of the parties writing, at 4000, 10,000, 40,000, 70,000, 100,000! De Thou, Adriani, De Serres, and the author of a discourse addressed to the Swiss cantons, quoted by Mr. Allen (*Letter to Francis Jeffrey, Esq.*, 8vo, London, 1827), agree in stating the total number at 30,000.

² Elizabeth wished to guard against "that further peril which might ensue by Mary's escaping, or being set up again." Killi-

One of the first effects in England of the St. Bartholomew massacre was an outcry for the immediate execution of Queen Mary, a measure recommended by nearly the whole bench of bishops, from Parker the primate downwards. On the 5th of September, Sandys, Bishop of London, proposed to Burghley forthwith to cut off the Scottish queen's head, who, he said, was the infirm part in the foundation of the existing state of things. The queen still shrunk from the odium of publicly imbruing her hands in her rival's blood; but she thought that it might be possible to get the thing safely done in Scotland. Killigrew was sent down to Edinburgh to arrange the matter, being charged not to commit his sovereign's honour by any too open proceeding. He was, in short, to keep himself in public to the settling of a treaty of pacification between the regency and Mary's adherents in Edinburgh Castle and elsewhere; but, in private, he was to propose the delivery of Mary into the hands of her enemies, that she might "receive that she had deserved there by order of justice."³

But this negotiation fell to the ground through the unusual honour of the Regent Mar, who was actively employed in arranging a very different pacification. He was labouring to effect a general union of the several rival factions into which the Scottish aristocracy was divided, an object for the accomplishment of which he seems to have been prepared to share his power with Maitland, Kirkcaldy, Morton, and the other parties who had hitherto opposed his administration. In the midst of these patriotic negotiations, the Earl of Morton invited the regent to his house at Dalkeith, and treated him very nobly; but the regent took a vehement sickness, which caused him to ride away to Stirling, where he died on the 28th of October of this present year, 1572. Some of his friends and the common people suspected he had "gotten wrong" at Morton's banquet.⁴ On the 24th of November Morton was chosen regent under the auspices of Elizabeth, whom he had already served in many particulars. His power had always been great, and now that it was supreme in Scotland, he devoted it to the two great objects of enriching himself by forfeitures and doing the will of the English queen. (A.D. 1573.) Killigrew remained with the new regent, and assisted him in arranging a separate treaty with the Earl of Huntly and the Hamiltons, by which Kirkcaldy of Grange, Maitland of Lethington,

grew was commanded to make the most "of the late horrible universal murder in France," and to move the Scots to have good regard that the like be not attempted among them. He was also commanded to use all good speed with the most secrecy that he can, and yet so to deal as that the matter (Mary's death) might rather be opened to him by the Scots than seem to be proposed by him to them.—*Burghley Papers*.

⁴ *Melville*.

and the others in Edinburgh Castle, were left to themselves to prolong a now hopeless struggle for Queen Mary. Maitland proposed an honourable capitulation: Morton insisted on an unconditional surrender. At this crisis Elizabeth sent an army from Berwick, under Drury the marshal, who was furnished with heavy artillery, and with instructions to lay the castle in ruins. Though starving and destitute, the garrison, under the brave and skilful Kirkaldy, held out for thirty-four days, when they surrendered, expressly to Drury and the Queen of England, upon a general promise of favourable terms. But Elizabeth ordered that Maitland and Kirkaldy should be delivered up to Morton. At last all Maitland's undermining and countermining were at an end, and his subtle genius stood rebuked and helpless. He ended his days on the 9th of June, a few weeks after the surrender of the castle. According to one account he took poison, and "died a Roman death;" according to another, the poison was administered to him by Morton.¹ On the 3d of August following the gallant Kirkaldy was hanged and quartered as a traitor, and thus perished the last remnant of Mary's party in Scotland.

A.D. 1574. In the month of May the wretched Charles IX. died a death of horror at Vincennes, in the twenty-sixth year of his age. He was succeeded by his brother the Duke of Anjou, a former suitor of Elizabeth. This new king, Henry III., was detested by the Protestants for the part he had taken in the massacre; and he had not been a year on the throne when he detected a conspiracy to murder him, in which his own brother, the Duke of Alençon, Elizabeth's present suitor, was deeply implicated. Alençon escaped from the court, and began to levy troops for another war in conjunction with young Henry, the then Protestant King of Navarre. They both applied to Elizabeth for assistance; but she preferred the office of mediator, and, on the 14th

of May, 1576, a treaty was concluded, by which the Huguenots were to have permission to worship God in their own way in public churches, and Alençon obtained the honours, titles, and appanage which had been enjoyed by his elder brother Henry previous to his accession. From this time Alençon was styled Duke of Anjou. But this pacification was scarcely achieved when Henry III. placed himself at the head of a Catholic league, formed by the majority of his subjects, and in the month of February, 1577, he annulled at a blow the privileges granted to the Huguenots, who thereupon proceeded to take up arms.

At this moment the minds of Elizabeth and her ministers were rather occupied by the affairs of the Netherlands than by those of France. The Prince of Orange, after a tremendous struggle, had succeeded in establishing the independence of Holland and Zealand, and the Duke of Alva had been recalled to wither and die under the frowns and ingratitude of his master, Philip, for whom he had waded in blood.² Alva had been succeeded by Zuniga, commendator of Requesens, who, by policy and gentle measures, detached many of the partizans of the Prince of Orange. That prince, in his increasing difficulties, offered the sovereignty or the protectorship of Holland and Zealand to Elizabeth, who was assumed to be a representative of their ancient princes by her descent from Philippa of Hainault, the wife of Edward III. The queen hesitated, and changed her mind more than once, but at last declared that she could not in conscience accept their offer, but that she would act as mediatrix between them and their lawful sovereign, Philip. This answer was given in the month of February, 1576, but events occurred with wonderful rapidity, which wholly changed the queen's plans. Requesens died, and was succeeded by John of Austria (a bastard son of the late Emperor Charles V.), a brave and popular commander;

¹ Killigrew himself says that Maitland died not without suspicion of poison. Melville and Spottiswood agree in saying that, being surrendered by Elizabeth, he died "after the Roman manner." Mary, in a letter addressed to her in her own hand, accused Elizabeth of the poisoning of Maitland.

² "That the mouths as well as the sources of the Rhine became the sole asylum of Germanic liberty on the continent of Europe, will appear unaccountable to those who have not reflected that causes almost the same, may bestow on the dwellers amidst mountains and along shores, the exalted spirit which belongs to the consciousness of secure independence. The three provinces of Holland, Friesland, and Zealand, were the most deeply imbued with the Lutheran doctrine of no implicit submission to power, which flowed on them from Northern Germany; and they might also have caught additional boldness and jealousy from the example and opinions of England, with which they maintained an almost daily intercourse. The earliest of modern sufferers for religion were the Protestants of these Burgundian provinces. Charles V. began to proscribe that body of his subjects in the summer of 1561, after he had holden an imperial diet at Worms, on the subject of suppressing the new heresy. He issued an edict not only for the government of the empire.

but for that of his hereditary dominions, particularly including the Netherlands; in which, after reciting the condemnation of Lutheran heresies by the church, he denounced the punishment of death against all who deviated from the doctrines of the Apostolic See, or who possessed Lutheran books, or harboured the heretics themselves. All men were commanded to discover those who were suspected of heresy. Solicitation for fugitives was prohibited—not excepting fathers, sons, or brothers. Even by recantation of heresy, no farther grace could be earned than that the men were beheaded, and the women buried alive, while the contumacious expiated their obstinacy in the flames. These tremendous denunciations were speedily carried into effect. 'Blood began to be spilled in 1523. From that time,' says Father Paul, 'to the peace of Cateau-Cambresis in 1558, there were 50,000 Protestants hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burned in the Netherlands.' Grotius, in writing of a later period, estimates the number at 100,000.

"The reference of the two great writers to different periods, affords the most reasonable explanation of the apparent contradiction. Grotius had the best means of information; and the smaller number is as good a proof of cruelty as the larger."—*Sir James Mackintosh.*

and it was rumoured that, not satisfied with the subjugation of the whole of the Netherlands, he contemplated an invasion of England, and a marriage with the Queen of Scots. At the same time the Prince of Orange, in his despair, talked of offering the sovereignty of his country to Elizabeth's suitor, Alençon, now Duke of Anjou. Upon this Elizabeth concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Orange party, protesting all the while to Philip that she merely intended to preserve to him the Netherlands from the grasp of the French, and to herself the kingdom of England free from invasion by his ambitious half-brother, Don John. The English negotiator on this occasion was William Davison. The queen had already furnished large sums of money, but now they were in want of more, and Davison engaged to procure it on their giving adequate security. The Dutch diplomatist produced the valuable jewels and plate which had been pledged by Mathias of Austria to the states of Holland; and, on these things being sent to England, £50,000 were advanced for present exigencies.¹ In spite of the new spirit which had been infused into them by the English treaty, the Dutch were defeated in the great battle of Gemblours. They then applied, in a breath, to the Protestant princes of Germany, to Elizabeth, and to the Duke of Anjou. Cassimir, another of the English queen's suitors, marched into the Netherlands with a powerful army, and Anjou soon followed with 10,000 men. Neither, however, could do much against such great commanders as Don John and Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, who had recently arrived with another army of Spaniards and Italians. The Duke of Anjou excused his want of success by pleading his anxiety not to offend Elizabeth; and at this very moment he was renewing his suit with a rare ardour. He sent over Simier, a nobleman who possessed uncommon skill in amorous matters, and who was irresistibly witty and gallant. This Simier soon gained an extraordinary ascendancy over the mind of the queen, to whom he constantly represented that his employer, Anjou, was almost dying of love for her. He did more: he disclosed to her that the Earl of Leicester had recently married in private the widow of the late Earl of Essex. According to popular rumour the favourite had poisoned Essex to make way to his bed. Leicester stormed and protested; but, for the first time in his life, he found his royal mistress implacable. He was severely reprimanded, and placed in confinement at Greenwich. In the following summer (1580) the Duke of Anjou suddenly appeared at Greenwich, having tra-

velled thither in disguise. The strong and masculine mind of Elizabeth was weaker than that of a child in some points, and this was one of them. The romance of the thing quite fascinated her. After a few days of ardent courtship, and much private talk, Anjou went his way. A few days after his departure Elizabeth assembled the lords of her council, and submitted to them "the great question." These lords were divided in opinion—some of them representing the danger to religion from a Catholic husband; the sinfulness of allowing the mass to be set up, though in private, in the royal palace; the peril to her majesty's life, if, at her age (she was now in her forty-ninth year), she should have issue; and the uselessness of the marriage if she had not.² Every account of Elizabeth's conduct at this critical moment is startling and perplexing, but most of them would lead us to believe that she was now really anxious for a marriage with this young prince. Burghley, the scarcely less adroit Walsingham, her relative Hunsdon, Mildmay, Sadler—all were lost in amazement, and doubt, and dread. It is said that she shed passionate tears upon finding that they did not unanimously petition her to marry, as they had done before. They were, however, too careful of their liberty and their places to offer any open opposition to what seemed to be the queen's wishes; and they actively drove on to its conclusion a preliminary matrimonial treaty with Simier. But in two months Elizabeth again declared that she would die a virgin queen. Again, however, in a few months, when a splendid embassy from Catherine de' Medici arrived in London (it was in the spring of 1581), she agreed that the marriage should be concluded within six weeks, but with a provision that she should be at liberty to change her mind again if certain secret stipulations were not previously fulfilled. It is difficult to understand, even with full reference to all her political relations at home and abroad—it is impossible to reconcile to any fixed and wise principle the vacillating conduct of the queen. The states of the Netherlands, where her influence was great, formally elected the Duke of Anjou to be their sovereign; and when that prince marched into the country at the head of 16,000 men, heedless of her old anxieties about French ambition, she sent him a present of 100,000 crowns. Chiefly by means of this seasonable aid, Anjou gained many successes. On the approach of winter he put his troops into winter-quarters, and hurried over to England, whither, it is said, he was now warmly invited by Elizabeth. His arrival was welcomed with fireworks and other rejoicings; and soon after the queen, before her whole court,

¹ Sir Harris Nicholas, *Life of William Davison*, Secretary of State, and Privy Councillor to Queen Elizabeth—a very valuable contribution to the history of this reign.

² *Burghley Papers*; Sadler.

took a ring from her finger, and put it upon his. Hereupon the news was spread abroad upon the wings of the wind that the queen was going to marry at last. In Paris the news was, that the match could know no further impediment; in Antwerp and Brussels they lit bonfires and discharged artillery, as if it had really taken place. But, in the night, Elizabeth had talked with some of her council, and in the morning Anjou found his affianced bride pale and in tears; and before he left her apartment he was assured that she could never marry.¹ It was, however, some time before these matters were made public; and the zealous Protestants continued to rail against the marriage, heaping all kinds of abuse, not only on the Duke of Anjou, but on the whole French nation, and much marvelling that the queen had not a better recollection of the feast of St. Bartholomew. The preachers had begun the attack some time before, by condemning the intended match from the pulpit, but they had been pretty well silenced. After staying three months in England, Anjou prepared to depart, pledging, however, his word to the queen that he would soon return. She accompanied him as far as Canterbury, and there took leave of him, weeping like an amorous girl.² On his arrival in the Netherlands, Anjou found very different employment: Alexander Farnese was not yet conquered, and the Prince of Orange possessed in reality the power which nominally belonged to the French prince. Dissensions broke out between the French and the Dutch, and, in the month of June of the following year, Anjou, having witnessed the loss of the greater part of his troops, fled back to France. Soon after his return he fell into a lingering illness, of which he died in the month of June, 1584—we need scarcely add, “not without suspicion of being poisoned.”

We have alluded to the troubles of Ireland, and to the views in that direction of France and Spain. That country had never been well governed or tranquil for a single year, but the difference of religion was now a perennial source of havoc and desolation. Sometimes the English pale was wasted by fire and sword; but, generally speaking, the undisciplined Irish were the victims of that merciless war. Shane O’Neil was basely assassinated, and his lands, comprising the greater part of Ulster, were vested in the English crown as early as 1568. Numerous colonists were sent over from England to occupy these lands, where they had to maintain themselves by the sword, for the dispossessed proprietors struggled hard to keep their inheritance. In 1573 Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, undertook to subdue and colonize the district of Clan-huboy.

He set sail with a small army of his own raising, but met with little success; he was wretchedly seconded by the penurious and jealous court of England; and he died at Dublin in 1576, suspecting himself that he was poisoned.³ The Irish priests naturally looked to the pope and the Catholic powers for assistance. From time to time they received encouraging messages from France and Spain; but the first to send them any real assistance in the shape of troops was Pope Gregory XIII. Six hundred disciplined troops and 3000 stand of arms were embarked at Civita-Vecchia, the nearest port to Rome, to fall down the Mediterranean, to touch at Lisbon, there to take on board Fitzmorris, an Irish exile, and then to proceed to the Irish coast. But Stukely, the officer to whom this expedition was intrusted, proved a traitor or a mad adventurer; on reaching Lisbon he offered his services to Sebastian, King of Portugal, and, instead of going to Ireland to fight the English, he went to Africa to fight the Moors, who slew him, and King Sebastian, and all his host, at the battle of Alcazar. Fitzmorris, who was a brother or half-brother of the Earl of Desmond, sailed from Lisbon in the right direction, but he had with him only about eighty Spanish soldiers, a troop of Irish and English Catholic exiles, and Saunders, the Jesuit, whom the pope had named his legate. Such a force could maintain itself nowhere, and the Irish had suffered so severely that they were slow to rise. Fitzmorris, therefore, lingered among the moors and bogs; but in the following year, 1580, there was a great rising, and an Italian officer in the pay of the pope, arrived from Portugal with 600 or 700 men, 5000 stand of arms, and some money. But these foreigners were presently assaulted both by sea and land, in an unfinished fort at or near to Smerwick, in the county Kerry. Two memorable men were in the English camp—Edmund Spenser, the author of the *Faerie Queen*, and Walter Raleigh, then the captain of a company. The latter, who, in some respects, was not in advance of his age, took a conspicuous part in the carnage which ensued, and the gentle Spenser justified the atrocious deed with his pen. After resisting for three days, San Giuseppe, the Italian commander, hung out a flag of truce, and sent a secretary to the lord-deputy, the Lord Grey of Wilton, whom Spenser calls “a most gentle, affable, loving, and temperate lord!” to treat for grace. According to Spenser, this was flatly refused.⁴ The Irish and foreign writers assert that the Lord-deputy Grey of Wilton promised the

³ This was the unfortunate nobleman whose widow, a daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, Leicester, as mentioned above, married for his third wife.

⁴ *View of the State of Ireland*, written dialoguewise between Eudoxus and Ireneus, by Edmund Spenser, Esq., in the year 1596.

¹ Camden; *Mémoire de Nevers*; Daniel.

² Letter of Lord Talbot, in Lodge, *Illustrations*.

foreigners their lives; upon which they laid down their arms, and were all massacred in cold blood, with the exception of one Irish nobleman and a few Spanish officers; and, as veteran troops do not lay down their arms, even in extremities, without some such assurance, it may be conjectured that a promise, at least of life, was given. The English continued in that sharp course, and brought under the insurgents of Ulster and Connaught. In 1583 the Earl of Desmond, who had lain concealed for nearly three years in the wildest part of the country, was tracked and killed on his own hearth-stone by one Kelly of Moriarty, who cut off his head and sent it to Elizabeth. The earl's head was fixed upon London bridge; and for some time there was peace in Ireland.

In Scotland there was confusion, intrigue, and treachery. The Regent Morton had scourged the country with a rod of iron, plundering in all directions, tampering with the coinage, and seeking every means to enrich himself. In 1578 a convention of the nobility insisted that James, who was now in his thirteenth year, was of a proper age to govern by himself. Morton was taken by surprise, and retired, as to the best place of safety, to Lochleven Castle. About three months after, he contrived to obtain possession of the person of the young king, and to resume his authority. The Earls of Argyre and Athole raised an army—as they said, to rescue their sovereign from the captivity of the Douglases; but when a battle seemed inevitable, the English ambassador interfered, and patched up a reconciliation. Soon after, Morton gave a banquet to his adversaries; and the Earl of Athole, the chief of these, died of the dinner. And soon there ran a rumour that Morton was negotiating for the delivery of James into the hands of Elizabeth. At this moment Esmé Stuart, Lord of Aubigny, arrived from France, where he had been educated. He was the son of a second brother of the Earl of Lennox, the father of Darnley, and consequently a near relation to the young king, who at once took him into extraordinary favour. This, the first of James' many favourites, was handsome, graceful, and accomplished. His rise was proportionately rapid; he became Duke of Lennox, captain of the guard, first lord of the bedchamber, and lord high-chamberlain. But under this favourite, who knew little of Scotland, or of business of any kind, there was a minor favourite, James Stuart, commonly called Captain Stuart, the second son of Lord Ochiltree, a family which also claimed kindred with the royal house. The captain, who had a turn for treachery and intrigue equal to that of Morton, had fully resolved to work the fall of the regent; and this he achieved after many difficulties, for Morton was strong in the

prejudices and fears of the people, who were led to believe that the Duke of Lennox was an agent of the Guises, commissioned to restore the mass in Scotland. Morton had procured an act of parliament to ratify every proceeding of his regency, and to indemnify him for any illegal exercise of authority. It was, therefore, deemed imprudent to prosecute him for any part of his conduct as regent; but Morton, long before his regency, had been vehemently suspected of having a share in the murder of the king's father; and Captain Stuart, now created Earl of Arran, induced James to proceed against him on this account, alleging that the act of indemnity did not reach to the murderers, and that a sentence upon this fact would equally carry with it the forfeiture of Morton's life and of his immense wealth and wide estates, which would all fall to the poor king. The acute villain had grown somewhat dull with age; he allowed himself to be thrown into prison. Elizabeth sent down her old agent Randolph to interpose in his favour. The Prince of Orange and the Protestant King of Navarre also interfered—for Morton was deemed a sturdy Protestant, while the royal favourite, the young Duke of Lennox, was suspected of Papistry. But these representations were not regarded, and Randolph, who was found out plotting with the Earl of Angus, was obliged to flee for his life.¹ Elizabeth even collected troops near the Borders to intimidate the Scots; but this measure was met by the levying of an army in Scotland, and James was made to send a messenger to demand explicitly whether the Queen of England wished to have peace or war. Her majesty then abandoned her creature to his fate, delicately protesting that it would not become her to make war in defence of a murderer, and old Morton, after a very irregular trial,² was executed by the "maiden," a rude kind of guillotine, which he himself had introduced into Scotland a short time before. And thus perished another Regent of Scotland. A portion of the trial is interesting, as bearing upon the question of Mary's guilt or innocence. The unanimous verdict of the jury brought the prisoner in guilty of concealing, or being art and part in the murder of Henry Darnley; and it was proved pretty clearly that his kinsman and confidant Archibald Douglas, and his servant Binning, were actually employed in the murder. It was also shown that he had given a bond to Bothwell, to secure him from punishment for that deed; and a paper was produced, which was said to be Bothwell's dying declaration, and which exonerated the queen from all share in the dark transaction. Morton,

¹ The Earl of Angus was nephew to Morton.

² Morton's servants were barbarously tortured to force confessions from them.

after sentence, confessed to the ministers of the kirk that, upon his return from England, after his exile for his part in the slaughter of David Rizzio, the Earl of Bothwell and his kinsman Archibald Douglas had solicited him to take part in the projected murder of Darnley; but he affirmed that he declined so doing, unless Bothwell could produce to him the queen's sign-manual in warrant of the deed. He alleged that Bothwell had promised him to produce such an assurance; but he admitted that he *never did*, and that he never saw anything from the queen to authorize the murder. His servant Binning was executed the day after his master; but the far more guilty Archibald Douglas escaped into England.

After the death of Morton, James nominally governed the kingdom by himself; but, in fact, the whole business of the state was managed, or mis-managed, by his favourite, the young Duke of Lennox, and by James Stuart, the new Earl of Arran. The latter was as unprincipled as Morton, without his ability and experience, and his private life was outrageously dissolute. He soon commenced an intrigue for the overthrow of the young Duke of Lennox, who had first put him in the way of court promotion; and the course

he adopted speedily brought about the ruin both of his patron and of himself. At this moment the Catholics of England turned an anxious eye to the north, not only hoping that James, now that he was relieved from Morton, would make some exertions for his afflicted mother, but also that he might be won over, if not to their church, to a toleration of it; and his feelings in this respect would be of no small importance, as they saw that he would in all probability succeed to the English throne. Active intrigues were set on foot under the main direction of Parsons, the Jesuit, Waytes, an English Catholic clergyman, and Creighton, a Scottish Jesuit. But it was stated by, or for the king, that he was in a state of extreme poverty, and that, unless he were relieved and succoured from abroad, he must of necessity submit to the will of Elizabeth. Parsons flew to Spain, Creighton to Rome: Philip made James a present of 12,000 crowns; the pope promised 4000 crowns. Mary was made privy to the intrigue, and she offered, upon certain conditions, to legalize James's irregular accession. The English court was no stranger to what was passing, nor to the new conspiracy

which ensued. The Earl of Gowrie, a son of the murderous Ruthven, invited James to his castle at Ruthven. The unsuspecting king accepted his invitation, and found himself a close prisoner. Then the authority of the state fell to the Earl of Mar, the Master of Glamis, the Lord Oliphant, and others, supported by the preachers, who proclaimed to their congregations that there had been a plot on foot to restore the mass and Queen Mary. Arran was taken and thrown into a dungeon; Lennox fled to France, where he died soon after. When the news of her son's captivity reached Mary, she foresaw nothing less than his



RUTHVEN CASTLE.—Billings' Antiquities of Scotland.

absolute ruin or murder, and putting her own griefs out of consideration, she wrote a letter full of maternal tenderness and anxiety to Elizabeth, imploring her to interfere and save her only child. But Elizabeth was well satisfied with what had taken place, and she now left the affairs of Scotland to themselves. But the lords had never contemplated the violent measures which had suggested themselves to the affrighted imagination of a mother, and James, boy as he was, was their match, at least in dissimulation. He duped his jailers into a belief that he forgave what had been done; he recovered his liberty, summoned a convention, and resumed the exercise of his authority, having formally pardoned all concerned in the "Raid of Ruthven."

All this called for fresh precautions on the part of Elizabeth, who sent down her dexterous minister Walsingham. Intrigues almost inexplicable followed in rapid succession, and the English court was kept in an unceasing agony of alarm by reports of foreign invasions and inroads across the Borders, insurrections at home, plots against the queen's life, English St. Bartholomews. In this state Elizabeth gave full course to the penal code against the Catholics, which had been made

more and more severe, and to the fears and fanaticism of her Protestant subjects. Spies and informers were let loose till the land swarmed with them: the adherents to the old faith were incessantly harrassed, cast into prison on vague suspicions, ruined in their property and prospects. The conduct of government towards the Catholics somewhat resembled the brutal pranks of a set of boys who drive and torment a dog until he is mad, and then shoot him for being dangerous. And yet, after all, no dangerous Catholic conspiracy was ever traced to any great or powerful number of English subjects—was never brought home to the doors of any but a few fanatics and inveterate plotters who had caught the infection of the times, when the ordinary proceedings of governments looked more like plots and intrigues than state business. Every man was tempted to work destruction on his personal enemy by the ease of the process with which he could accuse him of being unsound in religion and disaffected in politics. In this way Arden, a gentleman of an ancient family in Warwickshire, was sacrificed to the revenge of his neighbour, Leicester. Arden's son-in-law, Somerville, and Hall, a missionary priest, and Arden's wife, were convicted of a conspiracy upon evidence extracted by the rack. Somerville strangled himself, or was strangled by others, in Newgate. Arden suffered the horrible death of a traitor. Hall, the priest, who had confessed on the rack, was suffered to live. Before this time Campion, an English Jesuit, who had been lurking in England, was put to the rack. He confessed nothing but the writing and distributing of works in favour of the Church of Rome, nor does it appear that he was charged with any conspiracy, but he was executed with three priests named Sherwood, Kirby, and Bryant. Notwithstanding the prevailing fanaticism and panic which held in suspense all the generous feelings of the nation, people began to murmur at the frequent and increasing use of torture; and Burghley found it expedient to defend himself against public opinion. He protested that the Jesuit Campion had been racked *so gently* that he was soon after able to walk about and sign his confession.¹ Elizabeth did more: she proclaimed that torture should cease:

but it ceased only in this specious proclamation—in reality it became more active than ever. As the vile trade of an informer was a profitable one, many ingenious individuals took it up; and there was a wonderful increase of intercepted letters, forged documents, and lists found hid in Catholic houses—found, we believe, in three cases out of four, by those who had put them there—by the agents of the government. Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, son of the late Duke of Norfolk (one of the poor orphans for whom he had so implored and prayed), grew up a moody, melancholy man, and became a convert to Catholicism. From that moment he had been allowed no rest. To escape imprisonments and questionings, and the fate of his father and his grandfather, who had both suffered on the block, he resolved to quit his country, and, at the moment of departure, he wrote an affecting letter, which was to be delivered to the queen when he should be out of her reach. But some of his own servants, and the master of the vessel in which he intended to seek an asylum abroad, *were in the pay of Burghley*, and on their timely information he was seized on the coast of Sussex, brought up to London, and consigned to the Tower, where he died some years after in a miserable condition. Before his committal, the Earl of Northumberland, the brother of the last earl, beheaded at York, had destroyed himself by discharging three pistol-bullets into his left breast in order to baulk Queen Elizabeth of the forfeiture of his lands. He had been accused of conspiring to liberate Queen Mary.² Passing over many other victims, we proceed to the Throckmorton plot, which was detected by the court, or invented by it, in 1584. Francis Throckmorton, a gentleman of Cheshire, was arrested on the evidence of an intercepted letter written by one Morgan, a supposed adherent of the Queen of Scots, though an agent of Burghley's, who was in France, and who, according to this letter, informed him that Mary's nephew, the Duke of Guise, was now ready to invade England for the purpose of liberating his relative. It was proved beyond a doubt that no such preparation existed in France; but that was nothing. Throckmorton was laid upon the rack: he was silent under the first torture; he was racked

¹ Somers' *Tracts*.

² An historical doubt may be fairly raised whether this unfortunate Percy committed suicide or was assassinated. A dag or pistol was a sort of instrument not commonly left in the hands of a state prisoner in the Tower. To prove the suicide, government brought forward one Mullan, who affirmed that he had sold a dag to the earl; and another state prisoner, named Panton, who said that he saw it delivered into the hands of the earl by a servant of the name of Price. But this Price, though in custody, was not produced.—Howell's *State Trials*.

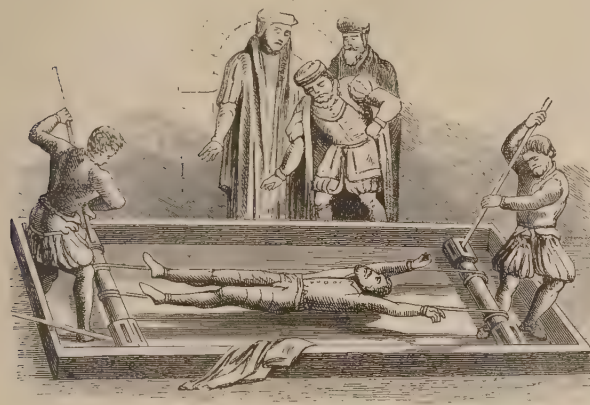
According to Camden, the Catholics did not believe in the suicide, but cast some doubts and suspicion upon a servant of Sir Christopher Hatton, which servant had been charged with

the custody of the Earl of Northumberland just before his death. In a letter—an informal letter—written at a later period, by Sir Walter Raleigh to Burghley's son, Sir Robert Cecil, recommending him to get the Earl of Essex put out of the way, and not to fear after revenge from the earl's son, Raleigh says, "Northumberland that now is thinks not of Hatton's issue. Kelloway lives that murdered the brother of Orsay, and Orsay let him go by all his lifetime."—*Burghley Papers*.

If this be not an assuming as a fact known both to Raleigh and to Sir Robert Cecil that the Earl of Northumberland had been murdered by the contrivance of Hatton, we are wonderfully mistaken. As we have seen, so foul a deed could find more than one parallel at this period.

again, and was still silent; he was tortured a third time, and still confessed not. He was led a fourth time to the rack, and then certain papers were exhibited to him which were said to have been discovered in his house and then the

had received consecration from the Bishop of Rome. Forty days were allowed them to quit the kingdom for ever: if found after that term they were to die the death of traitors; and all those who concealed them, or gave them hospi-



THE RACK.—Fox's Acts and Monuments.

wretched man made some confessions in which he implicated Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador. Burghley summoned the ambassador before the privy council, and charged him with practising against the state. Mendoza indignantly repelled the charge, and retorted by accusing Burghley of robbing his master King Philip; of encouraging the rebellious subjects of Spain; and, amongst other things, he charged a certain counsellor of her majesty with having engaged the brother of a certain lord to murder Don John of Austria. The ambassador was sent out of the kingdom. Throckmorton, after a strange trial, was sent to the gallows and the executioner's knife at Tyburn. On the scaffold he declared that there had been no conspiracy, and (calling God to witness) that the confession he had made was a mere fiction invented to save his body from further torture. The Lords Paget and Charles Arundel, who had been named in the intercepted letter, had escaped into France, whence they put forth a declaration stating that they had fled because they feared Leicester and Walsingham, and because they knew that their innocence would not avail them against forged letters.

A.D. 1584. In the autumn of this year Elizabeth summoned a new parliament; for, notwithstanding her thrift, she was deplorably in want of money. The commons voted liberally, and at the same time they passed fresh penal statutes against the Catholics. The blow was principally directed against the Jesuits, the seminary priests, and all English priests who

would be held as being guilty of felony. All persons knowing of such priests being within the realm, and not discovering them within twelve days, were to be fined and imprisoned. The English Catholics, having no schools allowed to them at home, had of late years sent their sons abroad for education, more especially to the college of Douay, a large establishment conducted by the Jesuits, who had obtained great reputation as teachers; but it was now enacted that all such students abroad as did not return home within six months after proclamation made should be deemed traitors; that all who furnished

them with money should incur a premunire; that parents sending their children to such seminaries without license should forfeit £100; and that the children there educated should be disinherited.¹

The Catholics presented a petition against the late enactments, vindicating their loyalty and their religion—declaring that they utterly abhorred all such projects of assassination as had recently been spoken of—and held that neither priest nor pope could license that which was sinful. Richard Shelley, of Michael Grove, in Sussex, undertook to present this petition to the queen, who forthwith committed him to prison, where he died after a confinement of some years. The captive Queen of Scots, who saw herself altogether abandoned by her only child, now thought that every night would be her last. What seemed to aim at her life was an association recently entered into, called the Protestant Association, against all the enemies of Queen Elizabeth. The members of it solemnly swore to defend the queen, and to revenge her death or any injury committed against her. Leicester was at the head of it, and it had been confirmed by parliament.

The state of Elizabeth's foreign relations at this time was altogether anomalous. There was and there had been no declaration of war with Spain, but yet, ever since 1570, when the great Drake obtained a regular commission,² that com-

¹ Statute 27 Elizabeth, c. 2.

² The buccaneers had commenced operations as early as 1530.

mander and others who followed his example had been plundering in the West Indies, in Spanish America, and in the Pacific. The right which Spain assumed of considering the New World as treasure-trove, and of excluding from its commerce the ships of all other nations, was indeed monstrous; but, on the other hand, it will be difficult to consider Drake, Hawkins, and the rest, in any other light than that of buccaneers, however much we may admire their daring spirit, and the great contributions they made in the course of their marauding expeditions to the sciences of



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.—After a picture in the collection of the Marquis of Lothian.

navigation and geography. Drake, in the course of three expeditions, had plundered the Spanish towns of Nombre de Dios and Cartagena, and nearly all the towns on the coast of Chili and Peru, and had destroyed or taken an immense number of Spanish ships, returning from each voyage with immense booty. Elizabeth insisted that she and other nations had a right to navigate those seas, and to visit the ports which the jealousy of the Spaniards kept closed to all save their own flag, and that it was contrary to the laws of nations to treat intruders as pirates; but there being no declaration of war, she certainly committed in this way manifold acts of real piracy. Again, in the Netherlands, the King of Spain was everywhere met by English money and English resources, which had enabled those whom he termed his revolted subjects to prolong the struggle year after year. For a long time Elizabeth furnished her aid with all possible secrecy, denying to the Spanish court that she ever abetted rebels. But the course of events forced her to

adopt a more open practice; and though she again declined the sovereignty or protectorship of the country, she, in 1585, sent over a royal army of 6000 men, having bargained with the States that they should pay all expenses, and deliver to her, as securities, the town of Brill and Flushing, and Rammekins, a strong and important fort. The queen's passionate regard for Leicester had cooled since the revelation of his secret marriage with the Countess of Essex; and that earl was now permitted to take the command of the army in the Netherlands, where he entertained very ambitious projects, and displayed a woful want both of military and civil ability. Without consulting his mistress, he induced the States to name him Governor-general of the Low Countries, and to declare his authority supreme and absolute, jointly with the council of state. Elizabeth wrote to him in a fury, telling him to remember the dust from which she had raised him, and to do whatever she might command as he valued his neck. The States, who had thought to please the queen by elevating her favourite, were in great perplexity, and Leicester soon showed them, in other ways, that they had committed a lamentable mistake in intrusting a sovereign power to such an incapable, arrogant, and insolent man, whose first operations were to cramp the freedom of commerce, which had given life and energy to the insurgents. In the field he was pompous, vain-glorious, and inefficient, presenting a wretched contrast to Alexander Farnese, the Prince of Parma, who still prolonged the struggle for Spain with remarkable generalship. He carefully avoided a battle, and his greatest affair of arms was an attack upon Zutphen, which failed, and which would scarcely deserve a mention in history but for the death of the gallant and accomplished Sir Philip Sidney, who perished there in the twenty-fifth year of his age.¹ The best-managed part of Leicester's campaign was his hunting all Catholics from places of profit and trust, and his captivating the Calvinistic preachers of the Low Countries by such measures, and by a very sanctimonious bearing. When the States ventured to call him to account for his gross misconduct, this noble grandson of a tax-gatherer and extortioner² promised redress, but complained to his creatures that one of his rank should be questioned by shopkeepers and artisans.³ In the winter of 1586, having pacified the queen, he returned to England, still, however, retaining the power intrusted to him in the Low Countries.

By this time there began to rise a rumour that the King of Spain was preparing to invade Eng-

¹ Sir Philip Sidney was nephew to Leicester, but as unlike his uncle as light to darkness.

² For the history of Leicester's grandfather, Dudley, the colleague of Empson, see vol. I., reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.

³ Grotius.

Drake himself had commanded several marauding expeditions before, but he did not get the queen's commission till 1570.

QUEEN ELIZABETH KNIGHTING
ADMIRAL DRAKE.

One of the most notable features in the reign of Queen Elizabeth was the number of daring sea-captains who sprang into fame. The foremost of these, perhaps, was Francis Drake. He was born in Devonshire about 1540, learned his seamanship in a coasting vessel, and made his first venture to the Spanish Main under the flag of his kinsman, Sir John Hawkins. Then he fitted out two small ships of his own, with which he captured Nombre de Dios and Vera Cruz, and the rich booty which they contained. Subsequently he sailed with five ships, in which he passed through the Straits of Magellan, plundered the Spanish ports along the coast of Chili and Peru, crossed the Pacific, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived in Plymouth, after a most adventurous voyage round the world. *The Spaniards having protested loudly against his plundering acts on this expedition, Queen Elizabeth was at a loss how to receive her bold Admiral, but she settled the matter by visiting his ship, the "Golden Hind", at Deptford, on the deck of which she made him a knight.* How well he deserved this honour was shown afterwards in the great fight with the Spanish Armada.



QUEEN ELIZABETH KNIGHTING DRAKE.

FROM A DRAWING BY MR. JOHN GILBERT RA.

land with a tremendous force, and some Catholic plot or other at home was the news of every day. Most—nearly every one—of these conspiracies were conjured up by the imagination, or were altogether obscure and insignificant; but, in the autumn of 1586, a real plot was discovered, at the head of which was Anthony Babington, a young English Catholic of an enthusiastic temper, who was brought to consider that it would be glorious in this world and acceptable in the next if he could assassinate Elizabeth and deliver Queen Mary from a captivity which was now rendered an unceasing torture, physically as well as morally. Babington had several accomplices, and one of these, named Pooley, put himself in direct communication with Walsingham, who was informed of every particular, from the first rude arrangement of the scheme, and who permitted the plot to go on in order to implicate Mary. When he had played with the numerous threads of this intrigue for months, and had woven a complete web round the conspirators, he opened the subject to Elizabeth, and soon after proceeded to act. Ballard, a seminary priest, whom Camden calls “a silken priest in a soldier’s habit,” was suddenly arrested. Babington and the rest, who were all young men of fortune and acquirements, fled; but Babington was taken in a few days, at Harrow-on-the-Hill, with Gage, Charnock, Barnwell, and Don, in the house of Bellamy, their common friend. Titchborn, Travers, Abington, Salisbury, Jones, and Tilney were seized in other places, and of the whole number only Edward Windsor, the brother of Lord Windsor, escaped pursuit. These were no base and mercenary conspirators—they were such high-spirited and intellectual young men as could not have been easily matched in the kingdom. But it appears that they were all put to the rack, or at least threatened with it; a gratuitous atrocity, for Walsingham, Burghley, and the queen knew precisely all that could possibly be known of the business. While this was doing the bells of London rang merrily for their apprehension—bonfires were lit—and on the morrow, banquets were spread in the streets, with singing of psalms and praising God for preserving her majesty and people.¹ The fate of the prisoners, however, on account of their youth, their honourable condition in society, and their previously unimpeached characters, excited some commiseration, and this seems to have been the cause of the government arraigning them not all at once, but in two separate bodies, notwithstanding the great legal objection that their case was one and indivisible. On the 13th of September, certain of them being put upon their

trial were condemned as traitors, and executed on the 20th, with a scrupulous attention to the atrocious processes prescribed by law, being all cut down while life was in them. The other seven were tried on the 15th and were all executed on the 21st, but, in this more fortunate than their companions, they were allowed to hang till they were dead. The place selected for their execution was Lincoln’s Inn Fields, “even the place where they had used to meet and confer.”² With the exception of Babington, it seems to be extremely doubtful whether any of these gentlemen contemplated the murder of the queen; and, with the single exception of Babington, all of them behaved chivalrously and nobly, endeavouring to take blame to themselves rather than cast it upon their companions. Most of them maintained that their views were confined to liberating the captive queen, a project likely to take firm hold of young and romantic minds. Bellamy of Harrow appears to have suffered merely because some of the fugitives were found in his house. His wife escaped through a misnomer in the indictment. A statute had been just passed to meet the case, and to bring Mary to the block;³ and as what was deemed evidence against her had been secured from the Babington conspiracy, Elizabeth’s council now proposed an immediate trial of the Scottish queen. But even now Elizabeth hesitated, to the dismay and secret wrath of Burghley, Walsingham, Sadler, and the rest of the ministry. At this moment Leicester, who was abroad, stepped in with what he considered a masterpiece of advice, proposing a little quiet poison. Walsingham, who had the chief management of the affair, objected to such a course as being contrary to God’s law; upon which the earl sent him a canting preacher to prove that such means against such a person were quite justifiable by Scripture. There was then a talk of shortening the captive’s life by increasing the rigour of her treatment, which, in fact, had already been rigorous enough to make a sickly cripple of that once healthful and beautiful woman. At last, giving herself up entirely to the advice of Walsingham, Elizabeth issued a commission to try Mary and pronounce judgment upon her according to the act recently passed. There was no want of high names or of legal

¹ *Stow.* The Protestant people of London were so excited that the French Ambassador was afraid they would set upon and massacre all the Catholics and foreigners!

² *Stow.*

³ Statute 27 Eliz. c. 1. By this statute it was enacted that twenty-four or more of the privy council and House of Lords, to be deputed by the queen’s commission, should make inquiry after all such as should invade the kingdom, raise rebellion, or attempt to hurt or destroy the queen’s person, for or by whomsoever employed that might lay claim to the crown of England; and that the person for whom or by whom they should attempt the same, should be utterly incapable of the crown of England, deprived wholly of all right and title to it, and prosecuted to death by all faithful subjects, if he or she should be judged by those four-and-twenty men to be a party to such invasion, rebellion, or treasonable attempt.

authorities in this most illegal commission. There were the Chancellor Bromley, the Lord-treasurer Burghley, the Earls of Oxford, Kent, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Cumberland, Warwick, Pembroke, and Lincoln; the Viscount Montague, the Lords Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Stafford, Grey, Lumley, Stourton, Sandys, Wentworth, Mordant, St. John of Bletsoe, Compton, and Cheney; Sir James Croft, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sir Amyas Paulet; Wray, chief-justice of the Common Pleas; Anderson, chief-justice of the King's Bench; Manwood, chief baron of the exchequer; and Gawdy, one of the justices of the Common Pleas.

Mary had been moved from one prison to another, each remove being to a worse place, and to a harsher keeper. In the spring of the preceding year, Sir Ralph Sadler had been appointed to take charge of her, to his own great grief;

for Elizabeth had become so much alarmed, that no degree of vigilance and severity towards the captive could satisfy her. There was a sort of poetical justice in what happened. Sir Ralph's old age was made wretched through the Scottish queen, whose power he had undermined by matchless intrigues in her infancy, and he prayed for death to deliver him from his difficult charge and his mistress's jealousy. He was superseded by Sir Amyas Paulet and Sir Drew Drury, both fanatical Puritans, and friends of the Earl of Leicester. About Christmas they had carried her, in a deplorable state both of body and mind, to Chartley Castle, in Staffordshire. On the 8th of August, a few days before the arrest of Babington, she was taken from Chartley, under pretext of an airing, and carried by force to Tixhall, in the same county. She was carried back to Chartley in a few weeks; but, in the interval, her two faithful secretaries, Naue and Curle, had been taken into custody and conveyed to Walsingham's house, where they were kept; her cabinets at Chartley had been broken open, and a large chest had been filled from them with letters and papers, and conveyed to Walsingham. On the 10th of December, Paulet discharged what he called Mary's superfluous servants, and seized all her money and jewels. Mary resisted at first; "but," he says, "I called my servants, and sent for bars to break open the doors, whereupon she yielded." According to the jailer's own account,

he found her in bed, suffering greatly, and being bereft of the use of one of her hands.¹ A few days after the execution of Babington and the twelve other victims, orders were sent down to Sir Amyas Paulet to remove Mary with all possible care and vigilance from Chartley to Fotheringay Castle, in Northamptonshire, the last scene



FOTHERINGAY CHURCH, WITH SITE OF THE CASTLE.²—Whalley's Northamptonshire.

of the captive's sufferings. There had been for some time a standing order to shoot the prisoner if she were found trying to escape, or if any dangerous attempt at rescue should be made. Paulet again pretended that nothing more was meant than to revive the queen by giving her a change of air; but, avoiding the public roads, he led her about from one gentleman's house to another, and Mary knew not whither she was going until, at last, she saw herself shut up within the dismal walls of Fotheringay. When Elizabeth learned that she was safely lodged there, her gratitude burst forth in an unusual enthusiasm to the able manager of the journey. "Amyas, my most faithful and careful servant," wrote the queen to the jailer, "God Almighty reward thee treblefold for thy most troublesome charge so well discharged!" Shortly after, Paulet received orders, "in case he heard any noise or disturbance in Mary's lodgings, or in the place where she was," to kill her outright, without waiting for any further power or command. Before the trial, as

¹ Letter from Sir Amyas Paulet to Walsingham, quoted by Raumer. At this moment we find Walsingham lamenting, as Burghley had done some years before, that Elizabeth was not prepared to do things in season, and work her own security as she ought; and he adds, "Our sins do deserve this, especially our unthankfulness for the great and singular benefits it hath pleased God to bless this land withal."

² Fotheringay Castle was demolished by order of James I. It stood on the eminence to the right of the church; and, according to tradition, the hall in which Queen Mary was beheaded stood on its left.

after it, Elizabeth would have preferred any kind of death to that of an execution under her own warrant. But though Mary had a narrow escape one night when the chimney of her wretched dungeon took fire, she lived on. At length, on the 11th of October, thirty-six of the English commissioners arrived at Fotheringay Castle; and on the following day they sent Sir Walter Mildmay, Paulet, and Barker, a public notary, to deliver to the prisoner a letter from Elizabeth, charging her with being accessory to the Babington conspiracy, and informing her that they were appointed to try her for that and for other treasons. Mary read the letter with composure, and replied, with great dignity, to the commissioners, that it grieved her to find her dear sister misinformed; that she had been kept in prison until she was deprived of the use of her limbs, notwithstanding her having repeatedly offered reasonable and safe conditions for her liberty; that she had given her majesty full and faithful notice of several dangers which threatened her, and yet had found no credit, but had always been slighted and despised, though so nearly allied to her majesty in blood; that when the Protestant association was entered into, and the confirming act of parliament made upon it, she clearly foresaw that, whatever dangers should arise, either from princes abroad, or ill-disposed people at home, or for the sake of religion, the whole blame would be thrown upon her; that it seemed most strange that the queen should command her, her equal, to submit to a trial as a subject; that she was an independent queen, and one that would do nothing that might be prejudicial to her own majesty or to her son's rights; that her mind would not sink under the present calamity. "The laws and statutes of England," continued Mary, "are unknown to me; I am void of counsellors, and cannot tell who shall be my peers. My notes and papers are taken from me, and no one dares appear to be my advocate. I have committed nothing against the queen—have stirred up no man against her, and am not to be charged but from my own words or writings, which I am sure cannot be produced against me. Yet I cannot deny that I have recommended myself and my condition to foreign princes." On the next day, Paulet and Barker returned to her from the commissioners, to ask whether she persisted in her answer. She replied that she did most firmly. "But this," added she, "I had quite forgotten: the queen says I am subject to the laws of England, and to be tried and judged by them, because I am under the protection of them. But to this I answer, that I came into England to demand her aid and assistance, and have ever since been detained a prisoner, so that I could not enjoy the protection of the laws of England; nor could I

ever yet understand what manner of laws they were."¹ In the afternoon of the same day there went to her certain selected persons from among the commissioners, "with men learned in the civil and canon laws," to persuade her to a compliance. The Lord-chancellor Bromley and the Lord-treasurer Burghley justified their authority by their patent and commission; told her that neither her state as a prisoner, nor her prerogative as a queen, could exempt her from subjection to the laws of England, and threatened, if she refused to plead, to proceed against her, although she were absent. She replied, with undiminished firmness, that she was no subject, nor liable to English law; that she would rather die a thousand deaths than dishonour herself by any such submission; that, however, she was willing to answer all things in a free and full parliament; and that, as for this meeting, it might probably be devised against her, who was already pre-judged to die, to give some legal show and colour to their proceedings; and, therefore, she desired they would look to their consciences, and remember that the theatre of the whole world is much wider than the kingdom of England.² She then complained, in a touching manner, of her hard usage; but Burghley interrupted her, assuring her that the queen his mistress had always treated her with a rare kindness! A few hours after, they sent her the list of the names of her judges, "to let her see they designed to proceed by equity and reason." Although nearly every name was that of an inveterate enemy, she made no exceptions against the commissioners, which would have been useless; but—what was equally useless—she objected strongly to the late act, upon which their commission was founded, as being unjust and unprecedented, and purposely contrived to ruin her. She said that she could not away with the queen's laws, which she had good reason to suspect; but that she was heart-whole still, and would not derogate from the honour of her ancestors, the Kings of Scotland, by owning herself a subject to the crown of England, and that she would rather perish utterly than answer as the queen's subject and a criminal person. Here Burghley interrupted her, saying, "We will, nevertheless, proceed against you to-morrow, as absent and contumax." Mary replied, "Look to your consciences." Then the perfumed and court-like Vice-chamberlain Hatton said, "If you are innocent you have nothing to fear; but by seeking to avoid a trial, you stain your reputation with an everlasting blot." This timely speech made a great impression, and on the following morning Mary consented to plead for the sake of her reputation, but on condition that her protest against the authority of the court should

¹ Camden, *Life and Reign of Elizabeth*.² Ibid

be allowed. Burghley asked her if she would appear at her trial, provided her protest was entered in writing, without being fully admitted by them. Here Mary ought to have replied with a decided negative; but, in reality, protest or no protest was of the slightest consequence; and as they had threatened to proceed in her absence, and as they could easily force a weak and helpless woman to their bar, the queen consented.

On the 14th of October the commissioners assembled in the presence-chamber of Fotheringay Castle. At the upper end of this hall was a vacant chair of state, royally canopied, as if for the Queen of England, and "below it, and at some distance over against," was a chair without any canopy, for the Queen of Scots. The commissioners and their assistants, including the most expert lawyers of the day, sat upon benches placed towards the wall on either side of the apartment. Mary had no assistant—no papers—no witnesses; for everything had been taken from her: and yet, even according to the prejudiced accounts of her enemies, she displayed wonderful self-possession and address; and, in the striking words of a modern, and perhaps too favourable historian, she for two whole days kept at bay the hunters of her life.¹ Upon her first entrance, as soon as she had taken her seat, the Chancellor Bromley told her that the most serene Queen Elizabeth, being informed, to her great grief and trouble of mind, that she had conspired the destruction of her person and of the realm of England, and the subversion of religion, had appointed this present commission to hear how she could vindicate herself from the charge, and make her innocence appear to the world. Mary then rose, and said, that she had come into England as a friend and sister, to ask the aid which had been promised her, and had ever since been detained a prisoner; and then she repeated her protest against the authority of the court. The chancellor denied that any aid had been promised her; but there he stopped, not venturing to explain, promise or no promise, by what law Elizabeth had constituted her a state prisoner, or attempt to lessen the odium which had been cast on the national hospitality. But he told her that, as she had been living in England, she was subject to the English laws, and that therefore her protest could not be admitted. It was, however, agreed that her protest should be recorded, together with the chancellor's reply to it. They then read their commission at full length, and, as it was wholly founded upon the late act, she again protested against the said act as being made expressly against herself. Burghley, who would have had the grass growing over her grave many years before, told her that the val-

dity of laws and acts of parliament did not depend upon their antiquity—that new laws were as good as old ones, and equally binding—that it did not become her to speak against them—and that, in spite of her protests, they were all resolved to proceed against her by that said act of parliament. Mary said that she was ready to hear and answer concerning any fact against Queen Elizabeth. Then Gawdy, the queen's serjeant, opened the case against her with an historical account of Babington's conspiracy; asserting, at the close of his oration, that she knew of it, approved it, assented to it, promised her assistance, and showed the way and means for effecting it. When the serjeant had done speaking, sundry copies of letters which were said to have been written to her by Babington, and by her to Babington and others, were produced. According to these second-hand documents, which contained a scheme of the whole conspiracy, the captive queen had not only invited foreign powers to the invasion of England, but had also encouraged Babington and his associates to assassinate their sovereign. During the reading of these letters Mary was calm; but when, in the last letter, mention was made of the unfortunate Earl of Arundel, the son of the Duke of Norfolk, she burst into tears, and said, "Alas! what has the noble house of Howard endured for my sake!" But, presently drying her tears, she replied to this part of the evidence, declaring that she knew not Babington, nor ever received any such letters from him, nor wrote any such to him—that they who pretended that she had written to Babington ought to produce her letters in her own hand-writing, and that if Babington wrote letters to her they ought to prove that she received them. There was, indeed, she said, a packet of letters put into her hand about the time alleged, but they had been written almost a year before, and she knew not who sent them. She said that many persons, compassionating her hard fate, had secretly made her offers of service, but that she neither excited nor encouraged any of these, though she, a close prisoner, cut off from the world, and for long periods from all knowledge of what was passing in it, could not hinder their enterprises. She was not answerable for the deeds of others. She had, indeed, used her best endeavours for the recovery of her liberty, as nature itself dictated and allowed; and to this end she had solicited the assistance of her friends. Others might have attempted dangerous designs without her knowledge; and it was an easy matter to counterfeit ciphers and characters. Although she denied prompting an invasion of England, she was less emphatic on that point than on the accusation of being privy to the plot against Elizabeth's life: here she vowed repeatedly that she would never

¹ Dr. Lingard.

make shipwreck of her soul by engaging in such a bloody crime. In reply to a letter said to have been written by her to provoke an invasion, she declared that she suspected Walsingham as the author of that letter; and Walsingham, in fact, had handled every letter in his own way.¹ But the bronzed secretary stood up in his place, and solemnly called God to witness that he had done nothing in malice, nothing unworthy of an honest man: and no doubt he thought that an honest man might do more than he had ever done for the sake of the queen and the Protestant settlement. The greatest weight of evidence was made to lie in the confession of Babington, and the extorted depositions of her own servants, Naue and Curle. In regard to Babington, she objected that, if her adversaries had wished to discover the truth, they would have kept him for a witness, instead of putting him to death—that his confession, if really made in the manner now set forth, was of no value, as it might have been dictated by the hope of mercy: as to the secretaries, she replied that Naue was a simple and timid man, and that Curle was the follower of Naue; their depositions might have proceeded from their anxiety to save their own lives. Naue, she said, had formerly committed the offence of writing certain things in her name without her authority. She demanded to be confronted with her two secretaries: the commissioners refused to produce them. Then Mary urged that the majesty and safety of princes must fall to the ground if they were to depend in this manner upon the writing and testimony of secretaries—that she was sure, if Naue and Curle were there present, they would clear her of all blame in this case—that if they had not taken away all her notes and papers, she might answer more particularly to what was objected. There was another and a strong objection to the testimony of Naue and Curle, even if their depositions were free and ungarbled: they had both been sworn, as secretaries, to keep her secrets: if they had accused her truly they had perjured themselves to her; if falsely, they perjured themselves to the Queen of England.² The prosecutors read the heads of several letters, addressed to the lately expelled Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, and to Sir Francis Englefield, Charles Paget, and other Englishmen abroad, among whom was one Morgan, who had all along been in the pay of Walsingham. We have no doubt, in our own minds, that the captive queen,

in her despair, wrote letters of this kind, approving of a plan of invasion, and offering to contribute to its success, by inducing her friends in Scotland to take up arms, to seize the person of James, and to prevent Elizabeth's friends from sending Scottish troops to her assistance; and it is quite certain, from the perfect machinery he had at work, that Walsingham might obtain possession both of her despatches and of the letters written to her from abroad. It was not, however, considered decent to explain the nature of this machinery, and it was alleged that the original drafts of these despatches and the foreign letters were all found amongst her papers at Chartley—a most improbable circumstance, considering the situation of Mary, liable every moment to intrusion and seizure. And yet some of these letters from abroad, garbled as they might have been, went rather to disprove than to prove Mary's actual participation in the plots against Elizabeth's life. In regard to the whole of them, Mary said that they bore no relation to the destruction of the queen; and, if foreigners endeavoured to set her at liberty, that was not to be imputed to her as a crime: she had at several times let the queen know that she would seek to procure her release from that hard captivity in which she had been kept for nearly twenty years. The commissioners insisted that it was fully proved, by some short passages in letters she had written to Mendoza, that there was a design on her part to convey her right in the English succession to the King of Spain. To this charge she replied, that being a close prisoner, oppressed with cares and deprived of all hope of liberty, and daily declining through sickness and sorrow, she had been advised by some to settle the succession upon the Spaniard, or upon some English Catholic; and that she had given offence to some of her friends by refusing to approve of any such scheme. "But," she added, "when all my hopes of England became desperate, I resolved not to reject foreign help." She again desired that her papers and her secretaries Naue and Curle might be produced, and this was again refused: she requested an adjournment, with the aid of counsel, and this was refused. She again demanded to be heard in full parliament, or that she might speak with the queen in council in person. The commissioners, who had received fresh instructions from Elizabeth, would grant nothing; but the chief of them, including

¹ Some of the letters were widely different now from what they had been when produced on Babington's trial at London.

² Curle afterwards reproached Walsingham with breaking his promise, and not giving him the proper reward. Naue, in 1605, wrote an apology, which would certainly have more weight if Mary's son James, to whom it was addressed, had not been King of England, with ample powers both to punish and reward. "The sentence," says Camden, "which depended wholly upon

the credit of her secretaries, and they not being brought face to face, according to the act of parliament, begot much talk and various discourses among the people." "I have seen," he adds, "Naue's apology to King James, in 1605, wherein he solemnly excused himself that he was neither the author nor the revealer of the design, and that he had stoutly opposed the principal articles of accusation against his mistress, which appeareth not by the proceedings."

Burghley, Walsingham, and Hatton, took her apart from the rest—she rising up, “with great presence of countenance,” says Camden—and spoke to her for some time. During this secret conference Mary was observed to be much agitated. The commissioners then adjourned the assembly to the 25th of October, then to meet not in presence of the prisoner, nor in Fotheringay Castle, but in the Star Chamber at Westminster.

On the appointed day the commissioners, with the exception of the Earls of Warwick and Shrewsbury, assembled in the Star Chamber, to which other lords were summoned. They *now* brought before them Naue and Curle, who affirmed upon oath, and as it was expressed, “only in respect of the truth, frankly and voluntarily, without any torture, constraint, or threatening,” that the letters, and copies of letters, before mentioned, were genuine and true; and that all was true which they had before confessed and subscribed. This over, without any further ceremony, the court pronounced sentence against Mary, daughter of James V., commonly called Queen of Scotland; “for that since the conclusion of the session of parliament, viz., since the 1st day of June, in the twenty-seventh year of her majesty’s reign, and before the date of the commission, divers matters have been compassed and imagined within this realm of England by Anthony Babington and others, with the privity of the said Mary, pretending a title to the crown of this realm of England, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the royal person of our lady the queen: and also for that the aforesaid Mary, pretending a title to the crown, hath herself compassed and imagined within this realm divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the royal person of her sovereign lady the queen, contrary to the form of the statute in the commission aforesaid specified.”¹

Mary clearly foresaw that the departure of the commissioners from Fotheringay would be followed by the arrival of the executioner; and she told Sir Amyas Paulet that history made mention how the realm of England was used to shed royal blood. But though Elizabeth had procured a sentence, she paused at the prospect of the block, being resolved, as was usual with her, to make the weight of blood seem to fall upon others. And there were others, including the highest names in the kingdom, and among the representatives of the people, who seemed quite ready to take the burden upon their own consciences. On the 29th of October, four days after the passing of the sentence, the parliament as-

sembled, and on the 12th of November both houses, addressing the queen, implored her to give orders for the immediate execution of the Queen of Scots. Mr. Serjeant Puckering, the speaker, in name of the commons, pointed out the very dangerous consequences of sparing any longer the life of that wicked woman. He then quoted examples from the Bible of rulers who had incurred the vengeance of the Almighty by showing mercy to their enemies, as Saul, who had saved King Agag, and Ahab, who had preserved Benhadad. The speaker ended by saying that they relied upon her princely resolution, and that they accounted the execution as a thing that would be unto God most acceptable. Elizabeth commenced her reply by expressing gratitude for the special care which Providence had taken of her, and by asserting that her nature was so devoid of malice, that even now, although she had been convicted of treason, if she thought Mary would repent, and her emissaries not pursue their designs—or, that if they were two milk-maids, with pails upon their arms, and it was merely a question which involved her own life without endangering the religion and welfare of her people—she would most willingly pardon all her offences. She then pathetically declared that if, by her own death, the kingdom might be bettered, she would willingly die, having nothing worth living for. Next she reproached the house for their frequently standing more upon form than matter—more upon the words than the sense of the law; complaining that the late act of parliament about treasons (which had been devised in her own closet) had brought her into a great strait, by obliging her to give directions for her kinswoman’s death, which was to her a most grievous and irksome burden. But, then, changing her tone to keep up the panic-alarm, and the cry for blood, she said that she would tell them a secret; that she lately saw it written that an oath was taken within a few days by certain persons either to kill her or to be hanged themselves, and thereupon she expressed her mindfulness of *their own oath of association* for the security of her person. She ended her long discourse by saying “that she thought it requisite, with earnest prayer, to beseech the Divine Majesty so to illuminate her understanding, and to inspire her with his grace, that she might see clearly to do and determine that which should serve to the establishment of his church, preservation of their estates, and the prosperity of the commonwealth under her charge; wherein, as she knew delays are dangerous, they should, with all convenience, have her resolution.” When a few days had passed, she sent a message to the lords and commons, earnestly charging them to consider whether some other means might not be suggested.

¹ *Burghley Papers; Hardwick Papers; Camden; Howell, State Trials; Jebb, Life of Mary; original letters cited by Chalmers, Ellis, Raumer, and Wright.*

The two houses deliberated and conferred with one another, and then unanimously replied that no other sound and assured means could be devised for the safety of the realm, religion, and her majesty's person. But Elizabeth had not yet done acting. In reply to this address she said that she had had a fearful struggle with herself—that she had entertained a greedy desire and hungry will that their consultations might have had another issue—that she must complain, though not of them, *unto* them; for that she perceived by their advice, prayers, and desires, that only her injurer's bane must be her security. But, in the meantime, whispers had been spread abroad by those who knew Elizabeth's character, and these rumours she met by declaring, that if any persons were so wicked as to suppose that she prolonged this time only to make a show of clemency, they did her so great a wrong as they could hardly recompense—that she, in referring the subject of Mary's execution to parliament, had earnestly desired that every one should act in that matter according to his conscience, and that, if her ministers had not signified as much to them, they had not done their duty towards her. She said that she had just cause to complain that she, who had pardoned so many rebels, and winked at so many treasons, should now be obliged to take the life of such a person. Many opprobrious books and pamphlets had accused her of being a tyrant, which was, indeed, news to her; but what would they now say if a maiden queen should spill the blood of her own kinswoman? Yet it were a foolish course to cherish a sword to cut her own throat; and she was infinitely beholden to them who sought to preserve her life. Then she reverted to a round-about, oracular style, saying, "If I should say I will not do what you require, it might, peradventure, be saying more than I mean; and if I should say I will do it, it might, perhaps, breed greater peril than those from which you would protect me." She then gave a few comfortable words to the members before they returned to their counties, and dismissed them.¹

A few days after, on the 6th of December, she ordered the sentence of death to be proclaimed in various parts of London and in other places, which was done in great state, and with infinite rejoicings. In London every house was illuminated, the bells were rung from every steeple, bonfires were lit in every street, and there was a great singing of psalms in all parts of the city.² Lord Buckhurst and Mr. Robert Beale, accompanied by a great troop, were sent to Fotheringay Castle to announce her doom to the captive, and to tell her in Elizabeth's name what especial favour had been shown to her in her trial by the

appointment of many distinguished noblemen and the whole of the privy council to be her judges, instead of obliging her to appear before the common criminal courts. Buckhurst and Beale were instructed to obtain, if possible, a confession of guilt from Mary, who, it was calculated, would lose heart and courage at the close prospect of death. But Elizabeth had formed a wrong estimate of the strength of her rival's character. Mary, whatever may have been her former errors or guilt, suffered and died like a heroine and a martyr. She received the message, not merely with firmness but with cheerfulness, saying that she was a-weary of this world and glad that her troubles were about to end. The two messengers were accompanied by a Protestant bishop and a dean, according to *her* notion, to direct her conscience and administer spiritual comfort in this extremity—according to *her* notion, to persecute her with their heretical intolerance in her last moments. She wholly rejected their assistance, but begged, in the blessed name of Christ, that she might be attended by her own almoner, who was in the castle, though long since separated from her. Buckhurst and the Protestant priests harshly told her that, do what she might, she could hardly die a saint, even in Catholic eyes, seeing that she had been fairly condemned for attempting to murder their queen. Once more Mary, with the name of her Saviour in her mouth, denied that she had ever devised, counselled, or commanded the death of Queen Elizabeth. When left to herself and her Catholic chaplain, she wrote a letter to the pope and another to the Archbishop of Glasgow, in which she called upon her relatives of the house of Guise, who had been accused equally with herself, to vindicate her character. A few days after, her jailers, Sir Amyas Paulet and Sir Drew Drury, informed her that, as she had refused to make any submission or confession, and as she was now dead in law, she had no right to the insignia of royalty which hitherto had been left to her in her prison. Mary replied that she was an anointed queen—that, in spite of Elizabeth, her council, and her heretical judges, she would still die a queen. When Paulet's servants took down her canopy of state, and disrobed her of the regal ornaments, the austere Puritan himself sat down with his hat on in her presence. Mary then wrote her last letter to her rival, telling her that her mind was free from malice and resentment—that she thanked God that he was now pleased to put an end to her troublesome pilgrimage—that the only favours she would ask were that she might not be privately put to death, and that her servants and others might be allowed to witness her end³—that her faithful attendants

¹ *D'Ewes; Howell; Camden.*² *Holinshed.*³ "Fearing," says Mary, "as I do, the secret tyranny of some

might have liberty to leave England without disturbance, and quietly enjoy the small legacies she had bequeathed them, and that her body might be conveyed for interment to France. These things she besought her to grant in the name of Christ, by their near relationship, by the memory of Henry VII., their common ancestor, and by her own royal dignity.

In the meanwhile Henry III., King of France, had sent over Bellièvre as a special ambassador to intercede for Mary's life. Bellièvre was a pedant and a poor negotiator, but there seems to be no good reason for suspecting his sincerity. Elizabeth, according to the report of his mission, deferred, with infinite malice, giving him audience, pretending, first, that some hired assassins, unknown to him, had got mixed in his retinue, with the design of taking her life; and then, that the plague had broken out among his followers on their journey. It was while she was sending these evasive answers to Bellièvre that parliament proceeded to confirm the sentence and to press for the execution. At last, on the 7th of December, she sent for the ambassador to Richmond, where she received him, seated on a throne and surrounded by her chief lords. Bellièvre remonstrated in forcible language. Elizabeth betrayed signs of strong emotion, but met all his representations with the reply that this was the third time the Queen of Scots had attempted her life. According to De Thou, Bellièvre pledged his sovereign's word that the Duke of Guise would give his own sons as hostages for the future conduct of Mary, if her life were spared. Elizabeth told him, in a word, that such guarantees would be of little use when she was murdered. Bellièvre returned to London, where he remained some days, anxiously waiting for a definitive answer, and then, getting none, he intimated that as they had proceeded even to the recording of a sentence of death there was no need for his making a longer stay in England, and he demanded his passport. Elizabeth neither sent him an answer nor his passport. He wrote again and requested an audience—she was indisposed and could not be seen: he caused a letter to be put into the hands of Walsingham, who engaged to get an answer the next day. On the next day Bellièvre received a *verbal message*, that the queen was pleased to grant a delay of twelve days. He still lingered about court, in the hopes of doing some service; and, on the 6th of January, 1587, when Mary had been prepared to die,

he was summoned to Greenwich, where Elizabeth condescended to hear at length his arguments against the execution of the infamous sentence. His pleading was interlarded with references to classical history, philosophy, poetry, and the Old Testament: but these things were after the taste of the queen and her court. He told her that the race of common and low people is of lead, but that of kings is of gold—that from royalty royal deeds are looked for—that princes, though not always equal in grandeur and power, are equal in royal dignity and the right which comes from Heaven—that it would be a bad example to show the world that princes could die on a block like common people. Yet some of his arguments were well put and unanswerable. In reply to the position that strangers, even of royal dignity, are subject to the laws of the country which they have chosen for their residence, he said that it was necessary to prove a free choice, and that the world knew the Queen of Scots had been kept in England wholly against her will. Elizabeth heard the ambassador with tolerable patience until he told her that if she proceeded to such rigorous and extraordinary judgment his master could not do otherwise than resent it: she then expressed herself in terms "almost of indignity." Bellièvre then prepared to depart, but he was requested to remain a few days longer. On the 14th of January he received his passport and went his way, with the conviction that his intercession had been fruitless, and that nothing could allay the queen's thirst for revenge.¹ L'Aubespine de Chateaufort, the resident ambassador, resumed the negotiation; but he was presently silenced by being accused of taking part in a new plot to assassinate Queen Elizabeth. The queen and her ministers, indeed, pretended that they gave no credit to this foul charge, but they nevertheless intercepted his despatches and threw his secretary into prison. The French king, in his rage, interrupted his diplomatic relations; but being made to feel that the insult was a mere trick to prevent further interference, he soon sent over another envoy to interpose between Mary and the scaffold.

In the course of nature James of Scotland, though a less powerful sovereign, ought to have been infinitely more earnest than Henry of France; but James was glad that his own mother should be kept in a captivity which left to him the occupation of the throne;² he was besides always slow and inert; and he may possibly have

persons, I beg you not to permit the sentence to be executed upon me without your knowledge; not from fear of the torment, which I am very ready to suffer, but on account of the reports which, in the absence of witnesses above suspicion, might be spread respecting my death, as I know has been done in the case of others of different condition. To avoid which I desire that my servants shall be spectators and witnesses of my death, in the faith of my Saviour, and in obedience to His church."

¹ Advis et Mémoire de ce qu'a été fait en Angleterre, par M. de Bellièvre, &c. This account seems to have been written by a person attached to the embassy.

² On the 4th of October, 1586, when Elizabeth was preparing her commission for Fotheringhay Castle, James told Courcelles, the French ambassador, that he loved his mother as much as nature and duty commanded, but he could not like her conduct, and knew very well that she had no more good-will towards him

comforted himself with a doubt whether Elizabeth would really proceed to execution. The King of France certainly thought it necessary to awaken this tender son to a sense of his parent's danger, and about a month after sentence was passed in the Star Chamber he exhorted him by all means to take his mother's part.¹ On the last day of November, 1586, the French ambassador informed his master that King James had promised to intercede for his mother through his ambassador, Keith, "an honest man, but rather *English*," that King James had told him, in his oracular way, that the case of the queen his mother was the most strange that ever was heard of, and that there was nothing like it since the creation of the world; that he had written with his own hand to Elizabeth, and to four or five great men in England, as also to Walsingham, telling the latter, in particular, to desist from his bad offices, for otherwise he, James, might do him some displeasure. "But," continues the ambassador, "several lords and great men are dissatisfied that he hath sent Keith, a man of so little importance, and a pensionary of England. They say that in an affair of such consequence, in which the life of his mother is concerned, which ought to be as dear to him as his own, might he not have found in his kingdom some others who would have considered the mission as an honour, and would have devoted their lives and property to it, if it had been necessary—offering, too, to undertake the journey at their own expense? This leads them to imagine that there is some secret understanding with the Queen of England, in which they are further confirmed, because the instructions for Keith were drawn up by the king, Lethington, and Gray, without being communicated to any of the others." At this time James's resident ambassador at Elizabeth's court was the notorious Archibald Douglas—an appointment about equally disgraceful to both courts. There was a talk of sending the new Earl of Bothwell, Francis Stuart—a grandson of James V. by his natural son John, styled Prior of Coldingham—an impetuous and frank man, devoted to Mary, to negotiate for her at this extremity; but this project was defeated by the intrigues and artifices of Archibald Douglas. A month later Courcelles complained that the King of Scotland did not seem to have much at heart any embassy in his mother's favour.² The king however made, through Keith,

something like a spirited remonstrance, at which Elizabeth was so enraged, that she was well nigh driving her poor pensioner from her presence. James instantly took the alarm, and wrote an humble letter of apology, declaring that he did not impute to her personally or directly the blame of anything that had been done against his mother, and he only besought her to suspend further proceedings until the arrival of the Master of Gray. At the mention of this name Elizabeth must have been satisfied, for the Master of Gray was a venal courtier who had long been in her interests.³ There were, however, some lords in the Scottish council who were more anxious about Mary than was her own son, or who knew the character of the Master of Gray better than James did; and, at the instance of these men, Sir Robert Melville was joined in commission with Gray. Melville exerted himself to the utmost to save the queen's life—Gray assured the English court that no mischief would ensue from her death. At their first audience Elizabeth declared to them that she was immeasurably sorry that there could be no means found to save the life of their king's mother with assurance of her own—that she had laboured hard to preserve the life of both, but it could not be. At a second audience, the Master of Gray requested to know whether Queen Mary were alive, for a rumour had got abroad that she had been privately despatched. "As yet," replied Elizabeth, "I believe she lives, but I will not promise for an hour." Melville trusted that the poor queen might be allowed to live on, seeing that the chief nobility of Scotland were ready to deliver themselves as hostages that no other plot or enterprise should be made on her account against the English crown; or that, if it pleased Elizabeth to send her into Scotland, King James would engage himself that no harm should ever be done by her or on her account. Elizabeth, turning to the Earl of Leicester and others of her favourite lords, expressed her scorn and contempt both of the King of Scots and these his proposals. She was then asked by the Scottish envoys how the Queen of Scots could really be esteemed so dangerous? "Because she is a Papist, and they say she shall succeed to my throne," was the harsh but honest reply of Elizabeth. It was replied that Mary would divest herself of her right in the English succession in favour of her son. This was an allusion which Elizabeth could never bear,

than towards the Queen of England; adding, among other things, that he had seen letters in her hand-writing, which proved her ill-will towards him, and that he knew very well that she had made frequent attempts to appoint a regent in Scotland, and deprive him of the throne.—*Raumer*.

¹ Letter from Henry III. to Courcelles, the French ambassador in Scotland. —*Raumer*.

² "At all events," says the ambassador, "the king will en-

deavour to derive advantages for himself. He positively declared that he would not commence war with England, except in case of an attempt to exclude him from the succession to that throne."

³ In the preceding month of August, Burghley enters in his diary—"A warrant for £2000, delivered to the Master of Gray, of Scotland, to levy certain footmen in Scotland for the Low Countries."

and losing all temper she shrieked, "She hath no such right! She is declared incapable of succeeding!" Upon this it was argued that there was then an end of danger from the Papists, and that Mary, being so debarred, could not be so very perilous. But Elizabeth said, that though Mary's right was indeed annulled, the Papists still considered it as existing. The rejoinder was inevitable; if the Queen of Scots gave up all right in favour of her son, who was a Protestant, she could never again pretend to claim it, and her renunciation should proceed with consent of friends, and in free and legal form. Leicester explained that the King of Scots would thus be placed, with regard to the succession, in precisely the same position as his mother now occupied. Elizabeth, who hated all successors, Catholic or Protestant, screamed again—"Is that your meaning? Then should I put myself in worse case than before! By God's passion, this were to cut mine own throat! He shall never come into that place or be party with me!" Gray replied that the King of Scotland must become party with her majesty when he succeeded by his mother's death to her claims of every kind. The queen cut short the conference by telling them that it was *she* that had kept the crown on their king's head ever since his infancy. She then turned to leave the room. Sir Robert Melville followed her, tenderly beseeching her to delay the execution. She exclaimed "No! not for an hour!" and disappeared. Upon receiving intelligence of this conference, James assumed for a moment a more becoming tone, and in a letter written with his own hand to the Master of Gray, he charged him to spare no pains nor plainness in this case—to be no longer reserved in dealing for his mother, for he had been so too long. But at this moment Gray was bargaining with Leicester and Walsingham, and privately telling Elizabeth that "a dead woman bites not." Walsingham at the same time wrote to James, expressing his surprise at his interference to rescue the mother that bore him from a bloody grave, and telling him that, as a Protestant prince, he ought to feel that his mother's life was inconsistent with the safety of the Reformed churches of England and Scotland. To maintain his dignity James recalled from the English court his ambassadors, who, with the exception of Melville, had sold his mother's blood. And what was the next proceeding of this king, the descendant of a hundred kings? Did he call an army to the Borders?—No! He issued an order to the Scottish clergy to remember his mother in their public prayers—and, with very few exceptions, they refused to pray for the idolater and Papist.

Elizabeth was not wholly without alarm at the recal of the Scottish ambassadors; but James's

strange conduct gave her confidence. Still, however, she seemed undecided, and was constantly heard muttering to herself, *Aut fer, aut feri: ne feriare feri*.¹ It was again deliberated in the cabinet, whether it would not be better to dispose of Mary secretly. At this moment Walsingham, who had managed the whole matter² very prudently, got up a fit of sickness, and, withdrawing from the court, left the after responsibility to fall on Secretary Davison. Shortly after receiving the petition of parliament to carry the sentence into execution, Elizabeth had caused the Lord-treasurer Burghley to draw out the death-warrant. Burghley gave this warrant to Davison to get it engrossed, ordering him to bring it for the queen's signature as soon as it was done. When Davison presented the warrant to Elizabeth, she commanded him to reserve it till a more convenient season.³ He accordingly kept it by him five or six weeks, during which time Leicester severely reprimanded him for not presenting it, and Burghley once reproved him in Elizabeth's hearing for not bringing it up. On the 1st of February, a few days after the departure of James's ambassadors, Davison was sent for *privately*, to bring the warrant that the queen might sign it. At this very time, to keep up the alarm, reports were spread all over the kingdom, that London was set on fire by the Papists, that the Duke of Guise was landed, that Mary had escaped, that Queen Elizabeth was murdered. The Protestants became almost frantic; and still further to prolong the illusion, a hue and cry was published by order of government for the apprehension of Mary, as if she had really broken the strong walls of Fotheringay Castle. This time, when Davison presented the warrant, Elizabeth, after reading it, called for pen and ink, signed it, and laid it down by her upon the mats, telling him that she had been induced to delay, out of regard to her own reputation, wishing it to appear that she had not violently adopted the measure from any feeling of malice or revenge towards the Queen of Scots. After some flippant discourse, some smiles, and some irony, she told the secretary to take up the warrant and carry it immediately to the great seal, cautioning him to get it sealed as *privately as possible*, as she entertained suspicions of persons about the lord-chancellor, and feared that, if the warrant were divulged before it was executed, it might in-

¹ Either bear with her, or smite her; strike, lest thou be stricken.

² It is remarkable that Burghley in his diary never makes an allusion to any of these proceedings. The Babington conspiracy, the trial of Mary, the negotiations to save her life, her execution, are all passed over without a word. He only notes down that Sir Walter Raleigh got Balington's lands by royal grant.

³ The Scotch and French ambassadors were then interceding for Mary's life.

crease her own personal danger. She expressly commanded him to use despatch, and to send down the warrant to Fotheringay Castle without troubling her again on the subject, or letting her hear anything more about it until it was executed. Davison offered to go to the chancellor forthwith, but she commanded him to wait till the evening. She desired him on his way to call on Walsingham, who had taken to his bed, and to tell him that she had signed the warrant; "because," as she said jestingly, "the grief he will feel on learning it will nearly kill him outright." Davison was leaving the apartment, when she began a complaint against Sir Amyas Paulet and others, who, as she said, might have rendered the signing of the warrant unnecessary; and she expressed a wish or a hint that Davison or Walsingham might yet write both to Sir Amyas and Sir Drew Drury, in order to sound their disposition as to privately despatching the Queen of Scots! Davison, who had always shrunk from the secret murder, assured her that it would be merely labour lost; but, finding her extremely desirous to have such a letter written to the two jailers, he says that to satisfy her, he promised to signify her pleasure, and then took his leave. On his way from the royal apartment the secretary called upon Burghley, and found him at home, closeted with Leicester: he showed his warrant, and they both enjoined him to use despatch and neglect all other business. Later in the day he called upon Walsingham, showed the warrant, and arranged with him the matter of a letter to Sir Amyas Paulet and Sir Drew Drury. He then proceeded to the lord-chancellor's, where, when it was almost dark, at about five o'clock in the evening, the great seal was put to the warrant. From the chancellor's he returned to Walsingham's, and found the letter ready to be despatched. According to this infamous document, though Walsingham and Davison recoiled themselves from secret assassination, they were capable at their mistress's command, of recommending it to others. They told Sir Amyas Paulet that they found by speech lately uttered by her majesty, that she doth note in them both (Paulet and Drury) a lack of that care and zeal that she looked for at their hands, in that they had not in all this time, of themselves, without other provocation, found out some way to *shorten the life of that queen*. "Wherein," continue Walsingham and Davison, "besides a kind of lack of love towards her, she noteth greatly that you have not that care of your own particular safeties, or rather of the preservation of religion and the public good, and prosperity of your country, that reason and policy commandeth, especially having so good a warrant and ground for the satisfaction

of your conscience towards God, and the discharge of your credit and reputation towards the world, as the oath of association which you both have so solemnly taken and vowed, and especially the matter wherewith she standeth charged being so clearly and manifestly proved against her. And therefore she taketh it most unkindly towards her, that men professing that love towards her that you do, should, in any kind of sort, for lack of the discharge of your duties, cast the burden upon *her*; knowing, as you do, her indisposition to shed blood, especially of one of that sex and quality, and so near to her in blood as the said queen is."¹ Upon leaving Walsingham, Davison went to his own house in London, where he slept. The next morning, about ten o'clock (no very early hour for those times), Elizabeth sent for him, and asked whether the warrant had passed the great seal: he informed her that it had. She asked why he had used such haste? Davison replied, that he had used no more haste than she had commanded; and in one of his narratives he observes, that, as twenty-four hours had elapsed since she had given him orders to get the warrant sealed, she could not suppose that he had not obeyed her commands. He asked her whether it was still her intention to proceed with the affair, and she replied that it was, though she thought it might have been better handled, because this present course threw the whole burden upon herself. Davison observed, that he knew not who else could bear it, seeing her laws made it murder in any man to take the life of the meanest subject in her kingdom, except by her warrant. She abruptly broke into a great commendation of Archibald Douglas, the worthy kinsman of Morton, and wished that she had but two such counsellors. Seeing that Davison took little notice of that discourse, she rose up and walked a turn or two in the chamber: then one of the ladies entertained her with some other discourse, and he left her for that time. He went down to Sir Christopher Hatton, the vice-chamberlain, and told that courtier what had passed, adding, that he feared it was the queen's intention to throw this burden from herself if she could; "remembering him how things had passed in the case of the Duke of Norfolk, the imputation of whose death she laid heavily upon my Lord-treasurer Burghley for divers years together." In the end, Davison says he told Hatton plainly, that, notwithstanding the directions she had given him for sending down the warrant to the commissioners (which haply she thought he would adventure for her safety and service), he was absolutely resolved not to meddle in it *alone*. Hatton agreed to accompany him instantly to the

¹ *Life of Davison.*

lord-treasurer. Burghley approved of Davison's resolution not to proceed singly, and agreed to submit the matter to the whole of the privy council. In the meantime he desired that the warrant might be put into his hands, and Davison, in the presence of Hatton, delivered it to Burghley, who kept it till it was sent away to Fotheringay. The next morning, the 3d of February, Burghley assembled the council in his own chamber, and they unanimously consented to have the execution hastened, "knowing how much it imported both to themselves and the whole realm, and having so clear a testimony of her majesty's pleasure as her own warrant under her hand and great seal of England." They also expressed their unwillingness to trouble her majesty any further on the subject; and then calling for Mr. Beale, the clerk of the council, as the fittest person, they deliberately gave him the death-warrant and letters of instruction to the commissioners.¹ On the following morning Davison went to court, where he found her majesty in conversation with Sir Walter Raleigh. She presently called Davison to her, and, as if she had understood nothing of these proceedings (the meeting of her whole council, the writing of the letters, &c.), she said to him smilingly, that "the overnight she had dreamed a dream, that the Queen of Scots was executed, and that she had been in her dream so angry against him therefore, that she could have done anything to him." At first the secretary treated this as a jest, for her majesty was "so pleasant and smiling." But Davison knew his mistress; a moment's reflection excited an uncomfortable doubt—and he asked whether, having proceeded so far, she had not a resolute intention to execute the sentence. She answered yes, and swore a great oath, but said that she thought it might have been done in another way; and she asked him whether he had not heard from Sir Amyas Paulet. Hereupon Davison produced Paulet's answer to the infamous epistle which he and Walsingham had written. It appeared that Paulet, though unfeeling, had a conscience. In great grief and bitterness of mind he deplored that he should have lived to see this unhappy day, in which he was required, by direction from his most gracious sovereign, to do an act which God and the law forbade. His goods, his life were at her majesty's disposal; he was ready to lose them the next morrow if it should so please her, but God forbid that he should make so foul a shipwreck of his conscience, or leave so great a blot to his posterity, as to shed blood without law and

warrant. Elizabeth then called Paulet, lately her "dear and faithful Paulet," a "precise and dainty fellow;" and waxing still more wrathful, she accused him and others, who had taken the oath of association, of perjury and breach of faith, they having all promised and vowed great things for her, and performing nothing. She said, however, that there were some who would do the thing for her sake, and she named one Wingfield, who with some others would have done it. Upon which Davison once more insisted on the injustice and dishonour of secret assassination, and upon the great danger which would have been brought upon Paulet and Drury if they had consented. On the 7th of February, at the very moment when the walls of Fotheringay Castle were echoing with the noise made by the workmen in erecting Mary's scaffold, Elizabeth began an earnest conversation with Davison, on the danger in which she lived, telling him that it was more than time that the affair was concluded, swearing a great oath, and commanding him to write a sharp letter to Sir Amyas Paulet. The secretary, being "somewhat jealous of her drift," cautiously replied, that he imagined such letter was unnecessary. She then said that she thought, indeed, Sir Amyas would look for it; and then one of her ladies entering to inquire her majesty's pleasure as to what should be had for dinner, she suddenly broke off the conversation and dismissed Davison, who never saw her face again.²

On this same day the arrival of the Earl of Shrewsbury at Fotheringay Castle was announced to Mary, who knew what it meant, as Shrewsbury was earl-marshal. He was attended by the Earls of Kent, Cumberland, and Derby, by one or two ministers of the gospel, and by Beale, the clerk of the council. Mary rose from her bed, dressed herself, sat down by a small table, with her servants, male and female, arranged on each side of her. Then the door was thrown open and the earls entered, and Beale proceeded to read the death-warrant. When Beale had done reading, the queen crossed herself, and with great composure told them, that she was ready for death—that death was most welcome to her, though she had hardly thought that, after keeping her twenty years in a prison, her sister Elizabeth would so dispose of her. She then laid her hand on a book which was by her, and solemnly protested that as for the death of the queen, their sovereign, she had never imagined it, never sought it, never consented to it. The Earl of Kent, who seems to have thought that the value of an oath depended upon the book that was touched, rudely exclaimed, "That is a Popish Bible, and therefore your oath is of no value." "It is a Catholic

¹ In one of the letters which were addressed to the Earl of Kent, and which was signed by Burghley, the Earl of Derby, Leicester, Charles Howard, Hunsdon, Cobham, Francis Knollys, Hatton, Walsingham, and Davison, it was said that his lordship (Kent) would understand by the bearer how needful it was to have the proceedings herein to be kept very secret.

² Sir Harris Nicolas, *Life of William Davison*, and the unquestionable documents quoted therein.

Testament," replied the queen, "and therefore, my lord, as I believe that to be the true version, my oath is the more to be relied upon." The Earl of Kent then made a long discourse, advising her to lay aside her superstitious follies and idle trumperies of Popery, to embrace the true faith, and to accept in her last agonies the spiritual services of the dean of Peterborough, a very learned and devout divine, whom her majesty had mercifully appointed to attend upon her. Mary rejected the dean, and asked again for her own chaplain. Here the Earl of Kent told her that her death would be the life of *his* religion, as her life would have been its death. He refused her the attendance of her chaplain and confessor as being contrary to the law of God and the law of the land, and dangerous to themselves. After some long and desultory conversation, in which she put the touching question, whether it were possible that her only son could have forgotten his mother, she calmly turned to the earl-marshal, and asked when she was to suffer. Greatly agitated, the Earl of Shrewsbury replied, "To-morrow morning at eight." The earls then rose to depart. Before they went, she inquired whether her late secretary Naue were dead or alive. Sir Drew Drury replied, that he was alive in prison. "I protest before God," she exclaimed, putting her hand again on the Catholic Testament, "that Naue has brought me to the scaffold to save his own life. But the truth will be known hereafter." Then they all withdrew, leaving the doomed queen alone with her attendants. Presently she bade them dry their tears, and gave orders that supper might be hastened, "for that she had a deal of business on her hands." That night she supped very sparingly, as her manner was, and while she sat at table, she asked one who waited upon her, whether the force of truth was not great, since, notwithstanding the pretence of her conspiring against the queen's life, the Earl of Kent had just told her that she must die for the security of *their* religion! When supper was over, having called her servants before her to the table, she drank to

them all, and they pledged her in return upon their knees, mixing tears with their wine, and imploring her pardon for any offences they might have committed against her. She forgave them, and asked forgiveness of them, and then delivered some Christian advice as to their future conduct in life. She then distributed among them the few things she had, and retired to her chamber, where she wrote with her own hand two sheets of paper as her last will, and three letters, one to her confessor, one to the king of France, and the other to her cousin the Duke of Guise. This done, she



CURIOUS SILVER WATCH OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.¹

prayed and read alternately till four o'clock in the morning, when she threw herself upon her bed and slept.

At break of day she rose, assembled her little household, read to them her will, distributed all her clothes, except those which she had put on, bade them farewell, and retiring to her oratory threw herself upon her knees before an altar. About eight o'clock the sheriff of the county entered the oratory and told her that the hour was come. She rose, took down the crucifix, and turned to take the last few steps which were between her and the grave. She came forth with an air of pleasantness and majesty, dressed in a gown of black satin, with a veil of lawn fastened to her caul and descending to the ground. Her chaplet was fixed to her girdle, and she kept in her right hand the ivory crucifix which she had taken from the altar. In an ante-chamber she was joined by the noble lords and the two knights who had been her hard keepers, and presently she found standing in her path her house-

¹ This *Memento Mori* watch, said to have been presented by Mary to her maid of honour, Mary Seaton, came into the possession of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, who inherited it through the Seaton family, from whom he is descended. The various compartments are engraved with the following subjects:—On the forehead of the skull is the figure of Death, bearing a scythe and hour-glass—at the back, Time devouring all things. The upper part of the skull is divided into two compartments, one

representing the garden of Eden, the other the crucifixion. These are surrounded by appropriate Latin mottoes. The watch is opened by reversing the skull, and placing the upper part of it in the palm of the hand, and then lifting the upper jaw, which rises on a hinge. Inside, on the plate or lid, is a representation of the nativity. The whole is of rich design and beautiful workmanship. There is no date, but the maker's name, with the place of manufacture—"MOYSE, BLOIS"—are engraved on the works.

steward, Sir Robert Melville, who had been denied access to her for the last three weeks. This old and faithful creature fell upon his knees before her, and with a passion of tears lamented his hard fate which would make him the bearer of such sorrowful news into Scotland. And when he could proceed no further, by reason of his sobs, the queen said to him, "Good Melville, cease to lament, but rather rejoice, for thou shalt now see a final period to Mary Stuart's troubles. The world, my servant, is all but vanity, and subject to more sorrow than an ocean of tears can wash away. But, I pray thee, take this message when thou goest, that I die true to my religion, to Scotland, and to France. God forgive them that have thirsted for my blood as the hart longeth for the water brooks! Commend me to my son, and tell him I have done nothing to prejudice the kingdom of Scotland." Old Melville still wept; the queen wept also, and kissing him said, "Once more farewell, good Melville; pray for thy mistress and queen." She then addressed herself to the lords, requesting them to treat her servants with kindness, and permit them to stand by her at her death. To the last request the Earl of Kent objected as inconvenient, saying that it was to be feared that they would be troublesome to her majesty and displeasing to the company—that if they were present at the execution they would not fail, as Papists all, to put some superstitious trumpery in practice; and perhaps there would be a dipping of handkerchiefs in her grace's blood, which it was not decent in them, the Protestant lords, to admit of. "My lords," said Mary, "I will give you my word they shall deserve no blame, nor do such things as you mention; but, poor souls, it would do them good to see the last of their mistress; and I hope your mistress, as a maiden queen, would not deny me in regard of womanhood, to have some of my women about me at my death. Surely you might grant a greater favour than this, though I were a woman of less rank than the Queen of Scots." Kent was silent; and the other lords did not choose to take the responsibility of granting what was asked. Mary then said, with some vehemence, "Am I not cousin to your queen, descended from the royal blood of Henry VII., a married Queen of France, and anointed Queen of Scotland?" At length, after much consultation, the lords determined to comply in part; and Melville her steward, her apothecary and surgeon, and two of her maids, named Kennedy and Curle, were allowed to attend her to the scaffold. The procession now moved forward to the great hall of the castle, headed by the sheriff and his officers. In the hall stood the scaffold, which was raised about three feet from the ground, and covered all over with black cloth, with rails around

it. Upon the scaffold there was a low stool, a cushion, and a block, all covered with black. The queen mounted the scaffold without any change of countenance or any faltering, and took her place upon the stool. On her right hand stood the Earl of Kent, on her left the Earl of Shrewsbury; the rest of the company, which, by Elizabeth's orders, consisted of very few persons, stood in the hall, without the rails. Immediately in front of her was the headsman from the Tower, in a suit of black velvet, with his assistant, also in black. The warrant was read by Mr. Beale; when it was ended the company cried with a loud voice, "God save Queen Elizabeth!" All the time Beale was reading the warrant the Queen of Scots looked cheerful and easy. At the end of it, she bade them recollect she was a sovereign princess, not subject to the laws and parliament of England, but brought to suffer by injustice and violence: she declared again that she had not sought Elizabeth's death, and said that she pardoned from her heart all her enemies. Here the dean of Peterborough stood up, and, interrupting her, began a long discourse upon her life, past, present, and to come. The queen stayed him once or twice, saying, "Mr. Dean, trouble not yourself, I am fixed in the ancient religion, and, by God's grace, I will shed my blood for it." The dean would not be silenced: he still pressed her to change her faith; he told her that his gracious mistress was very careful of the welfare of her immortal soul, and had commissioned him to bring her to the only right path. If she would recant even now, there might be hopes of mercy; if she refused she must inevitably be damned to all eternity. "Good Mr. Dean," answered Mary, with more earnestness than before, "trouble not yourself about this matter: I was born in this religion, I have lived in this religion, and I will die in this religion." So saying she turned aside from him; but the dean again faced her, and again thundered out his sermon. At last the Earl of Shrewsbury ordered him to cease preaching and proceed to pray: and whilst the dean prayed in English, Mary prayed alone in Latin, repeating the penitential psalms with great warmth of devotion. When the dean had done she prayed in English for the church, her son, and Queen Elizabeth. She then kissed her crucifix, saying, "As thy arms, O Jesu, were stretched upon the cross, so receive me, O God, into the arms of mercy." "Madam," said the Earl of Kent (a fit patron and companion to such a dean), who was horrified at her kissing the crucifix, "you had better put such Popish trumpery out of your hand, and carry Christ in your heart." Mary replied, "I can hardly bear this emblem in my hand without, at the same time, bearing him in my heart." The two executioners

then came forward, and, kneeling before her, asked forgiveness. Her women began to perform their last office, disrobing their mistress; but the headsmen were in a hurry and interfered, pulling off with their own rude hands a part of her attire; upon which she observed to the earls that she was not used to be undressed by such attendants, or to put off her clothes before so much company. Here her servants could no longer contain their feelings, but she put her finger to her lips, kissed them again, and bade them pray for her. Then the maid, Kennedy, took a handkerchief, edged with gold, in which the eucharist had formerly been inclosed, and fastened it over her eyes. The executioner led her to the block, and the queen, kneeling on the cushion before it, said, with a clear and unquailing voice, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit!" But the headsmen's nerves were not in such good order; he probably entertained the notions of the times about the sacredness of royal blood, and he was disturbed by the groans and lamentations of Mary's servants; perhaps of all present, except Kent and the dean. He trembled, and struck so badly that it cost him three strokes to cut the neck asunder. At last, when the head had fallen on the scaffold, he took it up, and holding it at arm's length, exclaimed officially, "God save Queen Elizabeth!" The dean of Peterborough added, "Thus perish all her enemies!" The Earl of Kent, approaching the headless body, cried in a louder voice, "So perish all the enemies of the queen and gospel!" Everybody else was silent; not a voice said Amen to the dean and the earl. The queen's little lapdog was observed to have crept under her clothes,

and would not be removed till force was used, and afterwards it would not leave the body, but went and lay down between the head and shoulders.¹

On the morning after the execution a despatch arrived at court from the Earl of Shrewsbury. The despatch was carried by Mr. Henry Talbot, Shrewsbury's son; and Burghley, to whom it was delivered, immediately sent for Davison, and after consulting Hatton and some other privy counsellors, he agreed not to acquaint the queen suddenly with the execution. But by the hour of noon the report was spread in the city, where the Protestants testified their joy by ringing all the church bells and lighting bonfires. It was impossible that Elizabeth could remain ignorant of these things; she learned all the particulars in the evening, but did not then take the least notice of the event, "nor show any alteration at all." On the next morning, when she was officially informed of the execution, she sent for Sir Christopher Hatton, and with an appearance of wonderful grief, declared that she had never commanded or intended *that thing*, and laid the whole blame on the privy council, but chiefly on Davison, who had abused the trust she had reposed in him by allowing the warrant to go out of his hands. Davison hurried to court fearing no evil, as the whole of the privy council had acted with him in the matter; but the counsellors, who knew that there must be a victim, strongly advised him to absent himself from court for a few days. Poor Davison took their advice, and on the 14th of February he was shut up in the Tower. At the same time the queen turned the engines of her pretended wrath against Burgh-

¹ *Jebb; Camden; Conn.; Robertson; Chalmers; Walter Scott.*
 "In order to rule as a queen over her powerful nobility, without provoking them to insurrection—to practise the Catholic form of worship, without exciting the aggressive distrust of the Protestants—and to preserve her full sovereign authority in her relations with England, without exposing herself to the intrigues and attacks of the restless Elizabeth—in order to this, what were the qualifications that Mary Stuart brought with her into Scotland? She condemned the religion, and was ignorant of the customs of the land she was called to rule. It was with regret and disgust that she left a brilliant and refined court, to return to the wild mountains and unpolished inhabitants of Scotland. More fitted for friendship than policy—impetuous, and not at all circumspect—she re-appeared there with an elegance out of place, a perilous beauty, a quick but restless intellect, a generous but excitable temperament, a taste for the fine arts, a love of adventure, and all the passions of a woman combined with the extreme freedom of a widow. Although endowed with great courage, it served only to hasten her misfortunes; and her mental endowments she employed in committing with a better grace those faults to which she was impelled by her position and her character. She had the imprudence to represent herself as the legitimate heir to the crown of England, and thus made herself Elizabeth's rival; she served as the support and hope of the vanquished Catholics in her own kingdom, and thus drew on herself the implacable hostility of the Reformed, who were resolved to maintain at all risks the religious revolution they had effected.

"Nor was this all. She aggravated, by the errors of her private

conduct, the dangers arising from the exercise of her authority, the pretensions of her birth, and the ambition of her creed. Her sudden fancy for Darnley—the excessive familiarities she allowed in Rizzio, and the confidence she reposed in him—and the ungovernable passion she felt for Bothwell—were all alike fatal to her. By elevating to the rank of her husband and king a young nobleman whose only merit was his personal attractions—by her sudden aversion and disgust for him—by making a Catholic foreigner secretary and favourite—and by consenting to be the wife of her husband's murderer—she annihilated her own authority. After the loss of her crown, she imprudently hazarded the loss of her liberty. She sought an asylum in the dominions of her enemy before she was at all sure it would be granted to her; and after casting herself on the mercy of Elizabeth, conspired against her with small chance of success. While she thought she would be able, by concerting measures with the Catholic party, to effect her escape from the prison in which she had been iniquitously confined, she only laboured for her own destruction. The Catholics were too feeble in the island, and too disunited on the Continent, to revolt or interfere usefully on her behalf. The insurrections which she attempted in England, and the conspiracies which she framed until 1586, completed her ruin, by causing the death or exile of her most enterprising partizans. The maritime crusade discussed at Rome, Madrid, and Brussels, in 1570, and determined upon in 1586, for the purpose of deposing Elizabeth and restoring Mary Stuart, far from placing the Catholic queen on the throne of Great Britain, only conducted her to the scaffold."—*Mignet, History of Mary Queen of Scots*, ii. 409.

ley, who was struck with alarm, and withdrew to his own house for many days, whence he wrote the most humiliating letters to his mistress. The day after the arrest of Davison, Walsingham, who had recovered from his illness at the very nick of time, returned to court, where for some weeks he had the principal management of affairs in his own hands. One of his first duties appears to have been to devise a message to the French king, assuring him of her majesty's ignorance of the sending of the warrant, her sorrow at the execution, and her determination to punish her

ministers. But soon Burghley and the rest emerged from this artificial mist, and only William Davison was made a scapegoat or sacrifice, being condemned to pay a fine of £10,000, and be imprisoned during the queen's pleasure. The poor secretary suffered miserably from imprisonment, palsy, and utter poverty, for the treasury seized all his property to pay the fine; and thus he lived through the seventeen long years to which the remainder of Elizabeth's reign was drawn out, with full opportunity to meditate upon the consequence of putting his trust in princes.

CHAPTER XIX.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1587—1603.

ELIZABETH.

James advertised of the execution of his mother—He is appeased by a pension—France occupied with its own troubles—Hostility of Spain on account of Mary's execution—Naval exploits of Sir Francis Drake against the Spaniards—The Spanish Armada—Preparations in England to resist the invasion—Military muster at Tilbury Fort—The Armada sets sail—Successful resistance of the English—Different encounters with the Armada—Its final dispersion—Death of the Earl of Leicester—Elizabeth selects the Earl of Essex as her new favourite—Spain invaded under the conduct of Essex—Quarrels between Essex and Lord Burghley—Essex employed in the wars against France and Spain—He quarrels with the queen—Alleged conspiracies of the Papists to assassinate Elizabeth—Irish insurrection—Essex sent to suppress it—He hurries back to London uncalled—Punishment for his disallowed arrival—He attempts to raise rebellion—Its speedy suppression—Trial of Essex—His conduct in prison—His execution—Character of the Earl of Essex—Resentment of the people on account of his execution—The Gowrie conspiracy in Scotland—Elizabeth's last meeting with her parliament—Complaints against monopolies brought before it—The Spaniards assist the Irish insurrection—It is defeated—Elizabeth's last illness—She nominates King James of Scotland as her successor—Her death.

SOME weeks after the execution of Mary, Sir Robert Carew, son of her relative, Lord Hunsdon, was despatched by Elizabeth to make her excuses to King James for the murder of his mother. On first learning the news, it is said that the royal dastard and pedant burst into tears, and threatened to move heaven and earth for vengeance. In the letter presented by Sir Robert Carew, Elizabeth told James of the unutterable grief which she felt on account of that "unhappy accident" which, *without her knowledge*, had happened in England. She appealed to the supreme Judge of heaven and earth for her innocence; said she abhorred *dissimulation*—that she had never intended to

carry the sentence into execution—that she was punishing those who had frustrated her merciful intentions; and she added that, as no one loved him more dearly than herself, or bore a more anxious concern for his welfare, she trusted that he would consider every one as his own enemy who endeavoured, on account of the *present accident*, to excite any animosity between them. All James's mighty wrath soon evaporated, and he sat down quiet and contented, with an increase of the pension which Elizabeth had long been paying him, and with a hope that his dutiful conduct would clear all obstructions to his succession to the English throne on the death of its present occupant.¹

Circumstances and her own happy arts went

¹ The following extract from a Roman Catholic author, throws some curious light on James's character and doings:—"James Stuart, on learning the tragic death of his mother, Mary of Scotland, had seemed desirous to break all connection with England. That it was his duty to do both as a son and a king. As a public evidence of this rupture, James allowed the Jesuits free admission into his territories; he even invited them thither. Father Crichton returned to Edinburgh, and with him Fathers George Durie, Robert Abercromby, and William Ogilvy. Under favour of a conspiracy planned by some Catholic lords, whom

the intrigues of Elizabeth had contrived to remove to a distance from the court, the Queen of England had succeeded in regaining her ascendancy over the timid mind of James, who, in that age of tempests, took fright at the smallest cloud. The conspiracy was proved—Elizabeth mixed up the Jesuits with it; but the King of Scotland never knew how to take a decisive part. In compliance with Elizabeth's wishes, he ostensibly expelled all the fathers; while secretly he begged Gordon, Ogilvy, and Abercromby, to regard his law of proscription as of no effect. He did more: Abercromby was a divine, whose mode

equally in Elizabeth's favour in disarming the resentment of France. She made a public apology to the ambassador L'Aubespine for the harsh treatment he had received, took him by the hand to a corner of the room, told him that the greatest of calamities had befallen her, and swore sundry great oaths that she was innocent of Mary's death. Four of her council, she said, had played her a trick: they were old and faithful servants, or by God she would have all their heads off! She said that what troubled her most of all was the displeasure of the king his master, whom she honoured above all men. L'Aubespine remarked that she had all along given assistance to the enemies and revolted subjects of France. Here she drew a nice distinction, saying that she had done nothing against Henry, but had only assisted the King of Navarre against the Duke of Guise. But the civil war continued to rage in France, and Henry III. was soon glad to have her countenance to the murder of the Guises. If that unhappy family were bigots and persecutors and chief directors of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, they certainly found no faith or mercy themselves. In December, 1588, Henry III. secretly distributed forty-five daggers to as many assassins in the castle of Blois: the Duke of Guise, Queen Mary's cousin, who had been invited as a guest, was set upon and murdered at

the door of the king's chamber. On the morrow his brother, the cardinal, was assassinated in a like barbarous manner; and the Protestants were only prevented from making public rejoicings at their fall by the better sense and feeling



COURT OF THE CASTLE OF BLOIS.
From France Monumentale et Pittoresque.

of their great leader, Du Plessis Mornay. The Catholics became more fierce and formidable than ever, the pope launched the sentence of excommunication, the doctors of the Sorbonne released the subjects from their oath of allegiance, and a few months after, as Henry was laying siege to his own capital, he was assassinated by a fanatic monk named Jacques Clement.¹

of discussion suited his tastes; he concealed him in his palace of Holyrood, under the title of Falconer. In 1590, James marries a Princess of Norway. She was a Lutheran; Abercromby converted her to Catholicism. Three years afterwards, the king commissioned Father Gordon to go to Rome, to treat with the Holy See about the re-establishment of the faith in his states. Gordon had removed all obstacles; but Elizabeth, who kept that prince in tutelage, as the presumptive heir to her crown, threw herself in the way of a reconciliation, equally opposed to her interests and her prejudices. She points as at the bottom of this purely Scotch Catholic movement, the hand of Philip II., stirring up troubles, and agitating men's minds with the view of making himself master more surely of England and Scotland. The Invincible Armada had been dispersed by storms; it is no longer on a fleet that the gloomy adversary of Protestantism now reckons; it is on the Catholics of the interior. Religious convulsions, intestine discords were daily beginning to be felt; these disquiet this poor king, who turned pale at the sight of a naked sword, and could not even hold his sceptre with a firm grasp. Elizabeth, in order to re-assure him, sent him the next year some English troops. These were beaten by the Catholics. All that remained was to attribute this reverse to causes independent of Scottish valour. The Jesuit Gordon was accused of having made fanatics of the Papists. This was with a single lie to strike two blows at once, that were felt simultaneously in England and in Scotland. The queen had been right in her calculations; Father Gordon was banished from the kingdom. This expulsion coloured the defeat of the English. It offered a new pretext for harassing the Catholics. Elizabeth availed herself of it, both for her kingdom and for Ireland."—*Histoire Religieuse, Politique et Littéraire de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. ii. p. 309.

¹ Such were the fruits of THE LEAGUE, so well known in the annals of France, and which itself was the fruit of that of Bayonne in 1565. "The singularity of the League," says Anquetil, "first appears in the almost universal insurrection of

the Catholics against a king, most Catholic himself, and always owned to be such, notwithstanding the means employed to bring suspicion on his faith; next, in the bold pretensions of that audacious League, even in the feebleness of its beginnings; in its ever firm and steady progress, in spite of the knowledge people had of its secrets, and the measures taken to check it; in the object it proposed, which was to place on the throne a foreigner without even the colour of a title; in the frightful successes of that League, punished indeed in its chief, but so well concerted, that new monsters sprang from the blood then shed; in the fanaticism which poignards kings, the anarchy that desolates empires, the tyranny of the people, brutal and insolent, and more intolerable than that of the great; in fine, in all those plagues which God in his wrath sends forth among men, plagues which desolated France until the moment when the Almighty, pitying our calamities, gave success to the efforts of Henry (IV.), at once the conqueror and the pacificator of France."—*Espri de la Ligue*, livre v.

Yet the League, associated as it is with a thousand horrors, finds eulogists in the nineteenth century! The historian Mезeray having proclaimed to the world that "zealous Catholics were its instruments; and the new *Religieux* (the Jesuits) its applauders and trumpets," the credit of both is involved in its good fame; and, accordingly, in Creteau Joly's *History of the Jesuits*, one is astounded to find the seventh chapter begin with these words:—"The principle of the League was salutary and just." And then follows an elaborate defence, which it were well that all Protestants studied; and which throws a flood of redeeming light on all that was severe and coercive in the policy of Elizabeth and her counsellors in England, and of Moray and his successors in Scotland; seeing that it deliberately argues that even the horrors of the League were preferable to the toleration of the Christianity of the Reformers.—See *Histoire Religieuse, Politique et Littéraire de la Compagnie de Jesus—composée sur les documents inédits et authentiques*. Paris, 1845. This work is in five 8vo volumes, illustrated with portraits and facsimiles.

King Philip of Spain, who was exasperated to the extreme by the bold and brilliant expeditions of Drake and others to the West Indies, was in a different position from that of the French and Scottish kings; and making the most of the recent tragedy at Fotheringay Castle, he branded Elizabeth as a murderess, and animated his people with a desire of vengeance. She on her side made some politic efforts to disarm his resentment. Leicester, who had returned to Holland, soon became an object of contempt. She recalled him, allowed the Hollanders to put Prince

Maurice of Orange in his stead, and then seemed very well disposed to give up the Protestant cause in the Netherlands. She kept the precautionary towns, as they were called, and greatly did the Netherlands fear that she would sell these keys of their dominions to the Spanish king. Burghley opened negotiations with Spain, and two foreign merchants, an Italian and a Fleming, were intrusted with a secret mission to the Duke of Parma, who still maintained himself in the Netherlands. But Elizabeth and her ministers soon saw that no sacrifices they could



SIR JOHN HAWKINS.—From the "Heroologia."



SIR MARTIN FROBISHER.—From the "Heroologia."

make would disarm the animosity of the Spaniards, and every wind brought them news of immense naval and military preparations in Spain and Portugal.¹ While the queen continued to negotiate, Sir Francis Drake was despatched with a fleet of thirty sail, and ordered to destroy all the Spanish ships he could find in their own harbours. Never was a commission more ably or more boldly executed. On the 19th of April (1587) he dashed into Cadiz Roads, and burned, sunk, or took thirty ships. He then turned back along the coast, and between Cadiz Bay and Cape St. Vincent, he sunk, took, or burned 100 vessels, besides knocking down four castles on the coast. From Cape St. Vincent he sailed to the Tagus, where he challenged the Marquis de Santa Cruz, and took, almost under the shadow of his flag, the *St. Philip*, a ship of the largest size. These operations materially tended to delay the sailing of the Spanish Armada for more than a year, and allowed Elizabeth time to prepare for her defence. But Philip, whose power on the whole had increased rather than diminished since the first commencement of his enmity with Elizabeth—

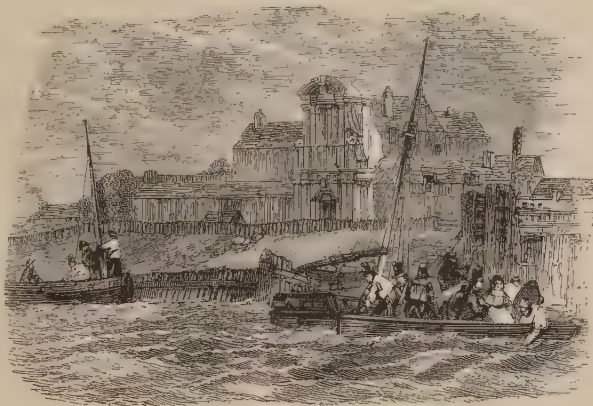
for if he had lost Holland, he had annexed Portugal to his dominions—was not to be put from his purpose of invading England. He obtained from the pope supplies of money and a renewal of the bull of excommunication against Elizabeth. He levied troops in all directions, he hired ships from the republic of Genoa and Venice, he took up all the proper vessels possessed by his subjects of Naples and Sicily, he pressed the construction of others in Spain, in Portugal, and in that part of Flanders which still belonged to him, where shoals of flat-bottomed boats were prepared for the transport of the Duke of Parma and 30,000 men. Although it was resolved to encounter the invaders by sea, instead of waiting for their landing, yet, through parsimony, the whole royal navy of England did not, at this moment, exceed thirty-six sail; but merchant ships were fitted out by the nobles and people at their own expense, and armed for war, and Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, names scarcely eclipsed by all the heroes who have succeeded them—men who had lived their lives on the ocean, and girdled the globe in their daring

¹ Hardwicke State Papers.

expeditions—the best seamen of the age, were appointed to the command under the high admiral, Lord Howard of Effingham. The entire number of ships collected on this critical occasion was 191; the number of seamen was 17,400, the total amount of tonnage being 31,985.¹ The Dutch were applied to for their assistance, “and,” says Stow, “they came roundly in with threescore sail, brave ships of war, fierce, and full of spleen.” The fleet was distributed at various points, for it could not be known where the enemy would attempt their landing. The lord-admiral, who guarded the western coast, divided his force into three squadrons. Drake was detached towards Ushant to keep a look-out; Hawkins cruised between the Land’s End and Scilly Islands; Lord Henry Seymour cruised along the coast of Flanders, blocking up the Spanish ports there; and other captains constantly scoured the Channel.

As it was given out that the Spaniards intended to sail up the river and strike their first blow at London, both sides of the Thames were fortified, under the direction of Federico Giambelli, an Italian deserter from the Spanish service. Gravesend was strongly fortified, and a vast number of barges were collected there, for the double purpose of serving as a bridge for the passage of horse and foot between Kent and Essex; and for blocking up the river to the invaders. At Tilbury Fort, directly opposite to Gravesend, a great camp was formed. Nor was there less stir and activity inland. There was not a corner of England which did not ring with preparation, and muster its armed force. The maritime counties, from Cornwall to Kent, and from Kent to Lincolnshire, were furnished with soldiers, both of themselves and with the auxiliary militia of the neighbouring shires, so that, upon any spot where a landing might be effected, within the space of forty-eight hours an army of 20,000 men could be assembled. The Catholics vied with the Protestants in activity, in zeal, in patriotism; and as their gentlemen of rank were generally excluded from command by the jealousies of the Protestants, although the lord-admiral himself,

Lord Howard of Effingham, was a Catholic, they served in the ranks like common soldiers, or they embarked in the ships to do the work of common sailors. When the lord-lieutenants of the different counties returned their numbers, it was found that there were under arms 130,000 men, exclusive of the levies furnished by the city of London. The force assembled at Tilbury Fort consisted of 22,000 foot and 2000 horse, and between them and London were 28,000 men levied for the protection of her majesty’s person, commanded by her kinsman Lord Hunsdon, and 10,000 Londoners. A confident hope was entertained that the fleet would be able to prevent any disembarkation, but it was provided, in case of a landing, that the country should be laid waste, and the invaders harassed by incessant attacks. The queen never shone to more advantage than at this warlike crisis, and though she kept her person between the capital and the near camp at Tilbury Fort, the fame of her brave de-



TILBURY FORT.—From a view by Stanfield.

portment and her encouraging words were spread everywhere. She reviewed the Londoners, whose enthusiasm was boundless; and when the arrival of the Armada was daily expected, she reviewed the army at Tilbury Fort, riding a war-horse, wearing armour on her back, and carrying a marshal’s truncheon in her hand. The Earls of Essex and Leicester held her bridle-rein, while she delivered a stirring speech to the men. “My loving people,” said the queen, “we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear! I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal

¹ Southey’s *Naval History*. In the Armada there were only three ships of size superior to the *Triumph*, the largest of the English ships; but there were forty-five ships ranging from 600 to 1000 tons; and though the English fleet outnumbered the Armada, its entire tonnage was less than one-half of that of the enemy.

hearts and good-will of my subjects; and, therefore, I am come amongst you at this time, not as for my recreation and sport, but being resolved in the midst and heat of the battle to live or die amongst you all—to lay down for my God, for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour, and my blood, even in the dust. I know that I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart of a king, and of a King of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms!"²¹ Everything in this camp speech was exciting and appropriate except a laudation bestowed on the general; for her lieutenant was none other than that carpet-knight and most inefficient commander, the Earl of Leicester.

It had been arranged by the Spanish court that the Armada should leave Lisbon in the beginning of May, but the Marquis de Santa Cruz was then sinking under the fever of which he died; and, by a singular fatality, the Duke of Paliano, the vice-admiral, and an excellent officer, fell sick and died nearly at the same time. Philip found a difficulty in replacing these two commanders. After some delay he gave the supreme command to the Duke of Medina-Sidonia, who, instead of being the best sailor in Spain, was no sailor at all, and wholly ignorant of maritime affairs. Martinez de Recaldo, who was appointed vice-admiral, was, however, a seaman of good experience. At last, the INVINCIBLE ARMADA, as the Spaniards called it in their pride, set sail from the Tagus on the 29th of May. It consisted at this time of about 130 vessels of all sizes; 45 of these were galleons and larger ships; 25 were pink-built ships; 13 were frigates. They mounted altogether 2431 guns of different calibres. In addition to the mariners, they carried nearly 20,000 land troops, among whom were 2000 volunteers of the noblest families in Spain. But this mighty fleet, when steering towards Corunna, where it was to take on board more troops and stores, was overtaken off Finisterre by a great tempest, and dispersed. Four large ships foundered at sea; the rest reached Corunna and other ports on that coast, but considerably damaged by the storm. This occasioned a fresh delay, which, however, might have proved fatal rather than favourable if Elizabeth's advice had been followed by her brave commanders. A report reached London that the enemies' ships had suffered so much that they could not possibly proceed on their expedition this year; and as the cost of the English fleet was great (though the government only bore a part of it), the queen, from motives of economy, made Secretary Walsingham write to the admiral to tell him to lay up four of his largest ships, and

discharge their crews. But Lord Howard of Effingham nobly replied to this letter, that, rather than dismantle any of his ships, he would take upon him to disobey his mistress, and keep them afloat at his own charge. The admiral now called a council of war, wherein it was determined to sail for the Spanish coast, to complete the destruction of the Armada, if so enabled, or to ascertain, at all events, its real condition. A brisk north wind soon carried him to Corunna, whither he chased before him fourteen Spanish ships which were at sea. Having ascertained the truth, he became anxious to return, lest a part of their fleet might make the coast of England in his absence. Favoured by a change of wind, he soon reached his station at Plymouth, where he allowed his men a little relaxation on shore. On the 19th of July, one Fleming, a Scottish pirate or privateer, sailed into Plymouth, with intelligence that he had seen the Spanish fleet off the Lizard. At the moment most of the captains and officers were on shore playing at bowls on the Hoe. There was an instant bustle, and a calling for the ships' boats, but Drake insisted that the match should be played out, as there was plenty of time both to win the game and beat the Spaniards. Unfortunately the wind was blowing hard in their teeth, but they contrived to warp out their ships. On the following day, being Saturday, the 20th of July, they got a full sight of the Armada standing majestically on—the vessels being drawn up in the form of a crescent, which, from horn to horn, measured some seven miles. Their great height and bulk, though imposing to the unskilled, gave confidence to the English seamen, who reckoned at once upon having the advantage in tacking and manœuvring their lighter craft. At first it was expected that the Spaniards might attempt a landing at Plymouth, but the Duke of Medina adhered to the plan which had been prescribed to him, and which was to steer quite through the Channel till he should reach the coast of Flanders, where he was to raise the blockade of the harbours of Nieuport and Dunkirk, maintained by the English and Dutch, make a junction with the Duke of Parma, and bring that prince's forces with him to England. Lord Howard let him pass, and then followed in his rear, avoiding coming to close quarters, and watching with a vigilant eye for any lucky accident that might arise from cross winds or irregular sailing. And soon a part of the Spanish fleet was left considerably astern by the main division, where the Duke of Medina kept up a press of sail, as if he had no other object in view than to get through the Channel as fast as possible. He made signals to the slower ships to keep up, which they could not, and he still kept every

¹ Cabala.

sail bent. The *Disdain*, a pinnace, commanded by Jonas Bradbury, now commenced an attack by pouring a broadside into one of the laggards. Lord Howard, in his own ship, the *Ark Royal*, engaged a great Spanish galleon, and Drake, in the *Revenge*, Hawkins, in the *Victory*, and Frobisher, in the *Triumph*, ranging up gallantly, brought into action all the galleons which had fallen astern. The rear-admiral Recaldo was with this division, and fought it bravely; but his lumbering ships lay like logs on the water in comparison with the lighter vessels of England, which were manageable and in hand like well-trained steeds. Before any assistance could come from the van, one of the great Spaniards was completely crippled, and another—a treasure-ship, with 55,000 ducats aboard—was taken by Drake, who distributed

the money amongst the sailors. The Duke of Medina hove-to, till the slower ships came up, and then all of them, under press of sail, stood farther up the Channel. This first brush gave great spirit to the English, and there were in it several encouraging circumstances. It was seen, for example, that the tall Spanish ships could not bring their ordnance to bear, firing, for the greater part, over the English without touching them; and that the surer fire of the latter told with terrific effect on those huge ships crammed with men, soldiers, and sailors. Howard returned towards Plymouth, where he was to be joined by forty sail. In the course of the night one of the greatest of the Spanish ships was burned, purposely, it is said, by a Flemish gunner on board. It was a dark night with a heavy sea,



THE SPANISH ARMADA.—From the Tapestry in the House of Lords, engraved by the Society of Antiquaries.

and some of the Spaniards ran foul of each other, to their great mischief.

On the 23d, Howard, who was reinforced, and who had received into his division Sir Walter Raleigh, came up with the whole Armada off Portland, when a battle began, which lasted nearly the whole of that day. The English fought loose and at large, avoiding a close combat or boarding. They kept separate, but always in motion, tacking and playing about the enemy, pouring in their fire and then sheering out of range, returning before the Spaniards had time to reload, giving them another broadside, and then sheering off as before. According to Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Henry Wotton compared it all to a morrice-dance upon the waters! But once or twice the dying away of the wind rendered these manœuvres impracticable. A division of five merchantmen, led by the gallant Frobisher in his great ship the *Triumph*, was cut off from the rest, and brought to close action for two whole hours. But, at the same time, one of the

English squadrons cut off a division of the Armada, and crippled every ship in it. Then Howard, from the *Ark Royal*, signaled, and this victorious squadron, by means of sweepers and tow-boats, was brought into position to the rescue of Frobisher. These victorious ships reserved their fire till they were close alongside the Spaniards. The darkness of night interrupted the battle: in the course of the day the English had taken a large Venetian argosy and several transports. Next day the Spaniards showed small inclination to renew the fight; and it was apparent that they wished to hold on to the place appointed for their junction with the Duke of Parma. The English, on their side, were not in fighting condition, for, by a shameful parsimony, they had been poorly supplied with gunpowder, and by this time they had burned all they had on board. Howard, however, detached some barques and pinnaces, which returned with a supply towards night; but a day had been lost. On the morning of the 25th, he came up with part of the Armada, off the Isle of

Wight, where Captain Hawkins took a large Portuguese galleon. Presently it fell a calm: the great ships of Spain lay motionless upon the water, and were much too heavy to be towed. The English craft, of the lighter kind, were easily towed by their long boats. When a breeze sprung up, Frobisher was set upon by several galleons, and was in great peril, but the *White Bear* and the *Elizabeth Jonas* came up to his relief. Other ships ranged up on either side, and the battle seemed becoming general, but the English had *again burned all their gunpowder!* Having shot away the mainmast, and otherwise shattered the Duke of Medina's own ship, they took advantage of the wind and sheered off.

On the morrow, the 26th of July, the Armada sailed up the Channel with a fair breeze: Howard hung on their rear, now and then keeping up a feeble fire. He had resolved not to renew the struggle till they came to the Straits of Dover, for he knew that a strong squadron, under Lord Henry Seymour and Sir Thomas Winter, would be ready there to take part in the action. As he followed in the wake of the Spaniards, he received ammunition and all proper supplies from shore; and his force was continually increased by small ships and men out of all the havens of the realm; for the gentlemen of England hired ships from all parts at their own charge, and with one accord came flocking thither. There was a clear sky and a leading wind, which enabled the Spaniards to come to anchor before Calais on the 27th. Hence Medina-Sidonia would have proceeded to Dunkirk, but he was strongly advised to remain where he was; and he sent, over-land, a messenger to the Duke of Parma, entreating him to detach some fly-boats, without which he could not cope with the light and active English ships, and to hasten the embarkation of his troops, which, he represented, might effect a landing in England under cover of his fire. But both these requests were childish and absurd. Although Seymour and most of the English ships had left the station to co-operate with Howard, a small division remained with the Dutch, who closed Parma's only outlets, Nieuport and Dunkirk, and who were more than sufficient to scatter and sink his flat-bottomed boats, if they had put to sea. But, besides that these boats, which had been hastily constructed with bad materials, were already rotting and falling to pieces, disease had broken out among the land-troops, and owing to the delayed arrival of the Armada, their provisions were almost exhausted. Thus Parma could do nothing till the blockade was cleared and proper ships with provisions were supplied to him. When he had lost a whole day, the Duke of Medina thought of making for Dunkirk; but in the meanwhile Seymour and Winter had joined Howard,

and he was hemmed in by 140 English sail "fit for fight, good sailors, nimble and tight for tacking about." The Spaniards, however, were well ranged, their greatest ships being placed seaward, next the enemy, like strong castles, the lesser being anchored between them and the shore. The English found that in this position they must fight to disadvantage, but they hit upon a stratagem which presently broke this array. Eight small ships were gutted, besmeared with pitch, rosin, and wild-fire, filled with combustibles, and placed under the desperate guidance of Captain Young and Captain Prowse, who, at the dead of night, favoured by wide and tide, led them close to the Spanish line, took to their boats, fired the trains, and escaped. The Spaniards, who remembered some terrible fire-ships which had been used against them by the Dutch in the Scheldt, began to cry, "The fire of Antwerp! the fire of Antwerp!" Some cut their cables, others let their hawsers slip, and in haste, fear, and confusion, put to sea. In this dreadful disorder the largest of the galleasses ran foul of another ship, lost her rudder, floated about at the mercy of the tide, and was then stranded. When the fire-ships had exploded, and the danger was over, a gun was fired from the duke's ship as a signal to the Spaniards to return to their former position; but the gun was heard by few, because "they were scattered all about and driven by fear, some into the wide sea, some among the shoals of Flanders." When morning dawned, the English renewed the attack on the scattered squadrons. One fierce attack was made on the great galeass, stranded near Calais, but the small craft could not board her until the admiral sent 100 men in his boats under Sir Amyas Preston. The Spaniards made a brave resistance; but in the end their captain was shot through the head; they were boarded at all points, cut to pieces, or thrown overboard and drowned. In this huge bottom were found 50,000 ducats. At other places, Drake, Hawkins, Raleigh, Cumberland, Seymour, and Frobisher, gained many advantages. One of the capital ships of the Armada, a large galleon of Biscay, sank under the English fire. The *San Matteo*, commanded by Diego Pignatelli, a Neapolitan, in attempting to cover another ship, was raked by the *Rainbow* and *Vanguard*, and finally compelled to surrender by a decisive broadside from a heavy Dutchman. Another great Spaniard, dismantled and rent, drifted, fell ashore, and was taken by the mariners of Flushing. Two ketches foundered at sea. Still, however, the rest of the fleet rallied, and the Spaniards, who had shown no deficiency of courage, cried for revenge: but the Duke of Medina-Sidonia had had enough of this war, and calling a council, he resolved to make his way

back to Spain in the best manner he could; and as it was held dangerous to attempt the English in their narrow seas, he resolved to steer northwards and return to Spain by sailing round Scotland.

On the last day of July, Drake wrote to Walsingham—"There was never anything pleased me better than the seeing the enemy flying with a southerly wind to the northward. We have the Spaniards before us, and mind, with the grace of God, to wrestle a pull with them." No one can doubt of the activity and good-will of Drake, of Frobisher, of any one of the great captains engaged; but yet the Spaniards were allowed to go down the wind without much pursuit. "The opportunity," says Sir William Monson, "was lost, not through the negligence or backwardness of the lord-admiral, but merely through the want of providence in those that had the charge of furnishing and providing for the fleet; for at that time of so great advantage, when they came to examine their provisions, they found a general scarcity of powder and shot, for want of which they were forced to return home. Another opportunity was lost, not much inferior to the other, by not sending part of our fleet to the west of Ireland, where the Spaniards of necessity were to pass, after so many dangers and disasters as they had endured. If we had been so happy as to have followed their course, as it was both thought and discoursed of, we had been absolutely victorious over this great and formidable navy; for they were brought to that necessity that they would willingly have yielded, as divers of them confessed that were shipwrecked in Ireland."¹ In effect, when the Spaniards had rounded the Orkneys, they were dispersed and shattered by a tremendous tempest, the more perilous from their want of a proper knowledge of those seas and coasts. They threw overboard horses, mules, artillery, and baggage. Some of the ships were dashed to pieces among the Orkneys and the

Western Isles, some were stranded in Norway, some went down at sea with every soul on board, some were cast upon the iron coast of Argyle, and more than thirty were driven on the coast of Ireland, where the popular name of Port-na-Spagna, bestowed on a place near the Giant's Causeway, recalls a part of the fearful catastrophe. Those who fell among the Scotch were made prisoners by King James; but the poor Spaniards who fell among the Irish had a worse fate—an eternal blot on the glory of those who inflicted it. The English feared that they might join the Irish Catholics, who were again in insurrection; and Sir William Fitzwilliam, the lord-deputy, sent his marshal, who drove them out of their hiding-places and butchered 200 of them in cold blood. The rest, sick and starved, committed themselves to the greater mercy of the waves in their shattered vessels, and for the most part were drowned. A small squadron was driven back to the English Channel, where, with the exception of one great ship, it was taken by the English, or by their allies the Dutch, or their other friends the Huguenots, who had equipped many privateers at Rochelle. The Duke of Medina, about the end of September, arrived at Santander, in the Bay of Biscay, with no more than sixty sail out of his whole fleet, and these very much shattered, with their crews all worn out with cold, and hunger, and sickness, and looking like spectres. The Lord-admiral of England had anchored safely in the Downs on the 8th of August, having lost but very few men and only one vessel of any consequence. Military skill and flat-bottomed boats could avail the Duke of Parma nothing against the victorious navy of England; and though an alarm was absurdly kept up for some months, the danger was over from the moment that the disorganized Armada retreated to the north.² About the middle of August, the camp at Tilbury Fort was broken up.³

¹ *True and Exact Account of the Wars in Spain.* The remarkable fact of the fleet being left bare of ammunition is confirmed by a letter written on the 8th of August, from the camp at Tilbury Fort, by Secretary Walsingham to the lord-chancellor.—*Wright.* It appears, however, that a part of the fleet followed the Spaniards all along the English and Scottish coast, as far as the Firth of Forth.

² *Candew; Stow; Strada; Bentivoglio; Strype; Burghley Papers; Hardwick Papers; Southey; Ellis; Wright.*

³ The Armada must have cost Philip immense efforts, for Sismondi represents him as too weak effectually to repel even the hostilities of Catherine de' Medici, acting independently of France. "The attacks made by Catherine and Monsieur, however, did not bring down," he says, "on France very serious reprisals, for Philip II. had annihilated the power, wealth, and energy of all the states over which he had extended his domination. This prince—who, in the silence of his solitude, amid his apparent repose, was so active and so entirely devoted to the pursuit of his vast projects—who himself directed the whole policy of his cabinet—who wrote out with his own hand the greater part of his despatches—who, in fine, was so truly king—

seemed to have been endowed with so much ability and activity only for mischief. He looked with a sort of horror on the independence of the human mind, and believed himself called upon to destroy it everywhere; the freedom of subjects and the liberty of consciences to him appeared alike sacrilegious; he saw a revolt in every pretension to enlightenment; and as he had placed his civil and religious despotism under the safeguard of his faith, as he believed he was God's champion in destroying all liberty on the earth, all means seemed good to him, no scruple stopped him, his conscience recoiled from no cruelty, no perfidy; he went straight towards his object through more blood and more crimes than were ever lavished by any other monarch; he believed he would succeed, for he subdued province after province, he extinguished one rebellion after another in blood; but his pestilential breath dispeopled the kingdoms that were subject to him, and notwithstanding the immensity of his states, he could not keep on foot armies equal to those of any of the sovereigns whom he had succeeded in Castile, in Aragon, at Granada, in the Two Sicilies, at the Duchy of Milan, in the Low Countries, in the kingdoms of Peru and of Mexico."—Sismondi, *Hist. de Français*, tom. xx. p. 23.

When the disbanding of the troops was over, the Earl of Leicester took his departure from court for Kenilworth Castle, but he fell suddenly ill on the road, and died at Cornbury in Oxfordshire, on the 4th day of September. The queen did not appear to grieve much for his loss, and almost immediately after his death she caused his effects to be sold by auction, for the satisfaction of certain debts he owed her treasury.¹ The fact was, the queen had been for some time provided with another darling, to whom she transferred the strange affection which for so many



ROBERT DEVEREUX, Earl of Essex.—After Oliver.

years she had bestowed on Leicester. This new favourite was Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, son of the unfortunate earl who had died in Ireland, and whose wife had been very irregularly married to Leicester. At first the queen hated him on his mother's account, but this feeling gave way to an admiration of his handsome person and vivacious disposition. He was made master of the horse, knight of the Garter, and captain-general of the cavalry in 1587, before he was twenty years of age. Upon the death of Leicester he succeeded at once to the dangerous post of prime favourite—a post almost as disagreeable as it was dangerous, for it called for the daily and hourly exercise of flattery and gallantry towards an old woman, a sort of service which ill suited the frank and impetuous character of Essex.

A.D. 1589. Don Antonio, an illegitimate nephew of Henry, King of Portugal, and one of the pretenders to the crown of

that kingdom, had taken refuge in England, where for some time he was left to pine in abject poverty. But now Elizabeth resolved to use him as a means of annoying Philip of Spain, in his recent usurpation of Portugal. She boldly set forth that Don Antonio was a legitimate prince, and her parliament, breathing revenge, and conquest, voted her most liberal supplies, and petitioned her to carry the war into Philip's dominions. She told them that she was very poor, and needed all the money they had voted; but thereupon an association, headed by Drake and Norris, undertook to defray the greater part of the expenses, and in a short time they collected an armament of about 200 sail of all sizes, carrying nearly 20,000 men. Don Antonio embarked in royal state, and the fleet commanded by Drake set sail. It was scarcely gone out of Plymouth when the queen was thrown into tender anxieties by missing the young Earl of Essex, who had disobeyed her orders, and gone to indulge his taste for war. The expedition was badly planned, miserably supplied with money and ammunition, and but lamely conducted after the landing of the troops. It was also disgraced by cruelties unusual even in that age. Drake repaired in the first instance to Corunna, where he took four ships of war and burned the lower town. The troops, which were commanded by Sir John Norris, defeated a body of Spaniards intrenched in the neighbourhood, but they could not take the upper town; and as their powder began to fall short, and sickness to rage in their ranks, they were re-embarked and carried to Peniche, on the Portuguese coast. From Peniche the fleet proceeded to the mouth of the Tagus, while the army marched through Torres-Vedras to Lisbon, proclaiming everywhere their Don Antonio. But, contrary to their expectations, no one joined the Don, and they found the country laid waste and bare. There was only a weak Spanish garrison within Lisbon, and the English said they would certainly have taken that capital if it had not been for their total want of proper artillery! Famine was now added to sickness: and Norris, who had disagreed with Drake as to the management of the campaign, thought the best thing to do was to re-embark and return home. The young Earl of Essex displayed a romantic bravery, yet the campaign, on the whole, was exceedingly inglorious. When they counted their numbers at Plymouth, more than one-half of their 20,000 had perished, or were missing.

On his return to court, Essex found that he had been nearly supplanted in the royal favour by Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Charles Blount, the latter, second son of Lord Mountjoy, and a student in the Temple; but he soon prevailed over these aspirants. Raleigh was sent into

¹ It appears that there were two stories, one being that he was poisoned by his wife; the other, that his death had been hastened by magic and conjuring.

Ireland, where he remained for several years; and, after fighting a duel with him, Essex contracted a great friendship for Blount, who soon afterwards became Earl of Mountjoy. But though Essex enjoyed the queen's good graces, and readily obtained gifts and favours for himself, he was generally unsuccessful in his applications for his friends, being constantly thwarted by the jealousy of the Cecils, and their party. In 1590, when Walsingham, the principal secretary, died, Essex earnestly pressed the claims of the unfortunate William Davison, who had been sacrificed to a state subterfuge; but the "old fox," as Essex called Lord Burghley, was resolved to put his son Robert, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, in Walsingham's place. The queen, beset by these rival parties, had recourse to one of those middle means which were familiar to her; she desired Burghley to take upon himself the vacant place, with permission to his son to act as his assistant. Essex, who was rather passionate than malicious, soon forgot the dispute, but it was treasured up in the cold, hollow heart of Sir Robert Cecil. About this time Essex married the widow of the lamented Sir Philip Sidney, who was a daughter of Walsingham. This was gall and wormwood to the queen, who, however, gradually seemed to forget the offence.

In the following year, 1591, the earl, whose ruling passion was a love of military glory, passed over to France with a small army of 4000 men, to assist Henry of Navarre, now Henry IV. of France. Henry, on the death of his predecessor, found himself opposed by the French Catholic League, and obliged to strengthen his right of birth with the right of conquest. He attempted, indeed, to disarm the hostility of the Catholic party by large concessions; but this so incensed the Huguenots, who had hitherto been his support, and in whose religion he had been brought up, that they threatened to leave him to the fury of his enemies. He was forced to abandon for a time the siege of Paris, and to retire into Normandy. At this crisis he applied to his old secret ally, Queen Elizabeth, who very opportunely supplied him with £20,000 in gold, and with some troops. Essex greatly distinguished himself, and lost by a musket-shot his only brother, Walter Devereux, to whom he was fondly attached. Other expeditions were sent over from time to time, that contributed to check the enemies of Henry, particularly in Brittany, where the Spaniards, in alliance with the lords of the League, had landed a considerable force. This war, though somewhat costly, and contributing in no very direct manner to any English interest, was very popular with the Protestants; but in 1593, Henry, to secure peace to his throne, embraced the Catholic religion. Elizabeth charged him with

perfidy and double-dealing; but when the French king agreed to maintain an offensive and defensive war against Philip, as long as Philip should remain at war with England, she was fain to be satisfied.

Henry IV. derived no very great advantage from his war with Spain, to which Elizabeth had bound him. He saw Champagne invaded and Burgundy threatened, Picardy overrun and Doullens and Cambrai taken by the Spaniards; and in the month of April, 1596, the Archduke Albert, who had succeeded to the government of the Spanish Netherlands, took from him the town and citadel of Calais. Elizabeth, who had of late been very sparing of her money and troops, was alarmed at the latter conquest, which brought the Spaniards, who were again talking of invasion, to the very threshold of her own door, and her grief and consternation were great, as her two chief naval commanders, Drake and Hawkins, had died of sickness and vexation in the preceding year, in the course of a very unsuccessful expedition to Spanish America. She now took to writing prayers, and Sir Robert Cecil told Essex that no prayer is so fruitful as that which proceedeth from those who nearest in nature and power approach the Almighty; but the Lord Howard of Effingham, thinking that something more was wanting, suggested another attack upon the Spanish coast; and in the month of June, 1596, a fleet of 150 sail, with 14,000 land troops, sailed from Plymouth. The lord-admiral took the command of the fleet, and the Earl of Essex of the army; but to make up for the inexperience and rashness of the young earl, he was ordered to submit all important measures to a council of war, composed of Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir George Carew, and other tried officers. In the month of June the fleet sailed into Cadiz Bay, and in defiance of the fire from the forts and battlements and fifteen large men-of-war, they got into the harbour, where, after a fierce fight, which lasted six hours, three of the largest of the Spanish ships were taken, and about fifty sail were plundered and burned. As soon as this was over, Essex disembarked a part of the land force, and on the next day he forced the city of Cadiz to capitulate. The inhabitants paid 12,000 crowns for their lives; their houses, their merchandise, their goods of all kinds were plundered by the conquerors, and the whole loss sustained by the Spaniards on this occasion was estimated at 20,000,000 ducats. Essex, who was the real hero of this short campaign, would have retained the conquest, and he offered to remain at Cadiz and Isla de Leon with 3000 men, but he was overruled, and compelled to re-embark, having first seen the fortifications razed.

On the return of this expedition, which was not

absent above ten weeks, dissensions and jealousies broke out among the commanders, and the queen was incensed at the small portion of the plunder which was brought to her treasury. The Cecils had taken advantage of his absence to undermine the great credit of Essex, and now he was insi-

the destruction of the new Armada in its own ports, for the intercepting of the treasure ships, and the harassing the Spanish coasts and colonies. The command was given to the ardent Essex, who had under him Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Walter Raleigh. The fleet sailed from Ply-

mouth in the month of July, 1597, but it was almost immediately driven back upon the coast by a tremendous storm, which disabled many of the ships. It did not get to sea again till the 17th of August, by which time the men had eaten up all their provisions. Although Essex captured three Spanish ships, which were returning



diously assailed from all sides, and Sir Walter Raleigh intrigued against him, and claimed to himself the chief merit of the expedition. Essex was sinking to rise no more, when a lucky accident came to his assistance. The Spanish treasure ships from the New World arrived safely in Spain, with 20,000,000 dollars on board. Essex maintained that he had projected a voyage from Cadiz to Terceira, for the purpose of intercepting this rich prize, and that he certainly should have succeeded in doing so had he not been thwarted and overruled by the creatures of the Cecils. Old Burghley, who made some false steps to recover the good-will of Essex—things almost unaccountable in such a man—was called to his face a miscreant and coward, and driven for a time from court. Essex was somewhat over-proud and confident on this victory, but not being capable of a lasting hatred, he consented, in the course of a few months, to a regular treaty of peace and amity with the Cecils, which was managed, for his own purposes, by Sir Walter Raleigh. But in the beginning of the year 1597 Essex quarrelled with the queen for promoting his personal enemy, Henry Lord Cobham, to the office of warden of the Cinque-ports, which he, Essex, had petitioned Elizabeth to grant to his near connection, Sir Robert Sidney. He left the court, and was mounting his horse to go into Wales when the queen pressingly recalled him, and to pacify him made him master of the ordnance. Philip of Spain was now preparing a new Armada. The English cabinet resolved to anticipate this attack, and after some struggles with the queen's economy, they fitted out a powerful armament for

from the Havannah, and which were valued at £100,000, and although he took, in the Azores, the isles of Fayal, Graciosa, and Flores, which the English could not keep, his expedition was considered a failure. A Spanish fleet had threatened the English coast in his absence, and on his return the queen received him with frowns and reproaches. The earl, who was further incensed by some steps gained in the government by Sir Robert Cecil and his friends, retired to his house at Wanstead in Essex, and, under pretence of sickness, refused to go either to court or parliament. But the queen, who was constantly quarrelling with him when present, could not bear his prolonged absence, and she got him back by creating him hereditary earl-marshal.

At this moment Spain, which for some time had been secretly negotiating with France, intimated that it would gladly include England in a general peace, and in the month of May, 1598, Sir Robert Cecil, who had been on a mission to Paris, brought direct proposals for a treaty. The Cecils, with all the rest of that tribe, insisted that these proposals should be entertained, but the warlike Essex argued hotly for a continuation of hostilities. The dispute in the cabinet grew violent, and old Burghley, losing his temper altogether, told Essex that he thought of nothing but blood and slaughter, and drawing out of his pocket a psalm-book, pointed to the words "blood-thirsty men shall not live out half their days." The Cecil party carried the majority of the nation with them. In the meanwhile Henry IV. of France had signed with Philip the treaty of Vervins, by which he recovered possession of

Calais and the other places which he had lost during his alliance with Elizabeth.

Ireland was in a most alarming state, and it was deemed expedient to send over a new lord-deputy with extraordinary powers. The Cecils



SIR ROBERT CECIL, afterwards Earl of Salisbury.—From the portrait by Zuccherò.

proposed one officer, Essex another: the queen sided with the Cecils, and attacked Essex with her usual severity of language.¹ The earl, forgetting himself and his duty, turned his back upon his sovereign in a kind of contempt. The queen would not bear this insolence, and so bestowed on him a box on the ear and bade him go to the devil. Essex immediately clapped his hand on his sword, and swore a great oath, that he neither could nor would put up with an affront of that nature, nor would he have taken it at the hands of Henry VIII. himself; and so saying, he rushed out of the apartment, and instantly withdrew from court, again to brood over his wrongs in his house at Wanstead. From June till October he remained in that solitude, but then, to the surprise of most people, he returned to court, and apparently to the possession of his former favour. It is doubted, however, whether Elizabeth ever forgave him. "His friends," says Camden, "dated the earl's ruin from this unfortunate circumstance; making this remark, that fortune rarely caresses a cast-off favourite a second time." During Essex's seclusion Burghley had gone to his grave. That remarkable statesman died on the 4th of August, 1598, in the 78th year of his age, having mainly directed the councils of Elizabeth

for forty long years. Elizabeth is said to have wept bitterly at his death. About the same time, however, her heart was lightened by intelligence of the death of her arch-enemy, Philip of Spain.

We pass over many of the persecutions, state trials, and sanguinary executions, which threw a gloom on the last years of this reign: but there is one case which, on account of its frightful absurdity, seems to merit a moment's notice. One Stanley accused a private soldier, named Squires, of a design to poison the queen. Squires, after lying on the rack *for five hours*, confessed that Walpole, a Jesuit, had engaged him to commit the crime, and had furnished him with a most powerful poison. The poison was contained in a double bladder, which Squires was to prick with a pin, and then to press on the pommel of the queen's saddle. The queen (so went the story) would undoubtedly touch the poison with her hand, and afterwards move her hand to her mouth or nose, and so death must ensue, as the said poison was "so subtle and penetrating" that it would instantly reach either her lungs or her stomach. The tortured man moreover confessed that he had actually rubbed some of the poison into the pommel of the saddle on which the queen's majesty had actually ridden. On the trial one of the queen's counsel could not describe her majesty's peril for weeping, and another of them declared that her escape was as great a miracle as any recorded in Holy Writ. The prisoner now said that he had confessed all sorts of things on the rack merely to escape from that torture. He was executed as a traitor, and died maintaining his innocence of what we may pretty safely call an impossible crime.

Upon the accession of Philip III., though no treaty of peace was concluded, the war was allowed to languish, and by degrees all parties began to entertain the notion of an enduring peace.

Meanwhile, the state of Ireland grew worse and worse, though before this time things were brought to such extremities, that Walsingham had thought it no treason to wish the island and all in it buried in the sea. "The Irish nation," says a quaint old historian of the court of Elizabeth, "we may call a malady, and a consumption of her times, for it accompanied her to her end; and it was of so profuse and vast an expense, that it drew near unto a distemperature of state and of passion in herself; for, towards her last, she grew somewhat hard to please, her armies being accustomed to prosperity, and the Irish prosecution not answering her expectations, and her wonted success; for it was a good while an unthrifty and inauspicious war, which did much disturb and mislead her judgment; and the more for that it was a precedent taken out of her own pattern. For as the queen, by way of division

¹ The struggle here was, not which of the two, Essex or the Cecils, should appoint his friend, but which should prevent his friend's being appointed. The post of lord-lieutenant or deputy in Ireland was no longer an enviable one.

had, at her coming to the crown, supported the revolting states of Holland, so did the King of Spain turn the trick upon herself, towards her going out, by cherishing the Irish rebellion."¹

The present leader of the Irish insurgents was Hugh, the son of the late Baron of Duncannon, who had been exalted by the queen to the earldom of Tyrone, and who had exalted himself to be the O'Neil and rightful Irish sovereign of Ulster—an extraordinary man, ambitious, crafty, brave, and of an indefatigable activity. Under his guidance the Irish pursued a consistent plan, which they had never done before. They wore out the English troops by a desultory warfare among marshes, woods, and hills; and strong in their numbers and improved discipline, they ventured to face them in the open field. Sir John Norris, the veteran who had gained honour in the Netherlands and in France, was harassed to death, and died of sheer grief and vexation. Sir Henry Bagnall was defeated in a pitched battle fought at Blackwater, in Tyrone, and lost his own life, the lives of 1500 of his men, his artillery, and ammunition. After this victory all the Irish, with the exception of a few septs, proclaimed the Earl of Tyrone the saviour of his country, and rose in arms, with the hope of wholly expelling the English. To meet the storm and to measure swords with the Earl of Tyrone, it was necessary to appoint a general of superior ability, and one that enjoyed the favour of the English army. The Cecils suggested that none was so fit as the Earl of Essex, for they wished to remove him from court, and involve him in a business which had brought death, or disgrace and ruin to all preceding commanders. The earl was warned by his friends to beware of Ireland: he expressed great reluctance to take the command; but at last he yielded to the requests of the queen, and the temptations of a large sum of money and greater powers and privileges than had been enjoyed by any of his predecessors; and in the month of March, 1599, he left London for Ireland. Almost as soon as he reached Ireland he appointed his friend the Earl of Southampton to be general of the horse, considering that the power to make such an appointment was vested in him. But the queen, after some angry correspondence, compelled him to revoke it.² Soon after he was accused of wasting time and money. He replied that he acted by the advice of the lords of the Irish council, and in consideration of the state of affairs. The queen harshly told him that she had great cause to think that his purpose was to prolong the war. The Cecils

took every advantage of this fresh quarrel, and they no doubt helped to check the earl's supplies and embarrass his operations. His troops seem, indeed, to have been a Falstaff's army; many deserted, many fell lame, and could not, or would not, march; and then a sickness of a serious kind, the effect of scanty or bad provisions, broke out amongst them. By the month of August he had no more than 3500 foot and 300 horse in the field. He demanded and obtained a reinforcement of 2000 men, upon which he marched, for the first time, into Ulster, the centre of the rebellion. He went, however, complaining that he had received nothing but "discomforts and soul wounds," and that Raleigh and Cobham with others were working his ruin at home. On the 5th of September Essex came up with Tyrone and his whole army in the county of Louth, but instead of a battle their meeting ended in a personal parley, the result of which was an armistice for six weeks, which was to be renewed from six weeks to six weeks, until May-day following. The Earl of Tyrone gave Essex several demands on the part of the Irish, which he undertook to deliver to the queen. Tyrone returned with all his forces into the heart of his country. Essex, upon receiving some angry despatches from England, left the government of Ireland to the Archbishop of Dublin and Sir George Carew, and, without waiting for any order or permission, hastened to London. Upon Michaelmas Eve, about ten o'clock in the morning, he alighted at the court-gate in post, and made all haste up to the presence, and so to the privy-chamber, and stayed not till he came to the queen's bed-chamber, where he found the queen newly up, with her hair about her face; he kneeled unto her, kissed her hands, and had some private speech with her, which seemed to give him great contentment; for when he came from her majesty he was very pleasant, and thanked God, though he had suffered much trouble and storms abroad, he found a sweet calm at home. In the course of the forenoon he had a long conference with her majesty, who was very gracious towards him. All the lords and ladies and court gentlemen also were very courteous—only a strangeness was observed between the earl and Sir Robert Cecil and that party. But after dinner, when Essex went again to the queen, he found her much changed; and she began to call him to question for his unauthorized return, and his leaving of all things in Ireland in such peril and confusion.³ At night, between ten and eleven o'clock, he received an order from her majesty to consider himself a prisoner in his room. On the next day the lords sat in council, and called Essex before them. It was said that never man answered with more temper, more gravity, or dis-

¹ Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia*.

² It appears that Lord Southampton's disfavour with the queen arose from his marrying without her leave a kinswoman of the Earl of Essex.

³ *Sidney Papers*.

cretion.¹ Three days after he was delivered to the lord-keeper to be kept in "free custody." The great and little Bacon, who had had many obligations to Essex, but who was now making his way to power through intricate mazes, was consulted by the earl. "It is but a mist," said Bacon; "but it is as mists are—if it go upwards it may cause a shower; if downwards it will clear up;" by which periphrasis he meant that all must depend on the queen's humour. This humour seemed to be fixed in spite and revenge. She said that she sought his amendment, not his destruction; but she consulted with the judges whether he might not be charged with high treason; she denied him the society of his wife, the attendance of his physician, even when Essex lay dangerously ill. In the month of May, 1600, when he had been nearly eight months under restraint, he made a touching appeal to his sovereign, telling her how he had languished in four months' sickness, felt the very pangs of death upon him, and his poor reputation not suffered to die with him, but buried and he alive. On the 26th of August he was released from custody, being told that he was not to appear at court. A few days after his release a valuable patent for the monopoly of sweet wines, which he had held for some years, expired: he petitioned for a renewal of it as an aid to his shattered fortunes; but the queen, saying that, "in order to manage an ungovernable beast, he must be stinted in his provender," positively refused.

Essex now became desperate, and there was one at his elbow to prompt the most desperate deeds; this was Cuffe, his secretary, "a man smothered under the habit of a scholar, and slubbered over with a certain rude and clownish fashion that had the semblance of integrity."² The secretary suggested that he might easily recover his former ascendancy by forcibly removing Sir Robert Cecil, Raleigh, and others, from court. Essex knew that he had been the darling of the Londoners, who, with as much boldness as was consistent with prudence, had defended his conduct in Ireland, had laid the blame of his failures and his crosses on the malice of his enemies, and had compassionated his misfortunes. Some of the preachers had, indeed, been bolder than this—defending him in the pulpit, and praying for him by name. Nor had the press been idle; pamphlets were put forth in his favour; and Heywood, a civilian, published a curious history of the deposition of Richard II., and dedicated it to the earl, with lavish commendations of his cha-

racter. Other daring men joined in the advice given by Cuffe; and Essex finally adopted their perilous plan. He threw open the gates of his house in London, and thither flocked Catholic



ESSEX HOUSE, STRAND, from the River.—After Hollar.

priests, Puritan preachers, soldiers and sailors, young citizens and needy adventurers. A strong party of military men, officers who had served under him, took up lodgings in his immediate neighbourhood, and formed themselves into a council. Essex, moreover, wrote to the King of Scots, representing the court party as engaged in a conspiracy against his title to the succession, in favour of the Infanta of Spain, Donna Isabella Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II., and married to the Archduke Albert. It was impossible that these proceedings should be kept secret: the court soon heard all, and summoned Essex to appear before the privy council. At that moment a note from an unknown writer, warning him to provide for his safety, was put into his hand; and he was told, soon after, that the guard had been doubled at the palace. He saw that he must either flee, be arrested where he was, or strike his blow; and on the following morning, being Sunday, the 8th of February, in conjunction with the Earls of Rutland and Southampton, Lord Sandys, Lord Mounteagle, and about 300 gentlemen, many of whom had joined him the preceding night, on notice sent to them by him that his life was threatened by Cobham and Raleigh, he resolved to enter the city during sermon time at Paul's Cross, to call upon the people to join him against his enemies, and with their help to force his way to the queen. As the company was about to set forth, the Lord-keeper Egerton, Sir William Knollys, the Lord Chief-justice Popham, and the Earl of Worcester, arrived at Essex House to inquire the cause of that tumultuous assembly. They were admitted into the house by the wicket-gate, but their attendants were excluded.

¹ Sidney Papers.

² Reliquiæ Wottonianæ.

When Egerton and Popham asked what all this meant, Essex replied, in a loud and passionate voice—"There is a plot laid for my life—letters have been forged in my name—men have been hired to murder me in my bed—mine enemies cannot be satisfied unless they suck my blood!" The lord chief-justice said that he ought to explain his case, and that the queen would do impartial justice. While this conversation was going on a tumult arose in the assembly, and some voices exclaimed—"They abuse you, my lord—they betray you—you are losing time!" The lord-keeper, putting on his cap, and turning to the assembly, commanded them, in the queen's name, to lay down their arms and depart. Upon this there was a louder cry—"Kill them! kill them! keep them for hostages!—away with the great seal!" The Earl of Essex took them to an inner apartment, where, bidding them have patience for half an hour, he bolted the door upon them, and placed over them a guard of musketeers. Then, drawing his sword, he rushed out of his house, followed by the Earls of Rutland and Southampton, Lord Sandys, Lord Mounteagle, and most of the gentlemen. On reaching the city he found that the streets were empty, that there was no preaching at Paul's Cross, and that the people remained quiet within their houses. The queen had procured this great quiet by sending orders to the lord-mayor and aldermen. The earl shouted—"For the queen, my mistress!—a plot is laid for my life!"—and he entreated the citizens to arm themselves. But though the common people cried—"God bless your honour!" not one man, from the chiefest citizen to the meanest artificer or 'prentice, armed with him. The citizens were not without their discounts and desire of change, particularly on the grounds of religion—for London swarmed with Puritans—but their wealth made them cautious and loyal.¹ Essex went into the house of Smith, one of the sheriffs, and remained there some time, not knowing what to do. About two o'clock in the afternoon he again went forth, and having passed to and fro through divers streets, and being forsaken by many of his followers, he resolved to make the nearest way to his own house. He found the streets barricaded in many places with empty carts, and coming into Ludgate, he was strongly resisted by several companies of well-armed men, levied and placed there by the Lord-bishop of London. A sharp skirmish ensued; several were wounded; the earl himself was twice shot through the hat; and Sir Christopher Blount, his stepfather, was sore wounded in the head, and taken prisoner. Essex then turned, and retreated into Friday Street; and, being faint, he desired drink, which was given him by the

citizens. He made his way to Queenhithe, where he took boat, and so gained Essex House. To his increased dismay he found that all the imprisoned lords had been liberated and conveyed to court, by his own esteemed trusty friend and servant, Sir Ferdinando George, who by this act sought to provide for his own safety. He then fortified his house with full purpose to die in his own defence—hoping, however, it is said, that the citizens would yet join him. But the house was presently hemmed in on all sides by a very great force, and not a man came to his relief. Some great pieces of artillery were planted against the building. His case was hopeless, but still he hesitated. One of his faithful followers, Captain Owen Salisbury, seeing all hopes were gone, stood openly in a window, bare-headed, on purpose to be slain; and one in the street hit him in the head with a musket bullet. At length, about ten o'clock at night, Essex held a parley, and then surrendered to the lord-admiral, upon a promise of a fair hearing and a speedy trial. Essex and the Earl of Southampton were committed to the Tower, the other prisoners were lodged in various jails in London and Westminster.² On the 19th the Earls of Essex and Southampton were arraigned before twenty-five peers, with the Lord Buckhurst as lord-steward. Among the peers were Cobham and Grey, and others the personal enemies of Essex, the very men whom he had accused of seeking his life. With his eye fixed on these men, Essex touched his companion in misfortune, Southampton, on the sleeve, and smiled. The indictment charged them with having imagined to deprive and depose the queen's majesty, to procure her death and destruction, and also a cruel slaughter of her majesty's subjects, with alteration of the religion established, and total change of government.

Essex, in pleading not guilty, called God to witness that he had done nothing but that which the law of nature commanded him to do in his own defence. The indictment was supported with the usual vehemence by the crown lawyers, Yelverton, Coke, and Francis Bacon. The latter, by his conduct on this occasion, laid some of the dark spots on his fame which no genius can or ought ever to erase. It appears, however, that his tone was less virulent than that of either Coke or Yelverton; but Coke and Yelverton were not bound to the Earl of Essex, as Bacon was, by the strongest obligations. Yelverton compared Essex to Catiline; for as Catiline entertained the most seditious persons about all Rome, so had the Earl of Essex entertained none but Papists, recusants, and atheists for his rebellion in London; but he hoped that God, of his mercy, would not suffer any hurt; and he prayed

¹ Camden.² Camden; Stow.

God long to preserve the queen. Essex and Southampton said "Amen! and God confound their souls whoever wished otherwise." Coke, as attorney-general, defined the crime, and set forth the acts of treason proved by witnesses of the insurrection, and by the confessions of accomplices, whom the queen, "out of overmuch clemency to others, and overmuch cruelty to herself, *had spared the rack and torture*," and he ended a long speech, in which he called the prisoners Papist and dissolute, desperate and atheistical, by saying, "The earl would have called a parliament; and a bloody parliament would that have been, where my Lord of Essex, that now stands all in black, would have worn a bloody robe; but now, in God's just judgment, he of his earldom shall be Robert the last, that of a kingdom thought to be Robert the first." Essex begged that he might not be judged by the atrocity of Coke's words, but by the facts; declaring that he resorted to arms in self-defence, and to remove evil counsellors, naming Cobham and Raleigh; that he had never the remotest thought of violence to the queen. Cobham, who was sitting among the peers, rose in his place, and said that he bore no malice, but only hated the ambition of Essex. Essex swore that he would submit to have his right hand cut off if it might remove from the queen's person such a tale-bearing, vile calumniator. The Earl of Southampton pleaded that many things, indeed, were propounded, but nothing performed, or even resolved upon; that it had, indeed, been advised among them that they should surprise the court, and take the Tower at once; but, as neither of these two things had been done, there could be no treason. It is true, he said, they had consulted at Drury House how they should secure the queen or get free access to her; but this was only that they might prostrate themselves at her feet, and lay forth their grievances, which were concealed from her by those who constantly surrounded her. "I confess," he added, "that I could have been well content to have ventured my life in my Lord of Essex's quarrel against his private enemies: this was the whole scope and drift of all our meetings; and that this was not with any treasonable thought I take God to witness." Bacon had to perform the task of taking to pieces and exposing the "weak defence" of his former friend and patron Essex. "And this I must needs say," said he, "it is quite evident that my Lord of Essex had design in his heart against the government, and now, under colour of excuse, he lays the cause upon his private enemies. My Lord of Essex, I cannot compare your proceedings more rightly than to those of Pisistratus in Athens. My Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh, if you rightly understood them, are your best friends,

honourable and faithful counsellors." Here Essex reminded Bacon that he himself, "who was a daily courtier, and had free access to her majesty," pretending to be his friend, and grieved at his misfortunes, had undertaken to go to the queen in his behalf, and had drawn up in his own hand a letter, from which it would appear what conceit he, Mr. Bacon, had of those two men (Cobham and Raleigh) and of him. Coke came in to the aid of Bacon, who was somewhat abashed by this reference to his own doings and free speaking about Cecil, Cobham, and Raleigh.



SIR EDWARD COKE.—From a fine print by Loggan.

Essex was accused of saying, in London, that the crown of England was sold to the Spaniards. "I spake it not of myself," said Essex, "for it was told me that Mr. Secretary Cecil did say to one of his fellow-counsellors that the infant's title, comparatively, was as good in succession as any other." Upon this Sir Robert Cecil, who had been present in the court, but unseen, started up from his hiding-place, and then humbly prayed the lord high-steward, upon his knees, to give him leave to answer to so false and foul a report. Having obtained permission, he fell upon the prisoner in this sort—"My Lord of Essex, the difference between you and me is great. For wit I give you the pre-eminence—you have it abundantly; for nobility also I give you place—I am not noble, yet a gentleman; I am no swordsman—there, also, you have the odds; but I have innocence, conscience, truth, and honesty, to defend me against the scandal and sting of slanderous tongues; and in this court I stand as an upright man, and your lordship as a delinquent. . . . You have a wolf's heart in a sheep's garment: in

appearance humble and religious, but in this opposition not so. God be thanked we now know you; your religion appears by those Papists who were your chief counsellors, and to whom and others you had promised liberty of conscience hereafter. . . . But I challenge you to name the counsellor to whom I spoke these words about the infant's title. Name him if you dare; if you do not name him, it must be believed to be a fiction." The Earl of Essex, turning to Southampton, said that *he* was the honourable person that had heard it all. Cecil then conjured Southampton, by their former friendship, to name the counsellor who had said that he (Cecil) had spoken those words. Southampton appealed to the court whether it were consistent with honour that he should betray the secret; "and," added he, "if you say upon your honour it be fit, I will name him." The court said that it was fit and honourable; and Southampton thereupon said, "It was told my Lord of Essex and myself that you should speak such words about the infant to Mr. Comptroller, Sir William Knollys." A serjeant-at-arms was despatched for Knollys; and, in the interval, Coke pressed the accusations of hypocrisy and irreligion upon Essex—"forasmuch as, having in his house continual preaching, he yet was content to have Sir Christopher Blount, a notorious Papist, in his house, and to promise toleration of religion." Blount, it must be remembered, was Essex's stepfather.¹ The earl said he knew him to be a Papist, and had often sought his conversion; and that, being in speech together about matter of religion, Blount had told him that he was too passionate against those of his profession: "Where-to," said Essex, "I replied thus—Did you ever know that at such times as I had power in the state, I was willing that any one should be troubled for his conscience? And this, my lords, is the whole ground and substance of my promise for toleration of religion." It was very unnecessary for him to defend himself against what ought to have tended to his glory! When Sir William Knollys arrived in court, he deposed that he merely heard Cecil say that the title of the infant was maintained in a printed book.² It was not likely that Knollys should commit himself in a question between a fallen favourite and a minister of state, like Sir Robert Cecil, daily rising in favour and power: on the other hand, the charge against Cecil wears little appearance of probability. None of the witnesses were produced on the trial, with the exception of George, who had liberated the ministers from Essex's

house, and this man was confused and pale when cross-questioned by Essex. After another speech by Bacon, who now compared Essex to the Duke of Guise, and called his *defence* a silly defence, and his *offence* treason, the lord high-steward directed the peers to withdraw, and ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to remove the two prisoners from the bar.

When the lords had got together in a private place, the two chief-justices and the lord chief-baron went to them to deliver their opinions in law. In half an hour the peers came forth again with an unanimous sentence of guilty against both the earls. When the clerk of the crown asked the mournful question of form, what he could say for himself why judgment of death should not be pronounced against him, Essex answered like a man tired of life, but he begged earnestly for mercy to his friend Southampton. The lord-steward advised him to submit, and implore the queen's mercy by acknowledging and confessing all his offences. Essex begged him not to think him too proud, but he could not ask for mercy in that way, though with all humility he prayed her majesty's forgiveness; he would rather die than live in misery; he had cleared his accounts, had forgiven all the world, and was ready and willing to be out of it.³ Immediately after his arrival at the Tower, he was visited by the dean of Norwich, who was to endeavour to obtain from him the names of all such as had been engaged with him in any way in the enterprise. The dean met with no success; but it was otherwise when the earl was attended by his own chaplain, Mr. Ashton—"a base, fearful, and mercenary man," who had obtained a great ascendancy over him, and who, to all appearance, had now sold himself to the Cecil party at court. The day after Ashton's visit, Essex, it is said, made an ample confession, implicating several individuals, and, among others, the King of Scotland. His confession filled four sheets of paper; but many doubts are entertained as to its authenticity. We believe that the story of the queen's vacillation and agony, with the romantic incident of the ring, rests upon no good foundation. Her personal regard for Essex had been extinguished for some time; and it is proved, by letters and documents in the State Paper Office, that, as soon as his confession was obtained, his execution was prepared, without serious objection on the part of the queen. One of the strangest things attending the case was the resolution to make this execution a private one, and to declare that the earl himself had been an exceeding earnest suitor to be executed privately in the Tower, whither no friend, not even his wife or mother, had been admitted to see him since his first com-

¹ He had married Essex's mother on the death of her second husband, the favourite Leicester.

² *A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England.* This book, which bears the assumed name of Dolesman, is supposed to have been written by the celebrated English Jesuit, Father Parsons.

³ *Jardine, Criminal Trials.*

mittal! It was evidently an object with government to bury the real voice of the earl, that he might not retrieve his character for honour and faithfulness to his friends, or question or contradict the alleged confession. Where precautions like these are taken—when things are witnessed by a few picked courtiers and discreet divines, we can have no reliance on the descriptions of executions and last words.¹

On Ash Wednesday, the 25th of February, at about eight o'clock in the morning, the head of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, was severed from his body in an inner court of the Tower. Sir Walter Raleigh, according to his own account, witnessed his death from the Armoury. He was only thirty-three years old! "He was a most accomplished person," says Camden, "and had all those good qualities in perfection that become a nobleman. The queen had a particular value for him, because he was a brave soldier, and, indeed, was made for a camp. . . . Indeed, he was a person not rightly calculated for a court, as being not easily brought to any mean compliances. He was of a temper that would readily kindle at an injury, but would not so easily forget one; and so far was he from being capable of dissembling a resentment, that he carried his passions in his forehead, and the friend or the enemy was easily read in his face." But, though impetuous and rash, Essex was far indeed from being the hair-brained shallow man that he has been represented. His acquirements were very considerable; and "all his letters," as it has been observed, "whether in Latin or English, of an earlier or later date, public or private, partake uniformly of the same clearness and elegance of manner."² Bacon admitted that his style was better than his own; and to beauty of style and a refined and elegant taste Essex united occasionally great and noble thoughts. His name, also, ought to be revered as that of a friend to religious toleration in a most intolerant age. He was acceptable, says Carte, to the Catholics, for his extreme aversion to the putting of anybody to death on account of religion. "The Irish," said Essex himself, "are alienated from the English as well for religion as government. . . . I would achieve pacification there by composition rather than by the sword." The Earl of Southampton was not sent to the block, but he remained a close prisoner in the Tower until the accession

of James I., when he was immediately released, restored to his title and estates, and taken into that sovereign's favour.

There were many things which rendered the close of this long reign gloomy and altogether different from its beginning. In spite of the pulpit and the press, Essex continued the darling of the people, and a strong current of unpopularity set in against the government. When the old queen appeared abroad the people no longer hailed her as they had been wont to do; and her ministers and counsellors were insulted and hooted. And yet they went on to shed more blood about this wild business, which ought to have been forgotten as soon as over. On the last day of February a young man named Woodhouse was hanged for speaking against the queen's proclamation and apprehending of the Earl of Essex. On the 13th of March, Cuffe, the secretary, and Merrick, the steward of Essex, were drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered. On the 18th of March Sir Charles Davers, or Danvers, a close friend of the Earl of Southampton, was publicly beheaded upon Tower-hill. On the same day, and as soon as the body of this victim was removed from the scaffold, Sir Christopher Blount, the stepfather of the Earl of Essex, was stretched over the same block, and died with equal firmness, protesting that he had been and was a true Catholic. Sir Walter Raleigh stood near the scaffold all the time, not foreseeing the day when he should be there as a sufferer, not as a spectator. Sir John Davies, Sir Edward Baynam, and Mr. Littleton were also condemned as traitors; but Davis, after a year's confinement, obtained a pardon; Baynam bought a pardon by giving large sums of money to Sir Walter Raleigh; and Littleton, having surrendered a great estate, and paid a fine of £10,000, was removed to the King's Bench, where he died three months after.

If at this moment Elizabeth had had the neck of the sapient James of Scotland under the protection of her laws, it would scarcely have had a better chance than his mother's; for Elizabeth, no doubt, knew of that prince's correspondence with the Earl of Essex. There is some reason, indeed, for suspecting that the English queen was not unconcerned in an extraordinary affair which happened in Scotland only a few months before Essex's wild outbreak. The Gowrie conspiracy, as it is called, is perhaps the most perplexing puzzle in history—for not only is the evidence as to the facts defective and contradictory, which is a common case, but we are scarcely any nearer a satisfactory solution of the mystery, let us select any version of the story we please. Among many different theories which the ingenuity of modern inquirers has suggested,

¹ Some said that Essex was executed so privately only for fear that he might say something unfavourable to the queen's virtue. Cecil was uncommonly earnest in declaring in the French court, where Essex was much admired, that the earl had petitioned to die in private. "Nay," replied Henry IV., "rather the clean contrary, for he desired nothing more than to die in public." That part of the clergy, however, that were in the habit of receiving court orders, declared that the earl had asked for a private execution, in order that he might not have his religious thoughts disturbed.

² Ellis, *Original Letters*.

one, proposed by an eminent historian, would trace the attempt directly to the contrivance of Elizabeth: in support of which view it is alleged that, besides the Earl of Gowrie's known attachment to the English interest, he had, during his residence in Paris, contracted an intimate friendship with Sir Henry Neville, the queen's ambassador there, and was recommended by him to his court as a person of whom great use might be made; that he had been received by Elizabeth, as he returned home through England, with distinguished marks of respect and favour; that Elizabeth's participation in the affair was matter of general suspicion at the time; that for some months before an English ship was observed hovering in the mouth of the Firth of Forth; that after the failure of the conspiracy the earl's two younger brothers fled into England, and were protected by Elizabeth; and, finally, that James, though he prudently concealed what he felt, is well known to have at this time taken great umbrage at the behaviour of the English queen. The object of the Gowrie conspiracy, it is assumed on this supposition, was not to murder but only to coerce James, and control the government, as had been the object of the authors of the Raid of Ruthven, sixteen years before—an enterprise which was in like manner instigated and supported by Elizabeth.¹

In the month of October, 1601, Elizabeth met her parliament for the last time, sick and failing, but dressed more gaily and gorgeously than ever. She was in great straits for money in order to carry on the war in Ireland. The houses voted her much more than had ever been voted at a time, viz.—four subsidies, and eight tenths and fifteenths; but the commons were as free of their complaints as they were of their money, and they called loudly and boldly for a redress of grievances. The most notorious of the abuses which disgraced the civil government of Elizabeth were an endless string of monopolies, which had been for the most part bestowed by the queen on her favourites. All kind of wine, oil, salt, starch, tin, steel, coals, and numerous other commodities, were monopolized by men who had the exclusive right of vending them, and fixing their own prices. The commons' complaints were not new; they had pressed them many years before, but they had been then silenced by authority, and told that no one must speak against licenses and monopolies lest the queen and council should be angry thereat. Of course, in the interval, they had gone on increasing. When the list of them was now read over in the house, a member asked whether bread was not among the number? The house seemed amazed. "Nay," said he, "if no remedy is found for these, bread will

be there before the next parliament." The ministers and courtiers could not withstand the impetuous attacks which ensued. Raleigh, who dealt largely in tin, and had his fingers in other profitable monopolies, offered to give them all up: Cecil and Bacon talked loudly of the prerogative, and endeavoured to persuade the house that it would be fitter to proceed by petition than by bill; but it was properly answered that nothing had been gained by petitioning in the last parliament. After four days of such debate as the house had not heard before, Elizabeth sent down a message that she would revoke all grants that should be found injurious by fair trial at law; and Cecil, seeing that the commons were not satisfied with the ambiguous generality of this expression, gave an assurance that the existing patents should all be repealed and no more be granted. The commons hailed their victory with exceeding great joy, though in effect her majesty did not revoke all the monopolies. Elizabeth now employed an oblique irony against some of the movers in the debate, but the imperious tone, the harsh schooling, of former years, were gone. Her resolute will was now struggling in vain against the infirmities of her body, and she saw that there was a growing strength and spirit among the representatives of the people.

In the meantime the Lord Mountjoy, the successor to Essex in the command of Ireland, had to maintain a tremendous struggle, for Don Juan D'Aguilar landed at Kinsale with 4000 Spanish troops, fortified himself skilfully in that position, and gave fresh life to the Catholic insurgents. But Mountjoy acted with vigour and decision; he collected all the forces he possibly could, and shut up the Spaniards within their lines at Kinsale. On Christmas Eve (1601) the Earl of Tyrone advanced to the assistance of his friends with 6000 native Irish and 400 foreigners. His project was to attack the English besiegers by surprise before daylight, but Mountjoy, who was awake and ready, repulsed him from all points of his camp, and finally defeated him with great loss. Thereupon D'Aguilar capitulated, and was permitted to return to Spain, with arms, baggage, and ammunition. His departure and the destructive ravages of famine brought the Irish to extremities, and Tyrone, after fleeing from place to place, capitulated, and, upon promise of life and lands, surrendered to Mountjoy at the end of 1602.²

Mountjoy's great victory at Kinsale somewhat revived the spirits of Elizabeth, who found further consolation in a tall Irish favourite. "Her eye," writes Beaumont, the French ambassador, "is still lively; she has good spirits, and is fond of life, for which reason she takes great care of

¹ Robertson, *Hist. Scot.*

² Camden.

RELICS ASSOCIATED WITH QUEEN ELIZABETH.

- (1) Jewel given by Archbishop Parker to Queen Elizabeth.
- (2) The golden prayer-book of Queen Elizabeth.
- (3) Cup set with amethysts and turquois.
- (4) Cup given by Queen Elizabeth to Bullinger, A.D. 1560.
- (5) Cup belonging to the Goldsmiths' Coy., said to have been given by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Martin Bowes on her coronation.
- (6) Dish of glass supposed to have been used at the christening of Queen Elizabeth; in Dr. Williams' Library, London.
- (7) Book in embroidered cover, presented to Queen Elizabeth by Archbishop Parker; in British Museum.
- (8) Book of meditations and prayers in Latin, French, and Italian, written by Elizabeth when princess, and given to her father, Henry VIII. The cover was embroidered by Elizabeth, and is a monogram of Henry VIII. and Katherine, with heart's-case at the corners.
- (9) Pair of white linen gloves embroidered with black thread; in possession of H. Syers Cuming, Esq.
- (10) Violin, said to have been given by Elizabeth to the Earl of Leicester; in the possession of the Earl of Warwick.



Designed by J. L. Williams.

Engraved by W. M. Innes.

RELICS ASSOCIATED WITH QUEEN ELIZABETH.

herself: to which may be added an inclination for the Earl of Clancarty, a brave, handsome Irish nobleman. This makes her cheerful, full of hope and confidence respecting her age; this inclination is, besides, promoted by the whole court with so much art that I cannot sufficiently wonder at it. . . . The flatterers about the court say this Irish earl resembles the Earl of Essex; the queen, on the other hand, with equal dissimulation, declares that she cannot like him because he too strongly revives her sorrow for that earl; and this contest employs the whole court." A few months afterwards, on the 19th of March, 1603, Beaumont informed his court that Elizabeth was sinking, and that disease, and not, as she alleged, her grief at the recent death of the Countess of Nottingham, had prevented her from showing herself abroad—that she had scarcely any sleep, and ate much less than usual—that she had so great a heat of the mouth and stomach that she was obliged to cool herself every instant, in order that the burning phlegm, with which she was often oppressed, might not stifle her. Some people, he said, were of opinion that her illness had been brought on by her displeasure touching the succession; some, that it had been caused by the Irish affairs, her council having constrained her (against her nature and inclination) to grant a pardon to the Earl of Tyrone; while others affirmed that she was possessed with grief for the death of the Earl of Essex. "It is certain," adds the ambassador, "that a deep melancholy is visible in her countenance and actions. It is, however, much more probable that the sufferings incident to her age, and the fear of death, are the chief causes of all." In his next despatch he says that the queen, who would take no medicine whatever, was given up by the physicians. She would not take to her bed, for fear, as some supposed, of a prophecy she should die in that bed. "For the last two days," he adds, "she has been sitting on cushions on the floor, neither rising nor lying down, her finger almost always in her mouth, her eyes open and fixed on the ground. . . . Yet, as this morning the queen's band has

gone to her, I believe she means to die as cheerfully as she has lived."

On the 21st of March, she was laid in bed, partly by force, and listened attentively to the prayers and discourses of the Bishop of Chichester, the Bishop of London, but chiefly to Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury. It is scarcely necessary to put the reader on his guard against an over-positive belief in any of the accounts of what passed in these moments of mystery and awe, when the people about her were determined to make her say the things that made most for their interest and plans. The narrative more generally received is, that, on the 22d of March, Secretary Cecil, with the lord-admiral and the lord-keeper, approached the dying queen and begged her to name her successor: she started, and then said, "I told you my seat has been the seat of kings; I will have no *rascal* to succeed me!" The lords, not understanding this dark speech, looked the one on the other; but, at length, Cecil boldly asked her what she meant by those words—"no rascal?" She replied that a king should succeed her, and who could that be but her cousin of Scotland? They then asked her whether that was her absolute resolution? whereupon she begged them to trouble her no more. Notwithstanding, some hours after, when the Archbishop of Canterbury and other divines had been with her, and had left her in a manner speechless, the three lords repaired to her again, and Cecil besought her, if she would have the King of Scots to succeed her, she would show a sign unto them. Whereat, suddenly heaving herself up in her bed, she held both her hands joined together over her head in manner of a crown. Then she sank down, fell into a dose, and, at three o'clock on the morning of the 24th of March, which Bacon accounted "as a fine morning before sun-rising," meaning thereby the rising of James, she died in a stupor, without any apparent pain of mind or body, at her palace of Richmond. She was in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth year of her reign.¹

¹ Camden; Somers; Birch; D'Israeli; Raumer; Lodge.

CHAPTER XX.—HISTORY OF RELIGION.

A.D. 1485—1603.

Predominance of Popery during the earlier part of this period—Ineffectual attempts of Henry VII. to restrict it—Martyrdoms during his reign—Doctrines held by those who suffered martyrdom—Internal history of the church during the reign of Henry VII.—Theological controversy at the accession of Henry VIII.—Difficulty of punishing ecclesiastical offenders—Attempt to limit benefit of clergy—Trial of Richard Hunne for heresy—His death in prison—Trial and punishment of his dead body—Consequences to the church from this event—Wolsey's ascendancy and influence—Share of Henry VIII. in the English Reformation—Career of Luther in Germany—Controversy between Henry VIII. and Luther—Change in Henry's proceedings from his love of Anne Boleyn—Protestantism set up in England—Suppression of the monastic institutions—Charges brought against them—Waste of the confiscated church property—The Bible translated into English—Previous attempts to make the Scriptures accessible to the laity—The new translation made patent to the people—Its effects—Alterations made in the Directory for Public Worship—Publication and character of "King Henry's Primer"—Waverings of Henry VIII. in the progress of the Reformation—Doctrinal articles ratified in the convocation of 1536—Their compromising character—Destruction of images, relics, &c.—Reaction in the progress of the Reformation—Henry VIII. assumes to himself the authority of pope—His enactments in this new character—The six articles of the "Bloody Statute"—They are established as the rule of faith in England—They terminate the reformation of Henry VIII.—Injunctions issued by Bishop Bonner to his clergy—Their denunciation of miracle plays and interludes—Act of parliament to suppress these exhibitions—Parliamentary act to regulate the reading of the Scriptures—Publication of the "Bishops' Book"—Its subsequent editions and alterations—The "Bloody Statute" still continued—Martyrdoms in consequence of its violation—State of the English church at the close of the reign of Henry VIII.—Numeral superiority of the Papists over the Protestants at the accession of Edward VI.—Circumstances favourable to the Reformation—Its rapid rise—Homilies introduced by Crammer into the churches—Cautious proceedings of Crammer and the Reformers—Removal of images and religious emblems from the churches—The Book of Common Prayer introduced—Settlement of doctrine finally effected—Reform of the canon law—The reign of Mary advances the Reformation in England—Her proceedings as the opponent of the Reformation—Martyrdoms during her reign—English Protestants driven into exile—Accession of Elizabeth—Her leanings towards Popery—Her first steps to restrain the ardour of her Protestant subjects—Re-establishment of Protestantism—The oath of supremacy rejected by the bishops—General visitation of the National clergy—Its injunctions—Completion of the Protestant re-establishment in England, in 1562—Coverdale's new translation of the Bible—Middle position of the English church complained of—Legislative church enactments during the reign of Elizabeth—Abolition of the Papal supremacy—Act for uniformity in religious ordinances and public worship—Penalties for their infringement—Their execution against Papists—Rise of Puritanism in England—Its increase by the return of English exiles from abroad—Doctrine of the English on the right of private interpretation of Scripture—Sentiments of the earlier Puritans on the subject—Their ideas of toleration—Persecution commenced against the Puritans—They withdraw from the Established church—Strength of Puritanism in the English colleges—Continued war between Puritanism and the Established church—Statutes against the Puritans—Origin of the Brownists or Independents—Archbishop Whitgift's severe measures against the Puritans—Revival of the statute for the burning of heretics—It is brought into act against the Anabaptists. The Reformation in Scotland—Previous exemption of the country from the aggressions of the Popedom—Undue power obtained in consequence by the Scottish priesthood—Corruptions of the Scottish clergy—Their ignorance—Early facilities for a Reformation in Scotland—Patrick Hamilton, the first Scottish Reformer—His martyrdom—Martyrdom of George Wishart—Account of John Knox—He commences his public career at St. Andrews—His banishment—His return to Scotland—The question of religious reform brought before the Scottish parliament—The Confession of Faith established—The First Book of Discipline subscribed by the privy council—Summary of its principles—Office-bearers of the church—Different orders of church courts—Rules of church discipline—Their urgent necessity—Peculiarities of the Scottish Reformation—Knox's plans of reform opposed by the Scottish nobles—Pernicious effects of their opposition—The order of bishops continued in Scotland—Selfish purposes of the court in continuing them—James VI. attempts to rule the church through the bishops—His arbitrary proceedings to coerce the church.



NOT only the history of the changes that took place during this period in the constitution of the National church, but also, to some extent, of the new opinions, the controversies, and the persecutions out of which they arose, or by which they were accompanied,

has necessarily been given in the preceding chapters. The task that remains to us here is little more than to fill up the outline already drawn.

Throughout the reign of Henry VII., however, and the first half of that of his son and successor—that is to say, for rather more than a third of the present period—the ancient Roman faith was

still both the all but universal belief of the people, and the yet unmodified religion of the law. As often happens with institutions in the last stage of their existence, the power and glory of the Church of Rome, in England, seemed to blaze out afresh immediately before its downfall. It is enough to remark that this was the age of Wolsey, the most gorgeous and puissant prelate that had arisen since Becket. All the highest and most influential offices of the state were still, for the most part, in the hands of churchmen, who, while they monopolized, of course, the management of ecclesiastical affairs, were generally both the ministers of the crown at home, and its ambassadors and most trusted agents abroad. This preference, which they had formerly demanded as their right, was now accorded to them on the more reasonable ground of their superior qualifications, a ground which the ablest and wisest kings—those from whom they would have experienced the most determined resistance to their pretensions of a more absolute kind—were the readiest to admit. Thus, the politic, circum-spect, and acquisitive character of Henry VII. made him a favourer both of the church and of religion, without being either really religious or superstitious. This great king was a distinguished upholder of the authority of the laws in ordinary cases. Among his other legal improvements, Henry attempted at one time “to pare a little,” as Bacon expresses it, “the privilege of clergy, ordaining that clerks convict should be burned in the hand, both because they might taste of some corporal punishment, and that they might carry a brand of infamy.” But all his known favour for, and patronage of the church, did not prevent this innovation from being denounced as a daring infringement of the rights of the ecclesiastical order. The very circumstances of the time that in reality and in their ultimate result tended to bring down the ancient church, had the effect for the present of raising it to greater authority and seeming honour. The unaccustomed murmurs of irreverence and opposition with which it was assailed afforded a pretext for suffering it to exercise its recognized rights with a high hand, and even for endowing it with some new powers:—the laws against heresy, for instance, were now stretched to a degree of severity never before known, and the church added to its ancient assumptions that of holding men's lives in its hands, and actually putting to death those of whose opinions it disapproved. These fires of martyrdom were more easily lighted than quenched.

It was in 1494, the ninth year of Henry VII., that the first English female martyr suffered. This was a widow named Joan Boughton, a woman of above eighty years of age. “She was,”

says Fox, “a disciple of Wyckliffe, whom she accounted for a saint, and held so fast and firmly eight of his ten opinions, that all the doctors of London could not turn her from one of them.” She was burned in Smithfield on the 28th of April.¹ Mrs. Boughton was mother to the Lady Young, who was also suspected of holding the same opinions, and who afterwards suffered the same death. In the course of the next two or three years a few old men and priests went with like heroism to the stake; but in general the persons charged with heresy at this time, when there was as yet little general excitement to animate and sustain them, shrunk from that dreadful death on a mere view of it, and purchased, by a recantation, the privilege of satisfying the law by an exposure to the fagots without the fire. The venerable historian of our martyrs has some curious notices of the fashion in which this ceremony was performed.² On other occasions, however, the commuted punishment was not entirely formal. In 1506, at the same time that William Tylsworth was burned in Amersham—his only daughter being compelled to set fire to him with her own hands—this daughter, with her husband, and, according to one account, more than sixty persons besides, all bore fagots, and were afterwards not only sent from town to town over the county of Buckingham to do penance with certain badges affixed to them, but were several of them burned in the cheek, and otherwise severely treated. “Divers of them,” says Fox, “were enjoined to bear and wear fagots at Lincoln the space of seven years, some at one time, some at another.”³

Among others who suffered in this reign was one Laurence Ghest, “who was burned in Salisbury for the matter of the sacrament. He was of a comely and tall personage, and otherwise, as appeareth, not unfriended, for the which the bishop and the close (that is, the canons), were the more loath to burn him, but kept him in prison the space of two years. This Laurence had a wife and seven children.”⁴

Some notion of the peculiar opinions which were commonly held by the English heretics of this age may be gathered from the charges against some of those apprehended and examined by John Arundel, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, from 1496 to 1502, as recorded in the registers of that diocese. They were for the most part the same with the leading doctrines soon after proclaimed by Luther and the other Protestant Reformers, embracing a denial of the merit of good works, of the warrantableness of the worship of images, of the efficacy of penance and pilgrimage, of the duty of praying to the saints or the Virgin,

¹ Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 671 (edition of 1570).

² *Ibid.*

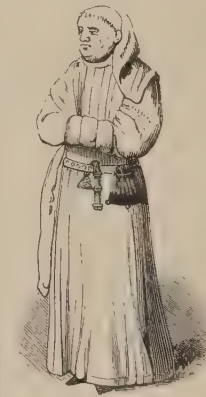
³ *Ibid.* p. 710.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 711.

of the claims of the pope as successor of St. Peter, of purgatory, and of the transformation of the bread and wine in the sacrament. In some cases, however, we find, as might be expected, the contempt for the old belief breaking out with a curious acerbity or irreverence of expression in the enunciation of the new. There were of course varieties of faith, or want of faith, among the dissenters from the church; some went farther than others; and some seem to have stopped at the rejection of image-worship, without advancing so far as to question the worshipping of the Virgin.

The internal history of the established church in the period immediately preceding the downfall of the ancient religion is marked by few events. The successive Archbishops of Canterbury during the reign of Henry VII. were, Cardinal Bourchier, whose long primacy of thirty-two years terminated in 1486; John Morton, the active and useful friend of Henry before he came to the crown, who was also invested with a cardinal's hat, and who survived till 1502; Henry Deane, who was archbishop only for a few months; and, lastly, William Warham, whose translation from London appears not to have taken place till towards the close of the year 1504, more than two years after the death of Deane.¹ The admonitory murmur of the coming storm of reformation now made itself heard, among other ways, in the louder popular outcry that arose against the dissolute lives of many of the clergy; and the church authorities were led to make some efforts both to put down the outcry and to correct the evil. At a synod or council of the province of Canterbury, held in St. Paul's, in February, 1487, complaints having been made that the preachers of the order of St. John of Jerusalem were accustomed, in their sermons at Paul's Cross, to inveigh against their secular brethren in the hearing of the laity—who, it was affirmed, all hated the clergy, and delighted to hear their vices exposed—the prior of St. John was, on the one hand, directed to prevent this great abuse for the future, and, on the other, a severe reprimand was administered to certain of the London clergy, who were accused of not only spending their whole time in taverns and alehouses, but even imitating the laity in their dress, and allowing their hair to grow long, so as to conceal their tonsure. The censure of the convocation was followed by a pastoral letter of the primate, in which the clergy were solemnly charged not to wear liripoops, or hoods, of silk, nor gowns open in front, nor embroidered girdles, *nor daggers*, and to keep their hair always so short that everybody might see their ears.² A few words were added in recom-

mendation of residence; but the burden of the exhortation was spent upon these matters of mere show and profession. Considerable alarm, however, was also excited at this time in the heads of the church by either the actual increase of im-



PRIEST WEARING LIRIPOOP AND EMBROIDERED GIRDLE.³

morality among the clergy, or the sharper eyes and more earnest inquisition with which the people now began to look into what had long existed. The monks, or regular clergy, were to the full as much as their secular brethren, the parish priests, the objects of this popular outcry. A bull was issued by Pope Innocent VIII. in 1490, in which, after setting forth—apparently without any doubt of its truth—the infor-

mation he had received respecting the reprobate lives led by all the English monastic orders, he directed Archbishop Morton to admonish the heads of all the convents in his province to reform themselves and those under them, and gave him authority, if his admonitions were neglected, to proceed to more decided measures. In consequence of the Papal edict Morton appears to have sent letters to the superiors of all the religious houses in his province, of which one that has been preserved, addressed to the abbot of St. Alban's, describes the monks of that abbey as notoriously guilty, not only of libertinism in all its forms, but of almost every other kind of enormity.⁴

There is no reason to suppose that either Papal or episcopal admonitions produced any amendment of this state of things during the reign of Henry VII. The date of the accession of Henry VIII. was marked in the history of the church by the termination of a fierce controversy, which had long raged between two great bodies of ecclesiastics on a very delicate point of doctrine. The Franciscans, or Gray Friars, maintained that the Virgin Mary had been conceived and born wholly without original sin; their rivals, the Dominicans, or Black Friars, on the contrary, held that she had been conceived in the same manner with every other child of Adam, although

³ The hood and liripoop (the long tail or tippet of the hood) was worn by the laity of both sexes as well as by the clergy. The above figure, from the Royal MSS. 14. E. 4, represents the ordinary walking dress of a monk about the end of the fifteenth century; and shows, besides the liripoop, the purse suspended at the girdle, and the inkhorn and penner for holding writing materials.

⁴ Wilkins, *Concilia*.

¹ Nicholas, *Synopsis of Peerage*, p. 820.

² Wilkins, *Concilia*.

they admitted that while still in her mother's womb she had been sanctified and cleansed from all original sin, in the same manner as, they said, John the Baptist and certain other privileged persons had been. "This frivolous question," says old Fox, "kindling and gendering betwixt these two sets of friars, brast out in such a flame of parts and sides taking, that it occupied the heads and wits, schools and universities, almost through the whole church, some holding one part with Scotus, some the other part with Thomas Aquinas." But besides these scandalous rivalries and quarrels among themselves, the clergy were imprudent or unfortunate enough about this time to get involved in some other contests, both with the civil authorities and with public opinion and the spirit of the age, out of which they did not come without still further damage to their reputations and their interests. Ever since the abrogation of the Constitutions of Clarendon in the latter part of the reign of Henry II., the old clerical claim of immunity from the jurisdiction of the civil courts had been considered as settled in favour of ecclesiastical persons. But this was deservedly the subject of great and universal complaint; "for," as Burnet remarks, "it was ordinary for persons, after the greatest crimes, to get into orders; and then not only what was past must be forgiven them, but they were not to be questioned for any crime after holy orders given till they were first degraded; and, till that was done, they were the bishop's prisoners." In fact, the difficulties which were thus interposed in the way of the conviction and punishment of ecclesiastical persons were such as to enable them, to a great extent, to commit crimes of all sorts, without incurring the risk of any penalty at all adequate to the offence. In 1487, the fourth year of Henry VII., a statute had been passed enacting that, "whereas upon trust of the privilege of the church, divers persons lettered have been the more bold to commit murder, rape, robbery, theft, and all other mischievous deeds, because they have been continually admitted to the benefit of the clergy as oft as they did offend in any of the premises"—a startling enough exposition, it must be admitted, of the state to which things had been brought—for the future, to persons not actually in holy orders, clergy should be allowed but once, and those convicted of murder should be marked with an M upon the brawn of the left thumb, and those convicted of any other felony with a T. In this state the law remained till the fourth year of Henry VIII., when a bill was brought into parliament, carrying out the principle of the late act so far as to ordain that the benefit of clergy should be wholly denied to all murderers and robbers. "But though this seemed a very

just law," says Burnet, "yet, to make it pass through the House of Lords, they added two provisions to it; the one, for excepting all such as were within the holy orders of bishop, priest, or deacon; the other, that the act should only be in force till the next parliament. With these provisos it was unanimously assented to by the lords on the 26th of January, 1513, and being agreed to by the commons, the royal assent made it a law; pursuant to which many murderers and felons were denied their clergy, and the law passed on them, to the great satisfaction of the whole nation." Neither the general popularity of the new statute, however, nor its manifest equity, sufficed to mitigate the aversion with which it was regarded by the clergy; they saw in it only an encroachment upon the privileges of holy church, to which no consideration should induce them to submit. It was an injury and an insult neither to be endured nor forgiven. Accordingly, not satisfied with preventing the renewal of the act at the expiration of the short term to which their influence had caused it in the first instance to be limited, they set themselves to fix such a mark of reprobation upon it as should, they hoped, put down any similar attempt for ever after.

In the year 1514, a citizen of London, named Richard Hunne, a merchant tailor, fell into a dispute with the parson of a country parish in Middlesex, about a gift of a bearing-sheet, which the clergyman demanded as a mortuary, in consequence of an infant child of Hunne's having died in his parish, where it had been sent to be nursed. Hunne made some objection to the legality of the demand; but it is probable that he was secretly inclined to the new doctrines, and that this was the true cause of his refusal. Being sued in the spiritual court by the parson, he took out a writ of premunire against his pursuer for bringing the king's subjects before a foreign jurisdiction, the spiritual court sitting under the authority of the pope's legate. This daring procedure of the London citizen threw the clergy into a fury, and, as the most effectual way of crushing him, recourse was had to the terrible charge of heresy, upon which Hunne was apprehended and consigned to close imprisonment in the Lollards' Tower at St. Paul's. After a short time, being brought before Fitzjames, Bishop of London, he was there interrogated respecting certain articles alleged against him, which imputed to him, in substance, that he had denied the obligation of paying tithes—that he had read and spoken generally against bishops and priests, and in favour of heretics—and, lastly, that he had "in his keeping divers English books prohibited and damned by the law, as the Apocalypse in English. Epistles and Gospels in English,

Wyckliffe's damnable works, and other books containing infinite errors, in the which he hath been long time accustomed to read, teach, and study daily."¹ It appears that Hunne was frightened into a qualified admission of the truth of these charges; he confessed that although he had not said exactly what was asserted, yet he had "unadvisedly spoken words somewhat sounding to the same; for the which," he added, "I am sorry, and ask God mercy, and submit me unto my lord's charitable and favourable correction." He ought upon this, according to the usual course, to have been enjoined penance, and set at liberty; but, as he still persisted in his suit against the parson, he was the same day sent back to his prison, where, two days after, namely, on the 4th of December, he was found suspended from a hook in the ceiling, and dead. The persons in charge of the prison gave out that he had hanged himself; but a coroner's inquest came to a different conclusion. According to the account in Burnet, the jury "did acquit the dead body, and laid the murder on the officers that had the charge of that prison; and, by other proofs, they found the bishop's sumner² and the bell-ringer guilty of it. The excited feelings and strong prejudices of the coroner's jury had perhaps as much share as the weight of circumstantial evidence in winning them to the belief of this not very probable story. While the inquest was still going on, the Bishop of London and his clergy began a new process of heresy *against Hunne's dead body*. The new charges alleged against Hunne were comprised in thirteen articles, the matter of which was collected from the prologue or preface by Wyckliffe to the English Bible that had been found in his possession. He, or rather his dead body, was condemned of heresy by sentence of the Bishop of London, assisted by the Bishops of Durham and Lincoln, and by many doctors of divinity and the canon law; and the senseless carcass was actually, on the 20th of December, committed to the flames in Smithfield. This piece of barbarity, however, shocked instead of overawing the public sentiment. The affair now came before the parliament, and a bill, which had originated in the commons, was passed, restoring to Hunne's children the goods of their father, which had been forfeited by his conviction. This, however, did not put an end to the contest. When the Bishop of London's chancellor and sumner had been charged, on the finding of the coroner's jury, as both principals in the murder, the convocation, in the hope probably of drawing off attention to another part of the case, called before them Dr. Standish, who

had asserted the claims of the civil power in a debate before the king, and put him upon his defence for what he had said on that occasion; and an appeal was made to the conscience of Henry, that he would not interpose to shield the delinquent from justice, as he regarded his coronation oath, and would himself escape the censures of holy church. Henry's headstrong and despotic character had scarcely yet begun to develop itself; his pride as a true son of the church had received no check from coming into collision with any of his other selfish and overmastering passions: when the convocation, therefore, assailed him in this manner on the one hand, and the parliament, on the other, likewise addressed him "to maintain the temporal jurisdiction, according to his coronation oath, and to protect Standish from the malice of his enemies," he was thrown into great perplexity. So, to free his conscience, he commanded all the judges, and the members both of his temporal and his spiritual councils, together with certain persons from both houses of parliament, to meet at Blackfriars, and to hear the matter argued. This was done accordingly; and the discussion was terminated by the unanimous declaration of the judges, that all those of the convocation who had awarded the citation against Standish had made themselves liable to a premunire. Soon after, the whole body of the lords spiritual and temporal, with all the judges and the king's council, and many members also of the House of Commons, having been called before the king at Baynard's Castle, Cardinal Wolsey, in the name of the clergy, humbly begged that the matter should be referred to the final decision of the pope at Rome. To this request, however, Henry made answer, with much spirit, "By the permission and ordinance of God, we are King of England; and the Kings of England in times past had never any superior but God only. Therefore, know you well that we will maintain the right of our crown, and of our temporal jurisdiction, as well in this as in all other points, in as ample a manner as any of our progenitors have done before our time." The renewed solicitations of the Archbishop of Canterbury, that the matter might at least be respited till a communication could be had with the court of Rome, had no effect in moving the king from his resolution; and Dr. Horsey, the Bishop of London's chancellor, against whom warrants were out, on the finding of the inquest, for his trial as one of the murderers of Hunne, seemed to be left to his fate. At this point, however, the clergy, or perhaps both parties, saw fit to make advances towards an accommodation: it was agreed that Horsey should surrender to take his trial; that he should not stand upon his benefit of clergy, but plead not guilty: and that, satisfied with

¹ Fox, p. 137.

² Or summoner, the officer employed to cite parties before the ecclesiastical courts, more commonly called the apparitor.

this concession, the attorney-general should admit the plea, and the prisoner be discharged. This form was gone through, and Horsey immediately left London, where, it is said, he never again showed his face. Dr. Standish, however, was also, by the king's command, dismissed from his place in the court of convocation, so that the issue of the business by no means went altogether against the clergy. But, besides the augmented popular odium to which they were exposed, from the strong suspicion which was entertained that Hunne had been murdered, a heavy blow had been undoubtedly dealt at their favourite pretension of exemption from the jurisdiction of the civil courts in criminal cases.

In the unsettled state of men's minds, at this time, upon the subject of religion, the part taken by any king, and especially by a king of Henry's temper, could not fail to act with powerful effect either in steadying for a space the tremulous mass of the popular thought and feeling, or in swaying it in the direction of his own passions and convictions. Yet the planet that so far ruled the tides of this great moral ocean was for many years undoubtedly influenced in its own movements by another more lordly spirit, that drew it along, perhaps without suffering it to feel its bondage, but not on that account with less potent control. For nearly the whole of the first half of Henry's reign the real King of England was his minister Wolsey, a man whose greatness was linked to the ascendancy of the ancient church. So long as Wolsey's favour lasted, his royal master was wholly in his hands. With one at the head of affairs personally interested to so deep an extent in its support, the church was secure from any attack—from any abridgment of its wealth or power, by the king or the government. Yet even the greatness of Wolsey, while it thus threw a temporary protection over the church, perhaps contributed also to hasten its downfall. The ruin of this magnificent ecclesiastic himself was in part brought about by the arrogance and rapacity to which he gave way in the giddiness of his towering fortunes. But if by his oppressive proceedings he made all men his enemies, and when the support of the royal favour was withdrawn, left himself without either any foundation on which to stand, or friendly arm to break his fall, we may be satisfied that so odious an exhibition of priestly insolence could not but also have its effect in widening the general alienation from the whole order to which he belonged.

The Reformation was very far from being completed under Henry VIII.—indeed, the English church, as he left it, was scarcely reformed at all except in regard to a few points of its external or political constitution—but still the work,

in being merely begun, was already more than half finished. Henry, in having set as it were the wheel of change in motion, is justly esteemed the true author of the whole mighty result—of that part of it which he resisted or did not contemplate at all, as well as of that which he urged on and actually saw realized. The Reformation in England was his doing, infinitely more than that of any other person who in any way took part in the work—of his successors Edward and Elizabeth, for instance, who built upon the ground that he had cleared and the foundation that he had laid—or even of such men as Wyckliffe, who helped, by their preachings and writings, to draw men away from the old church; or as Cranmer and his follow-labourers, who, by the like exertions, endeavoured to bring them over and attach them to the new. Yet in all that Henry did, and all that he would not do, in the matter of religion, throughout his reign, it is curious to observe how he was acted upon by the changing circumstances of his own personal position—how the despot, so potent alike to destroy, and, for the moment at least, to preserve from destruction, was driven along the whole of his furious and contradictory course by the pettiest of private interests, vanities, and passions. The history of the English Reformation is the history of this king's fits of temper; of his likings and dislikings; of the flatteries addressed to him from one quarter, and the provocations he received from another; of his pecuniary difficulties; of his amours, jealousies, and suspicions; of the swellings and ebbs of his pedantry and self-conceit; of the very fluctuations of his bodily dispositions and sores.

Eight years after Henry came to the throne the first movement was made, unconsciously, by Martin Luther, in that great rebellion against the ancient church which has made his name immortal. It does not appear that Luther, at the commencement of his career, had any acquaintance with the writings of Wyckliffe, Huss, Jerome of Prague, and the other remarkable men by whom the Roman church had been assailed in the two preceding centuries; indeed, at this stage he would have felt little sympathy with the greater part of those writings, for he was as yet a good Catholic, and had not for a moment doubted either the authority of the pope or any of the commonly received doctrines of the church. He was a believer in the real presence, in purgatory, in the efficacy of penances, of pilgrimages, of prayers for the dead, of prayers to the saints, in the warrantableness of the adoration of the Virgin, of the crucifix, and of images, in the virtue of relics, in the authority of tradition, in the duty of auricular confession, and in all those other dogmas of the ancient faith which at a later

period he rejected and denounced. The one article of the common belief which startled him, and against which he raised his voice in the first instance, was the doctrine of indulgences; and even as to this matter he continued for some years to cling to the notion that his dispute was merely with certain individuals, and by no means either with the pope or the general body of the church. These indulgences professed to convey, to whosoever purchased them, a release from the pains of purgatory; and the very denial of their efficacy implied a belief in the existence of purgatory. Luther not disputing the reality of purgatory, denied that it was competent for men, by the mere payment of a sum of money, to obtain a quittance from any part of the punishment to which they had made themselves liable by their sins. He had become convinced, from his study of the Scriptures, that their fundamental doctrine was, that the remission of sin could only be obtained by justification through faith in the sacrifice of Christ; and upon this one great principle he took his stand. When Tetzel and his associates, in their eagerness to dispose of their wares, cried them up even in terms going far beyond the professions of the document itself, Luther first exposed the delusion they were practising upon the people from the pulpit; and then published ninety-five theses or propositions directed against the whole doctrine of indulgences, which he engaged to maintain at a public disputation, on a day which he named, against any one who should oppose them by writing or word of mouth. The disputation did not take place: on the appointed day no defender of the denounced indulgences appeared; but Luther's ninety-five propositions were read with avidity over all Germany; and from that hour the spirit was awakened which never again slumbered or slept till it had set up and established a new and mighty rival empire of opinion. For some time the controversy between the German monk and his opponents attracted no notice at the Vatican; at length, however, in July, 1518, Leo summoned him to appear at Rome within sixty days. His holiness was afterwards prevailed upon to appoint the hearing of the case to take place in Germany; and Luther accordingly appeared at Augsburg before the Papal legate Cardinal Cajetano, who began with an attempt to carry his point by dint of logic, but, finding that of no avail, soon had recourse to a more summary method of procedure, and commanded Luther at once to recant his heresy simply out of deference to the Apostolic See. The intrepid monk refused compliance; but even yet he made no movement towards throwing off the authority of the pope. Apprehensive of being arrested, by the advice of his friends he withdrew secretly from Augsburg;

but, before he went, he drew up an appeal from the pope, imperfectly informed as he then was, to the pope, after he should have been fully instructed in the merits of the cause. It was impossible, however, that, having advanced so far, he should stop long at this point. Protected by the Elector Frederick, he soon after, abandoning the expectation of a fair hearing from the pope, made his appeal to a general council. It was not long before he followed up this declaration by openly questioning even the supremacy assumed by the pope over other bishops—in other words, all the peculiar pretensions of the Roman See. This was in 1519. On the 15th of June of the following year, was issued the memorable Papal bull, declaring forty-one propositions extracted out of Luther's works to be heretical and scandalous; forbidding all persons to read his writings upon pain of excommunication; commanding those who had any of them in their possession to commit them to the flames; and pronouncing against their author the sentence of excommunication, with all its terrible penalties, spiritual and temporal, unless he should publicly recant his errors and burn his books within the space of sixty days. This at once placed the followers of the German Reformer and the adherents of the ancient church in hostile array. Luther, now fairly cast forth from the Roman communion, kept no measures with the power which he opposed; in reply to the pope's bull of excommunication, he boldly declared that personage to be Antichrist, and called upon all Christian princes to cast off his tyrannical and degrading yoke. When his own books were burned at Rome, he retaliated by burning the volumes of the canon law at Wittenberg, in presence of the professors and students of the university and a throng of other spectators. One of the first acts of the new emperor, Charles V., was to appoint a diet of the empire to meet at Worms on the 6th of January, 1521, expressly for the purpose of putting down the new opinions. On the summons of this assembly Luther presented himself before them to defend his doctrines; the diet, however, declared him to be deprived, as an excommunicated heretic, of all his rights as a subject of the empire, and forbade any prince to harbour or protect him after the expiration of the term specified in the safe-conduct upon which he had come up. From the dangers to which he was exposed by this edict he was saved by the interposition of his friend the Elector Frederick, who caused him to be intercepted, on his way home, and carried off to the fortress of Wartburg, in which he remained concealed for nine months. But the winged words and opinions that had already gone forth from his lips and his pen were not to be recalled or chained down; their

infection spread throughout Germany and other countries with the common air that men breathed; nor, though hidden alike from his followers and his opponents, was Luther's animating voice even how unheard in the great battle he had awakened: by the aid of the press, to which he from time to time resorted while thus withdrawn from other converse with his fellow-men, he still made the fervid eloquence of his reasonings and his denouncements ring throughout Christendom.

It was at this crisis that Henry VIII. first adventured to break a lance in the contest in which he was ere long to act a part of which he now little dreamed. Throughout the earlier part of his reign, the King of England, as we have seen, was the most zealous and devoted son of the church. During three years his devotion to the Holy See was not only secured by the ascendancy of Wolsey, but was, besides, fed and inflamed by other influences. His pedantry and vanity were engaged in the same cause with his deference for his great minister and favourite. The king's work was printed in a quarto volume at London, with the title, *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martyn Luther, &c.* (Defence of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther.) Henry was amazingly delighted with the title Defender of the Faith, with which the pope rewarded his learned labours—"affecting it," says Burnet, "always beyond all his other titles, though several of the former Kings of England had carried the same title, as Spelman informs us."¹ The whole matter, according to Strype, was contrived by Wolsey, to engage Henry the more firmly against Lutheranism, and in the putting down of the heretical books which were now brought over from the Continent in great numbers, and dispersed through the kingdom. Henry's book was immediately answered by Luther, and that in a fashion calculated to cure kings of the ambition of controversy. Not only did the sturdy Reformer throw aside all deference for the rank of his royal opponent, but he even denied him the credit of being the author of the book of which he was so vain.

But after the lapse of three or four years more, the symptoms of a great change began to appear. In 1527 Henry fell in love with Anne Boleyn, began to feel scruples about the lawfulness of his marriage with Catherine, who had now been eighteen years his wife, and urged by the said scruples and his passion together, proceeded to

take steps for getting rid of Catherine. For two years he plied every effort to get the court of Rome to go along with him in this scheme, threatening, that if he were not allowed to have his way in the matter of the divorce, England should no longer remain a Popish country. At length, in the summer of 1529, the accident of Cranmer having suggested the bold expedient of having the marriage dissolved without asking leave of the pope, at once transferred the affections and confidence of the king from Wolsey to this new adviser, causing the ruin of the one and the elevation of the other. In the following year he put forth a proclamation prohibiting the introduction into, or the publication in, the kingdom of any bull from Rome, under pain of incurring his indignation, in addition to imprisonment and the other punishments awarded to the offence by the ancient statutes. The established clergy now found the crown, hitherto their steady friend and protector, changed into a hostile power. From this point the course of Henry's ecclesiastical innovations went on at an accelerated rate. Anne Boleyn, notoriously disposed in favour of the opinions of the innovators in religion—already distinguished by the name of Protestants, which was first given to them on their protest against the proceedings of the diet of Spires, 19th April, 1530—was now Queen of England; Cranmer, the head of the English Lutherans, was Archbishop of Canterbury; he and Cromwell, another decided favourer of the new doctrines, were the king's chief ministers. In this, the height of the new tide that had set in upon the stream of affairs, all that remained of the authority of Rome was soon swept away.

To Cromwell especially belongs the credit of having been Henry's chief instrument in his next undertaking as an ecclesiastical reformer—his attack upon the monastic institutions. According to Strype, it was "the refractoriness of those of the Benedictine order to the king's proceedings" that "made him think it convenient to look a little more narrowly into their behaviour, and to animadvert upon their irregularities, of which there were reports enough: and this being resolved upon, he thought good to make one work of it, and to have all convents and religious societies besides visited also." The visitation began in October, 1535, and comprehended not only all monasteries, but all collegiate churches, hospitals, and cathedrals, and also the houses of the order of the Knights of Jerusalem. The object professed, of course, was the reformation of the lives of the monks; but the real motives appear to have been different. Concurring with the scandals that were abroad as to the relaxed discipline of the several orders, "their secret practices against the king," says Burnet, "both in the

¹ "By a singular felicity in the wording of the title," observes a more recent writer, "it suited Henry equally well, when he burned Papists or Protestants; it suited each of his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth; it fitted the martyr Charles and the profligate Charles; the Romish James and the Calvinist William; and at last seemed peculiarly adapted to the weak head of high church Anne."—Walpole, *Royal and Noble Authors*.

matter of his divorce and supremacy, made him more willing to examine the truth of these reports." And the historian goes on to observe that, among other motives which inclined the king to the project, one was that he was apprehensive of a war with the emperor, and was in great want of money. The only immediate result of this first visitation was the voluntary surrender of six or seven of the smaller and poorer houses to the crown, on the ground, as was affirmed, of their revenues being so encumbered that they must otherwise very speedily have come to ruin, both in their spiritual and temporal concerns. Henry's intentions may be best judged from his deeds. Within a few months an act was passed by parliament suppressing all religious houses whose annual revenue was less than £200, and giving their lands, rents, cattle, plate, jewels, and all other property, to the king. By this act 376 monasteries were at once swept away, and Henry was enriched by lands computed to be worth £32,000 per annum, and other spoils of the estimated value of £100,000, but in reality amounting to these sums several times over.

In the following year, 1537, a new visitation was begun of all the remaining monasteries, with the design of subjecting as many of them as possible to the same fate of confiscation. This was so clearly perceived that, in a great many instances, voluntary surrenders were now made by the abbots, and other heads of houses. "There were great complaints," Burnet relates, "made of the visitors, as if they had practised with the abbots and priors to make these surrenders, and that they had conspired with them to cheat the king, and had privately embezzled most of the plate and furniture. The abbess of Chepstow complained, in particular, of Dr. London, one of the visitors, that he had been corrupting her nuns; and generally it was cried out that underhand and ill practices were used. Therefore, to quiet these reports, and to give some colour to justify what they were about, all the foul stories that could be found out were published to defame these houses." In most cases, it would seem, where the house was not recommended for total suppression, a fine or annual tax was laid upon it; and even where it was not pretended that the inmates were chargeable with any irregularities, the real object of the visitation, the extraction of money, was equally kept in view. Thus we find the nuns of the convent of Styxwold, against whom nothing appears to have been alleged, fined to the amount of 200 marks, besides an annual pension or tax of £34. But besides the fines imposed in the name of the king, there is every reason to believe that another customary mode of composition was by bribing the visitors or

their master, Cromwell. The visitation of the monasteries, which was, in effect, a forcing of them one after another to surrender, was continued for some years, until the greater number of them had been thus given up into the king's hands; and then, in 1539, the parliament passed an act, confirming to the king and his successors for ever both all those that had thus already resigned, and all that should be suppressed, forfeited, or given up thereafter. The effect of this act was immediately to put down all the still existing monasteries in England. Altogether, by its operation, the possessions of 644 convents, 90 colleges, 2374 chantries and free chapels, and 110 hospitals, were annexed to the crown. The clear yearly value of all the houses thus suppressed was, at the rents actually paid, only about £130,000; but Burnet affirms that their real value was at least *ten times* as much. Besides this, plate, jewels, and goods of all kinds to a vast amount, must have been obtained from this wholesale confiscation. To enlist the popular feeling in favour of the measure, it was given out that its effect would be to relieve the king's subjects for the future from all services and taxes; and that, in place of the abbots, monks, friars, and nuns, there would be raised and maintained 40 new earls, 60 barons, 3000 knights, and 40,000 soldiers, commanded by skilful officers, out of the revenues of the abolished establishments. It was also promised both that there should be a better provision made for the poor, and that preachers should be handsomely paid to go about everywhere, and preach the true religion. "But," says Strype, "nothing of this came to pass." Of the whole of the immense revenue that accrued to the crown from the abolition of the monasteries, a fraction of about £8000 per annum only was bestowed upon the endowment of the six new bishoprics of Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester, and the substitution of canons for the disbanded monks in several of the old cathedral churches.

Henry may be regarded as having continued to move, in the main, in a Protestant direction throughout the period of his three Protestant marriages with Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour, and Anne of Cleves. During this space several minor reforms were carried into effect, besides the great work of the confiscation of the monasteries. Among these, one of the most memorable was the communication to the people, under the royal authority, of the Scriptures in their mother tongue. Wyckliffe, as was formerly mentioned, had translated both the Old and the New Testament before the end of the fifteenth century; and even long before his day the whole Bible, according to a statement of Sir Thomas More, had been, "by virtuous and well-learned men, translated into

the English tongue, and by good and godly people, with devotion and soberness, well and reverently read." Cranmer also asserts that, when the Saxon tongue, in which the first version was made, "waned old and out of common usage," the Scripture was again translated into the newer language, "whereof," he adds, "yet also many copies be found." But the first English translation of any part of the Scriptures that was printed was the translation of the New Testament, by William Tyndal (otherwise called Hotchin), assisted by a friar named Roy, and others, which appeared in an octavo volume at Antwerp, in 1526. The edition consisted of 1500 copies, nearly all of which appear to have been sent over to England.



WILLIAM TYNDAL.—After a rare print in the "Heroologia."

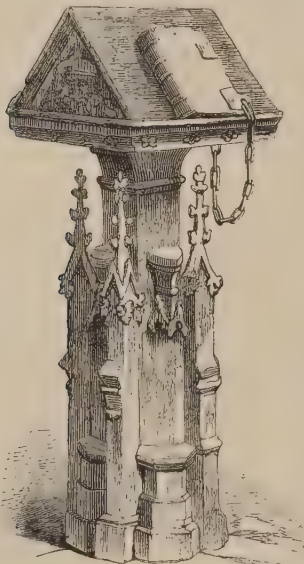
Here they were purchased and read with wonderful eagerness by the people, and not the less so for the prohibition that was issued by Wolsey, and published by every bishop in his diocese. At one time the clergy sought to repress this zeal for Tyndal's Testament by giving out that they intended immediately to put forth a translation of their own; but the project, if it ever was seriously entertained, was soon thrown aside; and at length, about the end of May, 1530, a paper was drawn up by Warham, More, Tunstal, and other eminent canonists and divines, which every incumbent was commanded to read to his congregation, intimating that, the king having consulted certain prelates and learned men of both universities as to various treatises on doctrinal subjects lately set out in the English tongue, they had agreed in condemning them as containing several things that were heretical; and that, upon the question as to the necessity or expediency of a translation of the Bible, "they were of opinion that, though it had been sometimes done, yet it was not necessary, and that the king did well not to set it out at that time in the English tongue."

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The course, however, in which all things were now moving, made it impossible that what may almost be called the fundamental principle of Protestantism—the free circulation of the Scriptures among the people, could be much longer resisted. The convocation of 1536, accordingly, at the same time that the parliament passed the first act for the dissolution of the monasteries, agreed by a majority, on the motion of Cranmer, to petition the king that he would give orders for the preparation of an English translation of the Bible. The project was at first opposed by a powerful party at court, and Henry for some time hesitated; but it was represented to him, on the other side, that nothing would make the pope and the monks so hateful to the nation, or his own supremacy so acceptable, as giving the people the free use of the Word of God; and "these arguments," says Burnet, "joined with the power that the queen had in his affections, were so much considered by the king that he gave order for setting about it immediately." Already, however, in the preceding year, there had been produced on the Continent a complete English translation of the Bible, by Miles Coverdale. Coverdale's Bible, which is conjectured, from the form of the types, to have been printed at Zürich, was dedicated to the King of England. It was in folio, and appears to have been the volume which, in 1536, immediately after the order had been issued for the preparation of a new translation to be set forth by authority, Cromwell, as the king's vicar-general and vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters, commanded to be procured by every parish, and chained to a pillar or desk in the choir of the church, for all to read at their pleasure. This was done, that the resolution taken in favour of laying open the Word of God to the people might not remain inoperative while the new translation was in hand. To whom that work was committed, or how the persons engaged proceeded in it, Burnet says he had not been able to ascertain; the direction was probably left with Cranmer, with whom the proposal had originated, and it is believed that Coverdale was one of the principal persons employed. When the translation was at last finished, it was sent to be printed at Paris, by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitechurch; but, although the printers had previously obtained the French king's license to undertake the work, their operations were interrupted by the clamours of the clergy, and they were obliged to withdraw to London, where the volume was at last finished in April, 1539. This first authorized English Bible, which is known by the name of Cranmer's or the Great Bible, is a folio, like Coverdale's, and the text, in the main, is little more than a corrected edition of his. On the completion of this important task, a copy of the Bible was pre-

sented by Cromwell to the king, who expressed his approbation, and granted his warrant royal, allowing all his subjects to read it without control or hazard.

A set of injunctions was now issued to the clergy by Cromwell, in his quality of ecclesiastical vicegerent. One of these directed each incumbent to provide before a certain day a copy of the new Great Bible, and to set up the same in some convenient place within the church, where the parishioners might most commodiously resort to it and read it; the charge to be borne one-half by the parson, and the other by the parishioners.



CHAINED BIBLE IN THE CHURCH OF ST. CRUX, YORK.
Drawn by J. W. Archer, from his sketch on the spot.

But hardly had the fountain of Divine truth been thus unsealed, when Henry deemed it necessary to check the eagerness with which the popular appetite rushed to drink of the long-imprisoned waters. Some curious traits of the first excitement produced by the new charter of intellectual freedom are preserved in a royal proclamation which was set forth in the beginning of May, 1539, and which is further remarkable as the first that was issued under the statute giving to the proclamations of the king in council the force of acts of parliament. It is here alleged that, while on the one hand some persons craftily sought, by their preachings and teachings, to restore in the realm "the old devotion to the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, the hypocrite's religion, superstition, pilgrimages, idolatry, and other evil and naughty ceremonies and dreams, justly and lawfully abolished and taken

away by authority of God's Word," others wrested the Holy Scriptures so as "to subvert and overturn as well the sacraments of holy church as the power and authority of princes and magistrates, and in effect generally all laws and common justice, and the good and laudable ordinances and ceremonies necessary and convenient to be used and continued; some of them also using the Scripture permitted to them by the king's goodness, in the English tongue, at such times and places, and after such fashions and sorts, as it is not convenient to be suffered." Both parties, it is affirmed, were accustomed to dispute respecting their opinions with excessive heat and arrogance both in the churches and in alehouses and taverns; "one part of them calling the other Papist, and the other part calling the other heretic." The use of either of these epithets is thereupon strictly forbidden, unless the person applying it can justly and lawfully prove the truth of his charge. And then it is commanded that "no person except such as be curates or graduates in any of the universities of Oxford or Cambridge, or such as be or shall be admitted to preach by the king's license, or by his vicegerent, or by any bishop of the realm, shall teach or preach the Bible or New Testament, nor expound the mysteries thereof to any other; nor that any person or persons shall openly read the Bible or New Testament in the English tongue, in any churches or chapels, or elsewhere, with any loud or high voice, and especially during the time of Divine service, or of celebrating and saying of masses; but virtually and devoutly to hear their Divine services and masses, and use that time in reading and praying with peace and stillness, as good Christian men use to do." "Notwithstanding," it is added, "the king is still pleased to permit that such as can and will in the English tongue, shall, and may quietly and reverently read the Bible and New Testament by themselves secretly at all times and places convenient for their own instruction and edification." They are warned, however, to beware of their own presumptuous and arrogant expositions, and to resort humbly to such as were learned in Holy Scripture for their instruction as to all doubtful points. Most of the stronger and more restrictive expressions in this proclamation, it deserves to be noted, were inserted by Henry himself.¹ He was soon after this, indeed, prevailed upon to grant letters-patent prohibiting all persons from printing the Bible in the English tongue in any manner of volume for five years, except such as Cromwell should depute and assign. This permission for any one to possess a copy of the Bible, and to read it in houses or at home as well as in the churches, was a complete en-

¹ See the proclamation as printed by Strype, with the king's deletions and other alterations, in *Eccles. Mem.*, Appen. No. cx

franchisement of Scripture, and as such was felt by the clergy, who saw in it the downfall of their cause as well as of their own personal influence. At this stage, therefore, a determined resistance was offered by Bishop Gardiner, who, in a conference before the king, challenged Cranmer to show any difference between the authority of the Scriptures and of the Apostolical Canons, which he maintained were equal to the other writings of the apostles. But in the debate, the king "perceived solid learning, tempered with great modesty, in what Cranmer said; and nothing but vanity and affectation in Gardiner's reasonings. So he took him up sharply, and told him that Cranmer was an old and experienced captain, and was not to be troubled with fresh men and novices."¹

In May, 1541, a year after the fall of Cromwell, another proclamation was issued, on occasion of a new impression of the Bible being finished, enforcing the order formerly made by that minister, that a copy of the book should be fixed and set up openly in every parish church, which had been neglected by "divers and many towns and parishes." A penalty was imposed upon all who should not comply with the order before the feast of All-Saints next ensuing. Care was taken at the same time to reiterate the admonition that the people should read the Bibles in the churches "humbly, meekly, reverently, and obediently," and that none of them "should read the said Bibles with high and loud voices, or in time of the celebration of the holy mass, and other Divine services used in the church;" and that none of the laity "reading the same should presume to take upon them any common disputation, argument, or exposition of the mysteries therein contained." In obedience to the proclamation, Bonner, now Bishop of London, ordered six of the Great Bibles to be set up in different places in his cathedral of St. Paul's, with a short admonition to the same effect suspended upon each of the pillars to which the books were chained; but the irregularities objected to by no means ceased. In the following year, 1542, a direct attack was made upon the English Bible in the convocation: the translation was complained of as full of faults, and an attempt was made to get it condemned till a new and more correct one should be made by the bishops, who, probably, if the task had been committed to them, would have been in no hurry to finish it. The scheme of a new translation, however, was defeated by the management of Cranmer, who induced the king to take the middle course of referring the existing translation to the perusal of the two universities. The great majority of the bishops protested against this decision; but the convocation was soon after dis-

solved, and nothing more was done for the present.

In the year 1532 was reprinted, probably for the last time without alteration, the old church-book, or directory for public worship, entitled the *Festival*, consisting chiefly of extracts from the *Golden Legend*, or book of the biography of the saints. It was, of course, a thoroughly Popish manual, inculcating all the common doctrines of the Romish church with as little reserve or qualification as if nobody had ever yet ventured to call any of them in question. In what is called the *Bedes*, or instructions to the people what and whom they are to pray for, the pope and his college of cardinals are set down in the first place after the good estate and peace of holy church; and in the sequel are enumerated "all abbots, priors, monks, canons, friars, pilgrims," &c. The seven sacraments, the seven deeds of mercy, the seven deadly sins, the nine manners of horrible pains, and the nine manners of people that shall be tormented therewith, are all faithfully set forth and expounded. Images are commended as signs or means whereby men should learn "whom they should worship and follow in living," although to do God's worship to them is forbidden. The benefits of hearing mass are extolled in some singular expressions.

Strype conceives that this book was not wholly laid aside till after the close of the reign of Henry VIII. Some corrections, however, were of necessity made in it immediately after Henry's breach with the pope, and some more as he proceeded with his further reforms. In the course of the very next year, 1533, before the pope's authority was cast off by the parliament, Henry himself wrote and published a treatise in Latin against the tyranny and horrible impiety of the Bishop of Rome (*De Potestate Christianorum Regum in suis ecclesiis, contra Pontificis tyrannidem et horribilem impietatem*). In the same session of parliament in which an end was put to the authority of the pope, some relief from the severity of the old laws against heresy was obtained by the new act, which declared that speaking against the Bishop of Rome and his decrees should no longer be considered to constitute that offence, and, among other alleviations of the ancient process, ordained that the charge should be proved by two lawful witnesses at the least—that the trial should be in public—and that the accused person might be bailed at the discretion of two justices of the peace. This year also an order was issued by the king, in his capacity of supreme head of the church, which had the effect of doing away with the use of the form in the festival called the General Sentence or Curse, which was wont to be read to the people four times every year in the course of the church service. This long and

¹ Burnet's *Hist. Reform.* A.D. 1539.

comprehensive denunciation was directed with especial vehemence against all who in any way injured or troubled the state of holy church, by withdrawing offerings, tithes, rents, or other ecclesiastical dues—by violating the rights of sanctuary—by calling in the aid of the civil power in matters appertaining to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction—by retaining possession of houses, manors, or other property belonging to the church—or in any one of various other ways that were specified. The king's order to the bishops was to leave out in the General Sentence all such articles as tended to the glory and advancement of the Bishop of Rome; but the effect, as has been mentioned, was to cause the Curse to be soon laid aside altogether.

As yet, however, with the exception only of the single doctrine, if it could be so called, of the Papal supremacy, no alteration was made in any part of the ancient national profession of faith. This very year, on the petition of the convocation, Henry issued a strict proclamation against the importation and possession of what were called heretical books. Among these, according to a list published a few years before, were Tyndal's New Testament, and the various treatises of Luther, Huss, Zwingle, and the other continental Reformers. In this and subsequent years many persons even suffered at the stake for the offence of importing and dispersing such books.

The friars, it is well known, early drew upon themselves the determined hostility of the king by their almost universal opposition to him, and advocacy of the cause of Catherine, in the affair of the divorce. But the best handle which they gave him for the execution of his designs for their destruction, arose out of the business of the Holy Maid of Kent, of whose prophecies their zeal and credulity made them very generally either the dupes, or at least the pretended believers and upholders.¹

The Nun of Kent and her confederates, or rather those who made use of her as their instrument, were put to death in 1534. At this time, under the ascendancy of Cranmer and Cromwell, and the still unimpaired influence of his young and beautiful queen Anne, Henry showed perhaps more of an inclination towards Protestantism than at any other period of his life.

Some notion of the mixed religion patronized at this date by the authorities in England may be gathered from a work entitled *King Henry's Primer*; a second edition of which appeared, in a quarto volume, in 1535, put forth professedly by Dr. Marshal, archdeacon of Nottingham. It consisted of a collection of tracts on the different parts of Divine worship, most of which seem to have been published before at different times, but were now revised and accompanied by pre-

fatory admonitions in the spirit of the prevailing system. On the whole, the work inculcated, though covertly, a sort of half Protestantism. In an exposition of the Ten Commandments, with which it commenced, what we call the second commandment was, after the common Popish fashion, treated as part of the first, but in others of the pieces the Protestant distinction between the two was recognized. The topic of the unwarrantableness of the worship of the Virgin and the saints is pressed with little reserve. In one place, indeed, the writer ventures to point out the great danger of falling into idolatry by the practice of such worship, and comes to this bold conclusion: "That it was not meet, comely, nor fitting, that in our prayers we should make a god or saviour of any saint in heaven; no, not of our blessed Lady." Still, however, the Litany, although given in English, and prefaced by an argument against praying to saints, was left with all the old addresses to the Virgin, to the angels, to the twelve apostles, the martyrs, confessors, and virgins, calling upon them for their intercession in behalf of the worshipper. The Matins, Even Song, and Seven Penitential Psalms, were all likewise given in English. In a *Devout and Fruitful Remembrance of Christ's Passion*, an attack was made upon the superstition of thinking that any benefits could accrue from carrying about the person images, painted papers, or carved crosses, designed, as was pretended, to be helps towards beholding the passion of Christ—that by such means, for instance, safety could be secured from fire, water, or any other peril. Perhaps, however, the most daring instance of speaking out occurs in the admonition prefixed to the *Dirige*, popularly called the *Dirge*, which was the office that used to be said for the souls of the dead. There is no alteration in the old form, except that the words are translated into English; but in the prefatory observations the writer says, "Among other works of darkness and deep ignorance, wherein we have blindly wandered, following a sort of blind guides many days and years, I account this not one of the least, that we have rung and sung, mumbled, murmured, and piteously puld forth a certain sort of psalms, with responds, versicles, and lessons to the same, for the souls of our Christian brethren and sisters departed out of this world." "There is nothing," it is added, "in the *Dirige*, taken out of the Scripture, that makes any more mention of the souls departed, than doth the tale of *Robin Hood*."

In his present circumstances, threatened as he was with the vengeance of the emperor for his treatment of Catherine, the friendship of the Protestant princes of Germany was of the greatest importance to Henry; and he never, before or after, went so far in the direction of the new

¹ See vol. i. p. 794.

opinions in religion as he now did in his endeavours to secure that object. After some preliminary negotiation, in the beginning of the year 1536, the Elector of Saxony and the other chiefs of the Lutheran confederacy presented their proposals to him in a "petition and request," consisting of fourteen articles, his answer to which, printed by Burnet in his supplement, from the original in the State Paper Office, exhibits him to us in the most Protestant character he ever assumed.

"This negotiation," says Burnet, "sunk to a great degree upon Queen Anne's tragical fall; and as the king thought they were no more necessary to him, so they saw his intractable humour, and had no hope of succeeding with him unless they would have allowed him a dictatorship in matters of religion." In another place the same historian admits, in substance, that Henry now arrogated to himself, in matters of religion, an infallibility and authority as absolute as had ever been claimed by the most imperious or intolerant of the popes. He thought all persons were bound to regulate their belief by his dictates.

In the convocation which met in June this year, and in which Cromwell occupied the chief seat as the king's vicegerent, a great deal of debate took place touching the new opinions in religion. Sixty-seven of these opinions, embracing the principal tenets of the old Lollards and Wyckliffites, of the Lutherans and other Protestant Reformers of the day, and of the fanatical Anabaptists, were complained of by the lower house as prevalent errors that demanded correction. The representation also noticed many extravagant and indecorous expressions, and irreverent jests touching confession, praying to saints, holy water, and the other ceremonies of the church, and called for their suppression, not without some oblique reflections on Cranmer and his few brethren on the bench of the same way of thinking with himself, as having neglected their duty in not putting down such abuses. Cromwell, however, still had influence enough with Henry to obtain from him a declaration rebuking, at least by implication, this officious zeal of the clergy, and rather intimating a favourable disposition towards some of the denounced opinions. It was stated to be the king's pleasure that the rites and ceremonies of the church should be reformed by the rules of Scripture, and that nothing should be maintained which did not rest on that authority. Afterwards many of the doctrinal points in dispute between the two parties were discussed at great length. In the end certain articles were agreed upon, which, after being in several places corrected and tempered by the king's own hand, were signed by Cromwell, Cranmer, and seventeen other bishops, forty abbots and priors, and fifty archdeacons and

proctors of the lower house, and were finally confirmed by the king, and published, with a preface in his name.

The articles began with a distinct admission of the great Protestant principle of the supremacy of the Bible, qualified only by the addition—to which few Protestants would then object—that the three ancient creeds, that of the Apostles, the Nicene, and the Athanasian, should be held to be of equal authority with the Scriptures. When particular controverted matters, however, came to be spoken of, the language employed was not always so explicit and decisive, or at least was not always perfectly consistent with this introductory announcement. In regard to baptism the opinions of the Anabaptists and Pelagians were declared to be detestable heresies. Concerning penance it was affirmed that it was instituted by Christ, and was absolutely necessary to salvation—that it consisted of contrition, confession, and amendment of life, with exterior works of charity—that confession to a priest is necessary, if it may be had—that his absolution is spoken by an authority given to him by Christ in the gospel, and must be believed as if it were spoken by God himself—that therefore none were to condemn auricular confession, but to use it for the comfort of their consciences. In the article touching the sacrament of the altar the dogma of transubstantiation was laid down in the most unqualified terms. In another article the necessity of good works to salvation was distinctly asserted, and so far there was a rejection of the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone; but, on the other hand, it was conceded that a sinner will not be justified by God for the merit or worthiness of any good work he may have done; and it was noted with especial prominence and emphasis that the good works necessary to salvation were not only external acts, but the inward motions and graces of God's Holy Spirit. The same struggle and intermixture of opposite opinions is to be discerned in what is said on the subject of images; here, again, the old practice being retained, but guarded, and in some degree corrected and checked, by the modern principle. As for the estimation in which the saints were to be held, it was laid down, with the like ingenious indentation and dovetailing of the two classes of opinion, first, that people were not to think to obtain those things at the hands of the saints which were to be obtained only of God; secondly, nevertheless, that it was good to pray to them to pray with and for us; and thirdly, that all the days appointed by the church for the memories of the saints were to be kept, but yet that the king might at any time lessen the number of the said days, and must be obeyed if he did so. Another article sanctioned as good and

laudable, and as having mystical significations in them, as well as being useful to lift up the mind to God, all the old customary ceremonies of religious worship—the vestments of the priest, the sprinkling of holy water, the distribution of holy bread, the bearing of candles on Candlemas Day, the giving of ashes on Ash Wednesday, the bearing of palms on Palm Sunday, the creeping to the Cross on Good Friday, the hallowing the font, and other exorcisms and benedictions. The last of the articles related to the much controverted questions of purgatory and prayers for the dead; and here, on the whole, the Protestant notions must be considered to have prevailed, although there was still something of the usual balancing and compounding together of adverse if not absolutely contradictory views and statements.

This mongrel religion, neither Romanism nor Protestantism, but an irregular patchwork or uncemented jumble of both, could not be expected, after it was manufactured and produced, to be perfectly acceptable to any part of the nation.¹ As soon as it was published, Burnet tells us it “occasioned a great variety of censures;”—that is, of expressions of opinion respecting it. On the whole, however, it was generally regarded as a decided advance in a Protestant direction.

The publication of the articles was immediately followed by a royal proclamation, abolishing, in conformity with the authority given by one of them, a considerable number of holidays, including most of those in the harvest season—a measure of policy which, however calculated to be ultimately beneficial, was, perhaps, not very wise in the temper of the popular mind at the moment, and is admitted to have had as great an effect as any of the sudden innovations that were now made, in provoking the Pilgrimage of Grace and the other serious insurrectionary movements that took place in the close of this year. A set of injunctions to the clergy was also issued by Cromwell as vicegerent in the king's name, “which,” says Burnet, “was the first act of pure supremacy done by the king; for in all that went before he had the concurrence of the two convocations.” The injunctions, which are supposed to have been penned by Cranmer, after exhorting the clergy to see, as far as in them lay, to the observance of the new articles, and of the laws and statutes made for the extirpation of the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, directed that all children and servants should be taught from their infancy to repeat and understand their Pater-

noster, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in their mother tongue.

In the following year, 1537, the war of reformation began to be carried on by Cromwell and his associates after a new fashion, by the destruction of images, relics, and shrines, which had long been the objects of popular veneration—a measure which was rather facilitated than originally provoked by the discoveries that were made in the course of the visitation of the monasteries now commenced. One of the orders given to the visitors was to make a minute examination of all the relics and images in any of these houses to which pilgrimages were wont to be made. “In this,” says Burnet, “Dr. London did great service. From Reading he writes that the chief relics of idolatry in the nation were there—an angel with one wing, that brought over the spear's head that pierced our Saviour's side. To which he adds a long inventory of their other relics, and says there were as many more as would fill four sheets of paper. He also writes from other places that he had everywhere taken down their images and trinkets.” Some of the images were brought to London, and, for the purpose of exposing the juggling impostures of the monks, were broken up at St. Paul's Cross in the sight of all the people. The rich shrines of our Lady of Walsingham, of Ipswich, of Islington, and many others, were now brought to London, and burned by order of Cromwell.

The abolition of images and pilgrimages occupied a principal place in a new set of instructions which Cromwell issued to the clergy in 1538.

At this point, however, the state of matters “began to turn.” The sequel of Henry's course, in regard to doctrinal changes, was, with the exception perhaps of some momentary starts of caprice or passion, rather a going back than a going forward. Although he had thrown off the authority of the Roman pontiff, indeed, he had no notion that the English church should be left without a pope; his objection was not to the thing but to the person; and his main object in displacing the Bishop of Rome evidently was, that, in so far at least as the religion of his own subjects was concerned, he might mount the same seat of absolute authority himself. The ancient head of the Roman church never put forward greater pretensions to infallibility than were, if not distinctly advanced in words, yet constantly acted upon by the new head of the English church in his narrower empire of spiritual despotism. The Catholics, seeing they could do no better in the state to which matters had been brought, were now contented even to affect a satisfaction with the changes that had been already made, in the hope of thereby preventing further innovations. After the trial and con-

¹ “It is yet but a mingle-mangle, a hotch-potch,” said Latimer, of the Reformation, in one of his sermons; “I cannot tell what; partly Popery, and partly true religion mingled together. They say in my country, when they call their hogs to the swine-trough, ‘Come to thy mingle-mangle—come, pur, come!’ Even so do they make a mingle-mangle of the gospel.”

denunciation of Lambert, the Sacramentary, in November, 1538, in which Henry took personally so conspicuous a part, "the party that opposed the Reformation," says Burnet, "persuaded the king that he had got so much reputation to himself by it, that it would effectually refute all aspersions which had been cast on him as if he intended to change the faith: neither did they forget to set on him in his weak side, and magnify all that he had said, as if the oracle had uttered it, by which they said it appeared he was indeed a defender of the faith, and the supreme head of the church."

In this spirit he now issued a long proclamation, prohibiting generally the importing of all English books printed abroad, and also the printing of any books at home without license, any part of the Scripture not excepted, till it had been examined and approved by the king and his council, or by the bishop of the diocese; condemning all the books of the Anabaptists and Sacramentaries, or deniers of the corporal presence of Christ in the eucharist, and denouncing punishment against all who should sell or otherwise publish them; forbidding all persons to argue against the doctrine of the real presence under pain of death and the loss of their goods; declaring that all should be punished who eschewed or neglected any rites or ceremonies not yet abolished; and ordering that all married priests should immediately be deprived, and those that should afterwards marry imprisoned or otherwise further punished at the king's pleasure. Cranmer's interest at court was now, from various causes, greatly diminished. His chief friend and ablest supporter on the episcopal bench, Fox, Bishop of Hereford, had died in May of this year; and "for the other bishops that adhered to Cranmer," says Burnet, "they were rather clogs than helps to him." The only ally Cranmer had at court upon whom he could place any reliance was Cromwell, and he had enough to do to take care of himself; for, as the right reverend historian remarks, "there was not a queen now in the king's bosom to favour their motions." Cromwell conceived the scheme of recovering his interest by bringing over Anne of Cleves. How disastrous this project proved in the issue to its contriver has been already related. But even before Henry's new marriage Cromwell's influence had been greatly weakened by the growing ascendancy of the able and crafty Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who at this moment professed himself precisely as much a Reformer and as much a follower of the old faith as his royal master, and in that way was easily enabled to guide Henry's course more and more back towards the latter, without suffering him to feel that he was either driven or drawn.

In 1539 was passed by the parliament the famous act for abolishing diversity in opinions (31 Henry VIII. c. 14), popularly called the Statute of the Six Articles, or the Bloody Statute, confirming the resolutions which had already been carried in the convocation in favour of transubstantiation, against communion in both kinds, against the marriage of priests, and in favour of vows of chastity, of private masses, and of auricular confession. The prime instigator of this new law was undoubtedly the Bishop of Winchester, now the king's chief counsellor.

The six articles of the Bloody Statute remained the established rule of faith of the English church, upon the several points to which they related, for the rest of Henry's reign. At this point, therefore, the history of the changes in the national religion made by Henry comes to a close, in so far as it forms a continuous narrative; but there are still a few scattered incidents in the history of the church, and of the regulation of doctrine and worship during the last years of his reign, that require a short notice.

Some injunctions issued by Bonner to his clergy of the diocese of London, in 1542—which Burnet thinks "have a strain in them so far different from the rest of his life, that it is more probable they were drawn by another pen, and imposed on Bonner by an order of the king"—contain a few things worthy of notice. Among the duties imposed upon all parsons, vicars, curates, and other parish priests, one is, that they read over and diligently study, every day, one chapter of the Bible, with the ordinary gloss, or that of some other approved doctor or expositor; another is, that they shall instruct, teach, and bring up in learning, in the best way that they can, all such children of their parishioners as shall come to them for that purpose—at least teaching them to read English—for which they were to be moderately paid by such as could afford it. Some of the paragraphs that follow are illustrative of the manners of the time. It is spoken of as "a detestable and abominable practice, universally reigning," that young people and others were accustomed on Sundays and holidays, during the time of Divine service, to resort to alehouses, and there exercise unlawful games, with great swearing, blasphemy, drunkenness, and other enormities. It was even thought necessary to warn the clergy themselves that they should not in future use any unlawful games, or resort frequently to alehouses, taverns, or other places of evil repute, or haunted by light company; and they were also forbidden to array themselves in unseemly and unpriestly habits or apparel, or to have unlawful tonsures, or to carry armour and weapons about with them. Another injunction forbids any manner of common plays,

games, or interludes to be played, set forth, or declared, within churches or chapels. This was a singular practice, which, in the shape and spirit at least in which it now prevailed, had come in with the Reformation. The old miracle-plays, indeed, seem to have originated with the clergy, and were frequently exhibited in the monasteries, and perhaps also in the churches; but these were, in the main, serious and solemn performances, and were designed to excite the reverential and devotional feelings of the spectators, which were not at all disturbed even by the rude jocularity or buffoonery, a good deal of which was usually mixed up with the representation. But the plays and interludes now acted in churches were expressly intended to turn things that had heretofore been held sacred into ridicule. Burnet tells us that, although the clergy complained of them as an introduction to atheism and all sorts of impiety, and the more grave and learned Reformers disliked and condemned them as unsuitable to the genius of true religion, yet "the political men of that party made great use of them, encouraging them all they could; for, they said, contempt being the most operative and lasting affection of the mind, nothing would more effectually drive out many of those abuses which yet remained, than to expose them to the contempt and scorn of the people."

These indecent exhibitions at length attracted the attention of the government, and in 1543 an act of parliament (stat. 34 and 35, c. 1, entitled, "An Act for the advancement of True Religion, and for the abolishment of the contrary") was passed for putting them down, along with divers other abuses, or conceived abuses, which had sprung up in the fertile hot-bed of the licentious time. For reformation of these evils the act proceeds to prohibit "all manner of books of the Old and New Testament in English, being of the crafty, false, and untrue translation of Tyndal, and all other books and writings in the English tongue teaching or comprising any matters of Christian religion, articles of the faith, or Holy Scripture, or any part of them," contrary to the doctrine set forth by the king since the year 1540. Another proviso is amusing: free liberty to use any part of the Bible or Holy Scripture as they have been wont, so always it be not contrary to the doctrine of 1540, is continued to the chancellor of England, to *captains of the wars*, justices of peace, and others, "which heretofore have been accustomed to declare or teach any good, virtuous, or godly exhortations in any assemblies." But the most important part of this law was the new regulations with regard to the reading of the Scriptures. Not only was it forbidden to any person not having the license of the king or the ordinary

to read the English Bible aloud in any church or open assembly, under the penalty of a month's imprisonment, but great restrictions were laid even upon the private reading of it. Any nobleman or gentleman, being a householder, was still permitted "to read, or cause to be read by any of his family or servants, in his house, orchard, or garden, and to his own family, any text of the Bible or New Testament, so the same be done quietly and without disturbance of good order;" and any merchant, "being a householder, and occupying the seat of merchandise," might read to himself privately in the sacred volume. But that privilege was withdrawn from all women, artificers, apprentices, journeymen, serving-men of the degree of yeomen or under, husbandmen, and labourers; and noblewomen and gentlewomen were only allowed to read to themselves alone, and not to others.

In 1537 had come out, under the title of *The Godly and Pious Institution of a Christian Man*, the first edition of an explanation of all the leading doctrines of the church, compiled by a body of bishops and other divines commissioned for that purpose by the king, whence it popularly received the name of the Bishops' Book. A second edition of this work, revised and put into a new form under the direction of another commission, appeared in 1540, the title now given to it being *The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man*. In this authoritative compendium there was certainly, on the whole, much less of Protestantism than of the ancient faith. A third edition of the book, with many alterations and additions by another commission, came out in 1543, introduced by a prefatory epistle from Henry himself, whence it now came to be called *The King's Book*. The most remarkable passage in this epistle related to the reading of the Scriptures, which it was admitted was necessary for those whose office it was to teach others; "but for the other part of the church," continues the king, "ordained to be taught, it ought to be deemed certainly that the reading of the Old and New Testament is not so necessary for all those folks, that of duty they ought and be bound to read it, but as the prince and the policy of the realm shall think convenient so to be tolerated or taken from it."

It is difficult to understand what Burnet means by describing the act of 1543 as one that freed the people from the fears in which they were before on the subject of religion, inasmuch as it delivered the laity from the hazard of burning. By one of the clauses of this new act, which, throughout, is one of restriction and abridgment of former liberties, it is expressly declared that the bloody statute of the Six Articles shall still continue in the same force, strength, and effect

as ever. Within a few months after the passing of this new law, three persons attached to the doctrines of the Reformation, Anthony Person, a priest, Robert Testwood, musician, and Henry Filmer, one of the churchwardens of Windsor, were burned together in that town under the statute of the Six Articles. On the information of Dr. London, Cromwell's zealous visitor of the monasteries and nunneries, whose accommodating observance of the changes at court had now been rewarded by Cromwell's successor with a prebendal stall in St. George's Chapel, Gardiner had obtained from the king a warrant to make search in the houses of these unfortunate persons for forbidden books, some of which were found in their possession. They were brought to trial at Windsor on the 27th of July, 1544, along with a fourth, John Marbeck, another musician, who had, it appears, made considerable progress in the compilation of a Concordance of the English Bible, and were all condemned. Marbeck received a pardon, and was set at liberty; but the others, as we have mentioned, all suffered.

The only other innovation of any importance that was made in the church service in this reign was the translation of the prayers for the processions and of the litanies into the English tongue. An order for the use of these English prayers was sent to Archbishop Cranmer by Henry, in June, 1544, immediately before Henry crossed the seas on his last expedition to Boulogne. This gave some hope to the Protestants that the king, as Burnet expresses it, "was again opening his ears to notions for reformation, to which they had been shut now about six years;" but they were immediately shut again as hard as ever. The year 1546 witnessed the consignment, first to the rack, and afterwards to the stake, of Anne Askew, and numbers of other victims in London and elsewhere, for the denial of the real presence.

In fact, at the close of this reign, the Church of England, although it had cast off the Roman supremacy, was still, according to its public formularies and the law of the land, at one with the Church of Rome in all the fundamental points of doctrine and belief. The two great measures, indeed, of the rejection of the pope and the confiscation of the monasteries, which appear to have been the only reforms that Henry ever really

went cordially into, had naturally drawn after them some degree of scepticism or coldness of faith touching purgatory and prayers for the dead, and touching the worship of images and the intercession of the saints; but even as to these points there was no distinct abandonment of the ancient faith. The seven sacraments of the Roman church, the corporal presence in the eucharist, the denial of the cup to the laity, auricular confession, the celibacy of the priesthood, and almost the whole ceremonial of the mass, and the other ancient forms, were retained in the be-



THE BURNING PLACE IN SMITHFIELD.—Fox's Acts and Monuments.
THE MARTYRDOM OF ANNE ASKEW AND OTHERS.

lief and practice of the English church as long as Henry lived.

At the date of the accession of Edward VI. (January, 1547), there can be no doubt that the numerical preponderance of the population of the kingdom was still in the proportion of many to one on the side of the ancient religion. The avowed Reformers did not as yet form the bulk of the inhabitants of any place, either among the towns or in the country. It is not to be supposed that even in any of the great towns the majority of the people had yet embraced the new doctrines; but these doctrines had both a much greater number of decided adherents in the towns than in the rural districts, and had also in the former much less of attachment to the old religion to overcome in the masses who had not yet gone over to them. Most of what was very fierce and determined in the hostility they had still to encounter was to be found among the villagers and peasantry. Among the upper classes the proportion of persons who, swayed either by religious or political considerations, were thoroughly in the interests

of the Reformation, was perhaps scarcely greater than among the lower and middle classes; but here, too, there was enlisted on that side all that was most energetic and aspiring in the body of the nobility and gentry, many of whom had already profited largely by the spoliation of the church, while many more looked for similar advantages from the same source.

The first year of the reign of Edward VI. saw the fabric of the ancient system completely undermined, and the foundations laid of a church Protestant in its doctrines and forms of worship. The parliament which met in the beginning of November, 1547, repealed the statute of the Six Articles, and also all the old acts against what was called heresy, and moreover began the work of reconstruction as well as of demolition, by directing, that henceforth the sacrament should be administered to the people in both kinds.

Of the other proceedings that were taken this year in the same direction, the most important was the preparation by Cranmer, or at least under his direction, of certain homilies or sermons to be read to their congregations by such incumbents of parishes as might not be qualified to compose discourses of their own. To the general imitation of these printed discourses by the clergy, Bishop Burnet attributes the introduction of the practice of preachers reading their sermons, the custom formerly having been for them to deliver unwritten or extemporaneous declamations. The homilies now prepared by Cranmer were twelve in number, and, when printed, were introduced by a preface in the name of the king, enjoining them to be read in all churches every Sunday by such priests as could not preach. According to Strype, two editions of the book were printed by Grafton this same year. "But it is strange," observes this writer, "to consider how anything, be it never so beneficial and innocent, oftentimes gives offence. For a great many, both of the laity as well as the clergy, could not digest these homilies; and therefore, sometimes, when they were read in the church, if the parishioners liked them not, there would be such talking and babbling in the church that nothing could be heard." It is alleged also, that from the illiterate character of the rural clergy, these homilies were often read so imperfectly and incorrectly as to be scarcely worth hearing.

As yet, however, very little alteration had been made in the forms of public worship. The injunctions issued by Cranmer and the protector to the visitors whom they sent out over the kingdom, soon after the commencement of the new reign, were extremely moderate and cautious. Almost the only innovation that was ordered in Divine service was, that at high mass the epistle and gospel should be read in English; and that

every Sunday and holiday the priest should read at matins one chapter out of the Old Testament in English, and at even-song another out of the New. It was ordered that the people should be taught to beware of the superstitions of sprinkling their beds with holy water, of ringing of bells, and of using blessed candles for driving away devils; but at the same time not to despise any of the ceremonies not yet abrogated. On the subject of images it was directed that the curates should take down such as they knew were abused by pilgrimages or offerings to them, but that they should not be touched by private persons. An expectation, however, that much greater changes were at hand universally prevailed in the public mind. In some cases the people, impatient of the apparent inaction of the government, took the work of reform into their own hands. The department in which they proceeded to exert themselves was, as usual, that of throwing down images, shrines, and other decorations—a species of exploit which other feelings as well as a pious zeal help to make popular. Gardiner complained of these outrages in warm terms to the council, but little attention was paid to him. Meanwhile the subject of images, and also several of the other great controverted questions, were taken up in their public discourses by the preachers on both sides. Dr. Ridley, already designed for the bishopric of Rochester, seems to have begun this course, throwing the whole kingdom into a ferment by a Lent sermon which he preached against both images and holy water. The late order, too, for the removal of such images as had been abused to superstitious purposes produced a world of contention, each parish being rent asunder by a debate as to whether its favourite images had been thus abused or not. At last another order was issued in February, 1548, for the removal of all images; and this seems to have put an end to the excitement, which, in some places, had assumed a very threatening appearance.

A few weeks after was published a new office for the communion, which had been drawn up by a committee of bishops and other divines appointed to revise all the offices of the church. In this, however, the office of the mass was still left as before. The cup, of course, in conformity with the late act, was directed to be given to the laity as well as to the clergy. An important innovation was made also in regard to confession: it was enjoined that such as desired to make auricular confession should not censure those who were satisfied with a general confession to God; and that, on the other hand, those who used only confession to God and the church, should not be offended with such as made auricular confession to a priest.

Before Midsummer the same commission had

completed the preparation of a new general Public Office, or Book of Common Prayer, in the room of the ancient Latin Mass Book. In proceeding to this task they began by collecting and examining all the various forms of the Mass Book that had been wont to be used in different parts of the kingdom. The new book contained very little that was not in the old one; but was principally distinguished from it by its omission of many forms that were held to be superstitious, and by its being throughout in English. The chief addition was the Litany, which was the same that is still in use, except only that it contained originally a petition for deliverance from the Bishop of Rome, which was struck out in the reign of Elizabeth.

In the session of parliament which began in November this year, the new "Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, after the use of the Church of England," was ordered to be used by all ministers in the celebration of Divine service. In this session of parliament, also, acts were passed reviving the old law on the subject of days of abstinence from flesh, and repealing all laws against the marriage of priests.

The complete exposition and settlement, by authority, of the doctrines of the church, however, still remained to be effected. "Many," says Burnet, "thought they should have begun first of all with those. But Cramer, upon good reasons, was of another mind, though much pressed by Bucer about it. Till the order of bishops was brought to such a model that the far greater part of them would agree to it, it was much fitter to let that design go on slowly than to set out a profession of their belief to which so great a part of the chief pastors might be obstinately averse." But at length Gardiner, Bonner, Heath, and Day, having all been got rid of, and Ridley, Coverdale, Hooper, and other zealous friends of the Reformation, promoted to the episcopal bench, the preparation of articles of religion was proceeded with in 1551, and finished by the beginning of the next year, when they were published by the king's authority. These original articles were forty-two in number, and did not differ as to any material point of doctrine from the present Thirty-nine Articles.

Another great work which employed the labours of Cramer and his associates in the course of this reign was the reform of the ecclesiastical or canon law.

Although it never obtained any legal authority, the system of ecclesiastical law drawn up by Cramer and his friends possesses much interest, from the light it throws upon the opinions entertained as to various points of great importance

by the fathers of the English Reformation. We shall, therefore, state its most remarkable provisions. It began by declaring that the denial of the Christian religion should be punishable with death and the loss of goods. No capital punishment was expressly denounced against heresy; but obstinate heretics were to be declared infamous, incapable of public trust, of being witnesses in any court, of making a will, or, finally, of deriving any benefit whatever from the law—a condemnation which would seem to be very nearly equivalent to putting them to death at once. Blasphemy was made punishable in the same way with obstinate heresy.

The reign of Edward VI., in the course of which the Protestant doctrines and worship were thus gradually, but, in the end, completely established, must have very considerably slackened the hold of the ancient religion upon the popular mind. But we believe, after all, that it was the reign of Mary, much more than that of Edward, which really made England a Protestant country. Mary's cause was at first supported against her unfortunate Protestant rival by the bulk of the population in all parts of the kingdom; and, although it is certain that many of those who so took her part were actuated by other principles and motives than their attachment to Popery, it is hardly to be believed that so general an enthusiasm in her favour would have been shown by a community the majority of which were Protestants. At the accession of Elizabeth, on the contrary, we behold a really national manifestation of Protestantism—the people of all classes eagerly crowding to carry her in triumph to the throne, and hailing her not only as their queen, but as their deliverer. The horrors of the preceding Popish reign had done more to spread through the land a horror of Popery than probably the most strenuous exertions on the part of an established Protestant clergy could have done in twice the same space of time. No teaching, no preaching could have told like that of the martyrs from the midst of the flames.

The first year of Mary's reign saw everything that had been set up in the matter of the national religion by her brother thrown down, and all that he had thrown down again set up. The parliament which met in the beginning of October, 1553, swept away, by a single statute of repeal (1 Mary, sec. 2, cap. 2), all the acts of the last reign respecting the administration of the sacrament to the people in both kinds, the election of bishops, the uniformity of public worship, the marriage of priests, the abolition of missals and removal of images, the keeping of holidays and fast-days, &c.; and directed that Divine service should again be performed as it used to be in the last year of Henry VIII. Within the

same space, Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstal, Day, and Heath, were all restored to their bishoprics; Ridley and Crammer were sent to the Tower; the other Protestant bishops were expelled from the House of Lords; and, soon after, all of them were deprived of their sees. At this point the directors of the retrograde movement halted for a few months. But before the end of the year 1554, acts had been passed by the parliament reviving all the old acts against heresy (1 and 2 Philip and Mary, cap. 6), and repealing all statutes, articles, and provisions made against the see apostolic of Rome since the 20th year of King Henry VIII., and also for the re-establishment of all spiritual and ecclesiastical possessions and hereditaments conveyed to the laity (1 and 2 Philip and Mary, cap. 8). Thus, as in the preceding year things had been restored to the state in which they stood before the final establishment of Protestantism under Edward, they were now brought back to that in which they stood prior to the partial changes made by Henry.

It was after the work of demolition and re-erection had been thus completed that the fires were kindled at Smithfield and elsewhere, which were never suffered to go out, or left unfed by living fuel, during the remainder of the reign. It indeed acquired the character of a reign of blood, and as such will continue to be characterized in history, although more from the refined cruelty with which some of these executions were distinguished, than from their merely numeral amount. The manner of Crammer's martyrdom, and the infamous treacheries with which it was preceded, rendered it more horrible than the summary slaughter of a whole hecatomb of ordinary victims. Women, too, were as little spared as men, their sex having no effect in exempting them from the stake, although a female sovereign was on the throne. Long after, it was remembered with a sickening shudder, that a matron far advanced in pregnancy had been delivered in the midst of the flames—and that the babe had been rescued only to be thrown back into the fire. Another infant, by the order of Bishop Bonner, was whipped to death for the crime of being born of heretic parents. From the cruelties also used in prison, those who escaped the stake were little to be envied by those who were led out to Smithfield, as they endured in dark loathsome dungeons, and under a load of chains, the agonies of a living martyrdom, compared with which the place of execution would have been welcomed as a happy change. Many besides died in prison. Lord Burghley, in his tract entitled, *The Execution of Justice in England*, reckons the entire number that died by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, to have been near 400. If the unanimous testimony of the Protestant histor-

ians of the persecution is to be believed, the victims in many cases tasted the rack and other tortures before they were brought to the stake.

Many English Protestants, also, in the early part of this reign, foreseeing the storm that was coming on, had fled abroad, taking refuge chiefly in Frankfort, Strasburg, Basle, Zürich, and Geneva. Among these were Sir Francis Knollys, afterwards Queen Elizabeth's vice-chamberlain; Grindal, afterwards successively Bishop of London, Archbishop of York, and Archbishop of Canterbury; Sandys, who succeeded Grindal in the archbishopric of York; Bale, late Bishop of Ossory, well known for his numerous writings, theological, biographical, and dramatic; Pilkington, afterwards Bishop of Durham; Bentham, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield; Scory, late Bishop of Chichester, and afterwards Bishop of Hereford; Jewel, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury; Coverdale, the famous translator of the Bible, late Bishop of Exeter; Knox, the great Scottish Reformer; Fox, the martyrologist; and many other learned persons. In all there are computed to have been above 800 of these refugees. They established English Protestant churches in most of the places where they took up their abode—the two most considerable congregations being at Frankfort and Geneva.

When Elizabeth came to the throne she found the Protestantism of those of her subjects who were Protestants a good deal stronger than her own. All the peculiarities of Elizabeth's Protestantism leaned towards the Popish notions; and it is very evident that if she had been left to make a religion of her own for the country, it would have been something about midway between the Protestant and the Roman systems. Indeed, it was not her fault that she was not reconciled to the court of Rome, to which, on her accession, she despatched an envoy to intimate that event in the same manner as she did to all the other courts of Europe. It was the pope that threw her off, not she that threw off the pope. But although circumstances prevented Elizabeth from making the Reformed church which she established in England exactly what her own views and inclinations would have demanded, her personal tastes had still a very considerable influence in determining the form and character which it actually assumed. Had Edward VI. survived, it would certainly have presented a very different aspect in the present day.

The first step which Elizabeth took in the matter of religion was designed to restrain the impetuosity of her more ardent Protestant subjects. When, immediately after her accession, the people in many places began to set up King Edward's service, to pull down images, and to insult the priests, she issued an order that certain

parts of the service should be read in English, and that the elevation of the host should be discontinued; but at the same time she strictly prohibited all further innovations for the present. She also ordered that all preaching should be suspended. In summoning her first parliament she did not even assume the title of supreme head of the church. The eminent Protestant divine, Dr. Matthew Parker, however, had been already selected to fill the metropolitan see, and everything had been arranged in the council for the restoration of the Reformed church. The parliament, accordingly, which met in the end of January, 1559, before it separated in the beginning of May, revived all Henry VIII.'s acts against the jurisdiction and exactions of the Bishop of Rome, which had been repealed in the last reign, and also the statute of Edward VI., by which the communion was administered to the laity in both kinds; repealed the old acts against heresy which had been revived by Mary; appointed an oath acknowledging the supremacy of the crown over the church, to be taken by all spiritual persons on pain of deprivation (by stat. 1 Eliz. cap. 1); re-established the use of King Edward's Book of Common Prayer, with certain slight alterations, chiefly in the communion service (by stat. 1 Eliz. cap. 2); and restored the first-fruits and tenths of benefices to the crown (by stat. 1 Eliz. cap. 4). A bill was also brought in, among some others that did not pass, for restoring to their benefices all clergymen that had been deprived in the last reign for being married; but it was dropped on the queen's order. Elizabeth, however, though no admirer of married priests, did not carry her scruples or dislike so far as seriously to attempt the project of setting up an unmarried clergy; she took no notice of the laws made by her sister in favour of clerical celibacy.

The effect of these new statutes was once more completely to revolutionize the national religion—to transform England from a Catholic into a Protestant country. A few weeks after the parliament rose, the oath of supremacy was tendered to the bishops; when Heath, Archbishop of York, Bonner, Bishop of London, Thirleby of Ely, Bourn of Bath and Wells, Bain of Lichfield, White of Winchester, Watson of Lincoln, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, Turberville of Exeter, Pool of Peterborough, Scott of Chester, Pates of Worcester, Goldwell of St. Asaph, Tunstal of Durham, and three bishops-elect, all refused it; in fact, Kitchen of Llandaff, the Vicar of Bray of the episcopal bench,¹ was the only one who consented to take it. With that single exception, therefore, all the sees became at once vacant; but although the deprived prelates were also at first sent to prison, in conformity with one of the provisions

of the statute, only Bonner, White, and Watson were detained in confinement. Most of the rest spent the remainder of their days unmolested in England: Heath lived in his own house at Surrey, where he was sometimes visited by the queen; Tunstal and Thirleby resided with Archbishop Parker at Lambeth.² Only Pates, Scott, and Goldwell left the country. Most of the monks, Burnet says, returned to a secular course of life, but the nuns went abroad. A few of the Catholic nobility and gentry also retired beyond seas. On the other hand, the exiles who had gone abroad in Mary's time returned in great numbers, many of them to be nominated to the highest offices in the church.

Meanwhile preparations were made for a general visitation of the national clergy. With this view certain injunctions were drawn up, but not without the queen proving almost impracticable as to one of them—that which directed the removal of images. However, she yielded at last to the remonstrances, if not to the reasonings of the bishops and other divines; and the injunctions were issued in nearly the same terms with those put forth by King Edward at his first coming to the crown, except that some things were added, of which the following were the most remarkable. Although marriage was not forbidden to the clergy, it was declared that great offence had been given by the indecent marriages that some of them had made in King Edward's days; and, therefore, no priest or deacon was to be allowed to marry without permission from the bishop of the diocese and two justices of the peace, as well as the consent of the woman's parents or nearest of kin. No book was to be printed or published without a license from the queen, or from six of her privy council, or from her ecclesiastical commissioners, or from the two archbishops, the Bishop of London, the chancellors of the two universities, and the bishop and archdeacon of the place where it was printed.

According to the report made by the visitors to the queen after they had finished their labours, it appeared that, of 9400 beneficed persons in England, all who chose to resign their benefices rather than comply with the new order of things at this crisis were, besides the fourteen bishops and three bishops-elect already mentioned, only six abbots, twelve deans, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, fifty prebendaries, and eighty rectors.³ So that, after this great change from Popery to Protestantism, the parochial clergy generally remained the same as before, almost the entire body having stepped over from

² Tunstal, alike eminent for his learning and his virtue, survived this his second deprivation only a few months, dying the next year at the age of eighty-five.

³ This is Burnet's enumeration. The numbers vary somewhat in Camden and other authorities.

¹ See vol. ii. p. 79.

the one creed and worship to the other as quietly as if principle and conscience had had nothing to do with the matter.

The re-establishment of the Reformed church under Elizabeth may be considered to have been completed in 1562 by the publication of the articles of religion as revised by the bishops, and adopted by the convocation. Besides the reduction of the number from forty-two to thirty-nine, the chief alteration that was made upon the original articles published in the time of King Edward was in that on the Lord's Supper, in which the express denial of the corporal presence was now left out, and it was merely said that "the body of Christ was given and received after a spiritual manner, and the means by which it is received is faith." It was hoped, according to Burnet, by this reserve to retain in communion with the church some whom a distinct denial of the real presence would have scared away. A further revision of the articles took place in 1571, when, however, no alterations of any moment were made, but the articles were for the first time subscribed and set forth by the convocation in English as well as in Latin. It was now, also, that subscription to them was for the first time made imperative upon the clergy (by stat. 13 Eliz. c. 12).

We may here also notice the new translation of the Bible which appeared in this reign. Since Cranmer's, or the Great Bible, Coverdale, assisted



MILES COVERDALE.—From a portrait in the print-room, British Museum.

by others of his countrymen settled at Geneva, had occupied himself during his exile in the time of Mary with the preparation of a new English version of the whole Scriptures, which was at length printed for the first time at Geneva in 1560. This continued to be the favourite Bible of the English Puritans, and also of the Presbyterians in Scotland, till the appearance of the

present authorized translation in the reign of James I. Of course it was many times reprinted.¹

The church thus set up in England occupied a position that exposed it to hostility at the same time from two opposite quarters—on the one hand from those who desired a further reformation, on the other from those who wanted no reformation at all. But the quarrel of both these classes of dissenters or nonconformists with the church, it is to be remembered, was equally a quarrel with the state or the government, of which the church was merely the creature and instrument. As for the case of the Roman Catholics, ample details have been given in the preceding chapters of the commencement and course of the succession of measures taken against them, from the simple prohibition of their worship in the beginning of the reign, through the disabilities and severities of subsequent times, increasing with the exasperation of both parties, till Popery came to be in a manner confounded with treason, so that most of the persons put to death for the one might almost in another view be said to be put to death for the other. We shall here merely enumerate together, and in their chronological order, the principal of the series of legislative enactments to which the followers of the ancient religion were subjected in the course of this reign.

First came the two acts of 1559; the one (1 Eliz. cap. 1), entitled, "An Act restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same;" the other (1 Eliz. c. 2) entitled, "An Act for the uniformity of common prayer and divine service in the church, and the administration of the sacraments." By the former the oath of supremacy was directed to be taken by all persons holding any office, spiritual or temporal, on pain of deprivation, and also by all persons taking degrees in the universities, and by all persons suing livery or doing homage; writing or preaching against the supremacy was made punishable, for the first offence with forfeiture of goods and one year's imprisonment, for the second with the pains of premunire, for the third as high treason; and those powers of exercising its ecclesiastical jurisdiction, through commissioners appointed for that purpose, were conferred upon the crown, which were afterwards turned into an engine of such comprehensive despotism by means of the famous Courts of High Commission. By the latter, all clergymen refusing to use King Edward's Book of Common Prayer were ordered to be punished for the first offence with forfeiture of one year's profit of their benefices and six months' imprisonment, for the second with one

¹ The Geneva Bible is the same that is known by the name of the Breeches Bible, from its rendering of Genesis iii. 7.

year's imprisonment and deprivation, for the third with deprivation and imprisonment for life; all persons either speaking anything against the said service book, or causing any other forms than those it prescribed to be used in any church, chapel, or other place, in the performance of prayer or the administration of the sacraments, were subjected to the penalty of 100 marks for the first offence, of 400 marks for the second, for the third to forfeiture of goods and imprisonment for life; and a fine of 1s. was inflicted upon every person absent from his parish church without cause on any Sunday or holiday. Not only the deprivation of recusant clergymen, but prosecutions and punishments of private individuals, began under this act as soon as it was passed.¹ In 1563, by an act (5 Eliz. c. 1), "For the assurance of the queen's majesty's royal power over all estates and subjects within her highness's dominions," several of the above provisions were made still more extensive and stringent. The oath of supremacy was now required to be taken by all persons entering into holy orders, by all schoolmasters, barristers, benchers, and attorneys, by all officers of any court of common law or other court whatever, and by all members of the House of Commons; and the refusing it, or upholding the jurisdiction of Rome, was made punishable with the pains of premunire for the first offence, and for the second with those of high treason. In 1571, after the Earl of Northumberland's rebellion,² a new act upon the subject of treason (stat. 13 Eliz. c. 1) was principally directed against the adherents of Popery. It was now made high treason to compass, imagine, invent, devise, or intend, the death or bodily harm of the queen, or the deposing her, or the levying war against her, or exciting foreigners to invade the realm, if such designs were uttered or declared by any printing, writing, or words, or to deny the queen's title, or to affirm her to be an heretic or usurper; any person during the queen's life claiming title to the crown, or usurping the royal title, or refusing to acknowledge the queen's right (this and the following clauses were especially levelled against the Queen of Scots and her adherents), was disabled from inheriting the crown; all claimants or pretenders to any right of succession to the crown, after the queen's proclamation had issued against them, were declared guilty of high treason; denying the power of the common law, or of this or any other act of parliament, to limit the descent of the crown, was made high treason during the queen's life, and afterwards punishable by forfeiture of goods; and the printing or publishing that any particular person not so declared by act of parliament, except her issue, was heir to the queen, was made punishable by

a year's imprisonment for the first offence, and by a premunire for the second. By another statute of the same year (13 Eliz. c. 2), provoked by the pope's excommunication of Elizabeth, it was declared to be high treason to obtain or put in use any bull from Rome, or to receive absolution thereunder, and misprision of treason to conceal the offer of any such bull, and punishable with premunire to bring into the realm "any token or tokens, thing or things, called or named by the name of an *Agnus Dei*, or any crosses, pictures, beads, or such like vain and superstitious things from the Bishop or see of Rome." A third act (13 Eliz. 2, c. 3) sought to prevent the retirement of the Catholics beyond seas, by enacting that any of the queen's subjects leaving the realm without her license, and not returning within six months after proclamation, should forfeit all their goods and the profits of all their lands for life. But what are properly to be called the penal laws against Popery, as being expressly and directly pointed against the dissemination and profession of that faith, commence with the year 1581. By an act passed in that year (23 Eliz. c. 1), entitled "An Act to retain the queen's majesty's subjects in their due obedience," persons pretending to any power of absolving subjects from their obedience to the queen, or practising to withdraw them to the Romish religion, and all subjects so absolved or withdrawn, were declared guilty of high treason; their abettors or concealers were declared guilty of misprision of treason: the saying of mass was made punishable by a year's imprisonment and a fine of 200 marks; the hearing of it by a fine of 100 marks and the same term of imprisonment; and the fine for neglecting to attend church was raised to the monstrous amount of £20 per month. This very year Campion, the Jesuit, and three other priests, were executed: and from this date to the end of the reign there was scarcely a year in which several persons of the same profession were not sent to the gibbet. It is true, indeed, that they were not put to death as Catholics; Campion and his companions were arraigned on the old treason act of the 25th of Edward III., and the others were in like manner all found guilty of some old or new treason; but as the mere teaching, and in certain circumstances even the simple profession, of the Roman Catholic faith was now converted into that capital crime, some of them at least may as correctly be said to have suffered as Catholics as they may be said to have suffered as traitors. A new act, passed in 1585, "against Jesuits, seminary priests, and such other like disobedient persons" (27 Eliz. c. 2), added some others to the list of these new Popish capital offences, by declaring that all Jesuits and other Romish priests whatsoever, made or ordained out of England,

¹ See vol. ii. p. 70.² See vol. ii. p. 142.

coming into or remaining in the kingdom, and all English subjects educated in any foreign college of Jesuits or other seminary of Romish priests, not returning home on proclamation and taking the oath of supremacy, should be deemed traitors; and the receivers of Romish priests so coming from abroad, felons without benefit of clergy. Persons sending money to foreign Jesuits or priests were at the same time subjected to the pains of prebendary; and all persons were prohibited from sending their children abroad, without license from her majesty, under a penalty of £100. In 1587, by an act intended to secure the more speedy and due execution of the act of 1581, all conveyances made by recusants, to avoid the penalties therein imposed, were declared void; and the fine of £20 per month, incurred for non-attendance at church, was directed in future to be levied by distress upon the property of the offenders to the extent of all their goods and two-thirds of their lands. Finally, in 1593, by another act "against Popish recusants" (35 Eliz. cap. 2), all persons above sixteen years of age, being Popish recusants convicted, were ordered, within forty days, to repair to their usual place of dwelling, and forbidden for ever after, without written license from the bishop of the diocese or deputy-lieutenant of the county, to go five miles from thence on pain of forfeiture of their goods and the profits of their lands during life. This was the last act passed against the Catholics in the reign of Elizabeth.

But the other description of nonconformists, opposite as were most of their principles and objects, gave, even in this early stage of their existence, nearly as much trouble as the Catholics. The origin of the Protestant Dissenters may be traced to the very dawn of the Reformation; for the principles of Wyckliffe in this country, and of Huss and Jerome of Prague on the Continent, were certainly much more nearly allied to what in a later age was styled Puritanism than to the doctrine of the Established church. But the first appearance of Puritanism in England as an element at variance with the spirit of the Establishment was in the reign of Edward VI. In some of their notions, indeed, even the original founders of the Establishment, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and their associates, may be regarded as having been puritanically inclined in comparison with their successors, the restorers of the Reformed church in the reign of Elizabeth. Puritanism was first imported into England after the establishment of the Reformation by certain foreign divines, Peter Martyr, Bucer, John à Lasco, and others, who came over from Germany on the accession of Edward VI., and by one or two Englishmen, who had studied or travelled in that country. Of these last the celebrated Dr. John Hooper

was the most distinguished; and the first disturbance occasioned in the newly founded church by the principles of Puritanism was when Hooper, in 1550, on being nominated to the bishopric of Gloucester, refused to submit to the appointed forms of consecration and admission. At this date, however, English Puritanism—which, indeed, was not even yet known by that name—was a mere mustard-seed in comparison of what it afterwards became. Accidentally, one of the most remarkable and enduring consequences of the restoration of Popery in England in the reign of Mary, was the eventual introduction into the country of a new spirit of Puritanism. This was brought about through the large emigration of English Protestants to the Continent at the commencement of Mary's persecutions, and their return home on the accession of Elizabeth, fraught, many of them, with notions which they had acquired in the schools of Calvin, Zwingle, and other foreign Reformers, whose principles were on many points wholly adverse to those which prevailed in the reconstruction of the English church. Great contentions, in fact, had taken place among the exiles, while resident abroad, on the subject of the rites and ceremonies retained in King Edward's Book of Common Prayer; and at last, while the party in favour of these forms retained possession of the church at Frankfort, their opponents retired for the most part to Geneva, and there, under the eye of Calvin and the immediate pastoral care of his disciple Knox, set up a new service of their own, mostly borrowed from that of the French Protestants, in which there were no litany, no responses, and hardly any rites or ceremonies; and a directory of which they published in English under the title of the "Service, Discipline, and form of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments used in the English Church of Geneva." Even many of those who had been members of the church at Frankfort brought back with them inclinations in favour of a wider departure from the Popish worship than Elizabeth would consent to in her Reformed church.

The Church of England, it is always to be remembered, no more adopts or sanctions the principle of the private interpretation of Scripture than does the Church of Rome. Differing from the Church of Rome in holding the Scripture to be the sole rule of faith, it still insists that the Scripture shall be received, not as any individual may interpret it for himself, but as it is expounded in the articles and other formularies of the church. It may, indeed, be doubted if the Puritans themselves at this early period had arrived at what it has been common in later times to speak of as the great fundamental principle of Protestantism—the right of every individual to be his own in-

terpreter of the Word of God; for this, when carried out, would seem to lead directly to the conclusion that the church ought to be unrestrained by any articles or formularies whatever. To this height, certainly, no class of Protestants had soared in the days of which we are speaking. The utmost that was demanded by the first dissenters from the Church of England was, that certain points about which they felt scruples should be left as matters indifferent; these being, for the present, principally such mere matters of outward or ceremonial observance as the habits of the priesthood and the forms of public worship. In one sense these things were left by the church as indifferent: they were admitted to be indifferent as matters of faith—that is to say, dissent in regard to them was not held to be heresy; but it was still held to be schism, and was made equally to exclude the individual maintaining and acting upon it from the fellowship of the church. In this respect the act of uniformity bore as hard upon the Puritans as it did upon the Papists. Nor was even the Act of Supremacy acceptable to the former any more than to the latter; for, in general, the Puritans now felt scruples as to the acknowledgment in any terms of the king or queen as the head of the church. These beginnings, too, soon led to further differences: in the words of a late writer, “the habits at first had been the only or chief matter of contention; all the rites of the church were soon attacked; and finally, its whole form and structure.”¹ The avowed object of the nonconformists, indeed, soon came to be to substitute, for the established forms of worship and discipline, the Geneva system in all its parts; nor were there wanting some of them who would have made a Geneva republic of the state as well as of the church.

Throughout the present period, too, and for a long time after, it is important to remark, the Puritans equally with the church abominated and strenuously stood out against any toleration of those who differed from themselves in respect to what they considered essential points. They held that such persons ought not only to be excluded from communion with the brethren, but restrained and punished by the law of the land. If the English church, therefore, when restored in the reign of Elizabeth, had chanced to have been arranged upon Puritan principles, it is certain that the toleration of dissent would not have entered into either its principles or its practice more than it did as things were actually managed.

At first, however, many of the Puritans so far overcame their scruples as to comply with the required forms and accept of livings in the Es-

tablishment. The writer of their history maintains that, if they had not done this, in hopes of the removal of their grievances in more settled times, the Reformation would have fallen back into the hands of the Papists; “for it was impossible,” he observes, “with all the assistance they could get from both universities, to fill up the parochial vacancies with men of learning and character.”²

For some years the Puritans who had joined the church were winked at by the authorities in many deviations from the appointed forms which they introduced into the public service. Archbishop Parker has the chief credit of having instigated the proceedings that were taken to enforce in all the clergy a rigid compliance with the rubric. He and some of his episcopal brethren, having been constituted ecclesiastical commissioners for that purpose by the queen, summoned the clergy of the several dioceses before them, and suspended all who refused to subscribe an agreement to submit to the queen’s injunctions in regard to the habits, rites, and ceremonies. Great numbers of ministers, including many of those most eminent for their zeal and piety and their popularity as preachers, were thus ejected from both the service and the profits of their cures, and sent forth into the world in a state of entire destitution. The course pursued towards them was in some respects of the harshest and most oppressive character. It was in these circumstances that, feeling all chance of reconciliation at an end, the ejected clergymen resolved to separate themselves from the Establishment, breaking off from the public churches, and assembling, as they had opportunity, in private houses or elsewhere, to worship God in a manner that might not offend against the light of their consciences. This separation took place in 1566.

The preachings of the deprived ministers in the woods and private houses gave rise to the new offence of what was called frequenting conventicles, the putting down of which now afforded abundant employment to the queen and her ecclesiastical commissioners. The Puritans were brought in great numbers before the commissioners, and fined, imprisoned, and otherwise punished, both under the authority of the act of parliament enforcing attendance upon the parish churches, and by the more ample powers of the Act of Supremacy, to which scarcely any bounds were set. Meanwhile the controversy with the church began to spread over a wider field, chiefly through the preaching of the celebrated Thomas Cartwright, fellow of Trinity College and Lady Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge, a most learned, eloquent, and courageous noncon-

¹ Southey, *Book of the Church*.

² Neal, *Hist. of the Puritans*.

formist. The university of Cambridge was a great stronghold of Puritanism, and here Cartwright was for some time protected and permitted to disseminate his opinions, while most of his brethren were silenced; but he, too, was at last reached by the ecclesiastical commissioners; and, on the interference of Cecil, the chancellor, was, in 1570, deprived of his professorship. He was afterwards also deprived of his fellowship, and expelled from the university. The temper, however, of a formidable minority in the new parliament which met in 1571 showed that the principles of Puritanism, though expelled from the church, and almost driven from the face of day, were still making progress in the nation. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the government, the nonconformists found means to maintain the defence of their opinions through the press; numerous books and pamphlets were published by them, printed it could not be discovered by whom or where; nor was it possible to prevent them from being bought and read.

Archbishop Parker died in 1575; and if his successor Grindal had been allowed to follow his own inclinations, or had been left in the real government of the church over which he nominally presided, the Puritans would have had a breathing-time from their sufferings during the ten years of his occupation of the metropolitan dignity. But the circumstances in which he was himself placed, and the activity of some of his brethren of another spirit and temper—especially of Sandys, Bishop of London, who, from a violent professor, had become a still more violent persecutor of puritanic principles—prevented Grindal from being able to do anything to change the course of rigour and severity that had been begun under his predecessor. When, in the second year of his primacy, he ventured to write to the queen, recommending milder measures, her majesty answered his letter by an order from the Star Chamber, confining him to his house, and suspending him from his archiepiscopal functions altogether; and so suspended he remained till within about a year of his death. It was by this sort of boldness and decision that Elizabeth throughout her reign kept the nonconformists at bay. The House of Commons which met in 1581 was more puritanic than ever, and actually began its proceedings by voting that the members should, on the second Sunday after, meet together in the Temple Church, there to have preaching and to join together in prayer, with humiliation and fasting, for the assistance of God's Spirit in all their consultations! But when the queen was informed of this extraordinary proceeding, she instantly took measures to check it. Hatton, her vice-chamberlain, was sent down with a message to the effect, that "she did much admire at so great

a rashness in that house as to put in execution such an innovation without her privy and pleasure first made known to them." Upon which it was forthwith moved and agreed to, "That the house should acknowledge their offence and contempt, and humbly crave forgiveness, with a full purpose to forbear committing the like for the future."

It was during this very session that the act was passed raising the penalty for non-attendance upon the parish church to £20 per month; and also another act (23 Eliz. c. 2), intitled, "An Act against seditious words and rumours uttered against the queen's most excellent majesty," by which the devising and speaking seditious rumours against her majesty was made punishable with the pillory and loss of both ears; the reporting of such rumours, with the pillory and loss of one ear; the second offence in either case being made felony without clergy; and by which the printing, writing, or publishing any manner of book, rhyme, ballad, letter, or writing containing any false, seditious, and slanderous matter, to the defamation of the queen, &c., were constituted capital crimes. This last act was especially levelled at the Puritans, whose complaints and remonstrances from the press were daily growing sharper as well as more abundant, and several of them were put to death under its provisions. To this date is assigned the rise of what has been designated the third race of Puritans—the Brownists—afterwards softened down into the Independents—whose founder was Robert Brown, a preacher in the diocese of Norwich, descended of a good family. "These people," says Neal, "were carried off to a total separation, and so far prejudiced as not to allow the Church of England to be a true church, nor her ministers true ministers; they renounced all communion with her, not only in the prayers and ceremonies, but in hearing the Word and the sacraments."¹

Archbishop Grindal, dying in 1583, was succeeded by Dr. Whitgift, who held the primacy during the remainder of the reign, and proved a ruler of the church altogether to her majesty's mind. As soon as he was seated in his place of eminence and authority he commenced a vigorous crusade against the nonconformists. Within a few weeks after he became archbishop, he suspended many hundreds of the clergy in all parts of his province for refusing subscription to a new set of articles or regulations he thought proper to issue. He then procured from the queen a new ecclesiastical commission, drawn up in terms much more comprehensive than had ever before been employed, conveying, indeed, powers of inquisition and punishment in regard to every de-

¹ *Hist. Puritans*, vol. i. p. 245.

scription of offence that could by any colour be brought within the category of spiritual or ecclesiastical delinquency. A set of articles, which Whitgift drew up for the use of this court in the examination of the clergy, were so strong as to startle even Cecil, and make him write to the archbishop (though to no purpose) to get him to mitigate them somewhat. "I have read over your twenty-four articles," he says, ". . . and I find them so curiously penned that I think the Inquisition of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their priests." The archbishop's proceedings had thrown the nation into the greatest ferment when parliament met in November, 1584; and the commons immediately proceeded to take into consideration a number of bills for restraining the power of the church. But as soon as they had passed the first of them a thundering message from the queen again stopped them in an instant. In 1592, at the same time with the "Act against Popish Recusants," another act was passed (35 Eliz. c. 1), entitled, "An Act to retain the queen's subjects in obedience," to meet the case of the Protestant nonconformists. It was enacted that all persons above sixteen years of age who should for a whole month refuse to attend Divine service according to law, or should attend unlawful conventicles, or should persuade others to dispute the queen's authority in matters ecclesiastical, should be sent to prison, there to remain until they should openly conform and submit themselves; and that all offenders convicted, and not conforming and submitting within three months, should abjure the realm, and should, if they returned, be put to death, as for felony, without benefit of clergy.

Fines, imprisonment, and the gibbet continued to do their work in the vain attempt of the church and the government to put down opinion by these inefficient arms, till within four or five years of the close of the reign.

But the history of the church and of religion during this reign ought not to be brought to a close without the mention of one instance in which the old writ *de hæretico comburendo* was again called into use, and the stake and the fagot were employed by Elizabeth to punish a mere religious opinion, exactly in the same manner as they had been employed by her father and her sister. On Easter Day, 1575, twenty-seven German Anabaptists, as they were called, were apprehended in the city of London, having been found assembled at worship in a private house beyond Aldersgate. The errors which they were accused of holding appear to have been the four following:—1. That Christ took not flesh of the substance of the Virgin: 2. That infants born of faithful parents ought to be re-baptized:

3. That no Christian man ought to be a magistrate: 4. That it is not lawful for a Christian man to take an oath. Four of them consented to recant these opinions; the others, refusing to abjure, were brought to trial in the consistory court, by which eleven of them were condemned to be burned. Nine of the eleven were banished; but the remaining two, named John Wielmacker and Hendrick Ter Woort, were actually, on the 22d July, consigned to the flames in Smithfield. This execution was Elizabeth's own act: to his eternal honour, John Fox, the venerable martyrologist, ventured to interfere in behalf of the unfortunate men, and wrote an earnest and eloquent letter in Latin to the queen, beseeching her to spare their lives; but his supplication was sternly rejected. Fox seems to have been almost the only man of his time who was at all shocked at the notion of destroying these poor Anabaptists; and yet he merely objected to the degree, and more especially to the kind, of the punishment. His argument is not so much for toleration as against capital punishments, and above all against the punishment of burning. "There are excommunications," he says, "and close imprisonments; there are bonds; there is perpetual banishment, burning of the hand, and whipping, or even slavery itself. This one thing I most earnestly beg, that the piles and flames in Smithfield, so long ago extinguished by your happy government, may not now be again revived."

After the full narrative which has been given in the preceding chapters of the course of transactions in Scotland, during the latter part of this period, which almost all turned upon the contest between the old and new religion, it will be sufficient here merely to recapitulate the leading epochs of the progress of the Reformation in that country.

While the Papal dominion was extending its sway over the fairest parts of Europe, and reducing the most powerful kings and emperors to unlimited submission, a singular exception was afforded in the religious history of Scotland. In that country the pontifical authority was repeatedly and successfully defied; and in no case more signally, than in that of the election of a Bishop of St. Andrews, A.D. 1178, when William the Lion set aside the nominee of the pope, in favour of a bishop of his own choice, and persisted, in spite of excommunication and interdict, until the pontiff was compelled to yield. This event was in signal contrast to the defeat of William's successful rival, Henry II., in the controversy of Thomas à Becket. This happy exception in favour of Scotland, amidst the universal subjection, is not, however, to be attributed wholly to the energy of its sovereigns, and independent

¹ Translation in Crosby's *History of the English Baptists*.

spirit of its people. A still stronger cause is to be found in the remoteness of the country, and its poverty. The Scots were too far removed from the Papal seat of government to be used as instruments in the ambitious wars of the Popedom, and too poor to supply the resources of Roman luxury and ambition. While rich and fertile England, therefore, was watched from the head-quarters of the church with a careful eye, and assessed in proportion to its wealth, the land of barren heaths and rugged mountains was contemptuously overlooked.

Although Scotland was thus comparatively independent of the monarchical authority of the pope, it could not escape the inferior despotism of the clergy, who, like rulers of distant provinces, availed themselves of their remoteness from the seat of government in establishing a tyranny of their own. In this way, the Scottish priesthood were enabled to usurp an authority and exercise an influence far beyond that of their brethren in England, France, or Italy; and these advantages they used with the strict severity, and boundless arrogance, that characterize the sway of underlings. The political effects of such an ecclesiastical rule are thus expressed by the eloquent biographer of John Knox: "The full half of the wealth of the nation belonged to the clergy; and the greater part of this was in the hands of a few individuals, who had the command of the whole body. Avarice, ambition, and the love of secular pomp, reigned among the superior orders. Bishops and abbots rivalled the first nobility in magnificence, and preceded them in honours; they were privy counsellors, and lords of session as well as of parliament, and had long-engrossed the principal offices of state. A vacant bishopric or abbacy called forth powerful competitors, who contended for it as for a principality or petty kingdom; it was obtained by similar arts, and not unfrequently taken possession of by the same weapons. Inferior benefices were openly put to sale or bestowed on the illiterate and unworthy minions of courtiers, on dice-players, strolling bards, and the bastards of bishops. Pluralities were multiplied without bounds; and benefices, given *in commendam*, were kept vacant during the life of the commendator, nay, sometimes during several lives; so that extensive parishes were frequently deprived, for a long course of years, of all religious services—if a deprivation it could be called, at a time when the cure of souls was no longer regarded as attached to livings originally endowed for that purpose." Of the fitness of such a priesthood to be the spiritual teachers and intellectual improvers of such society, the same author gives the following severe sketch, which is fully borne out by the history of Scotland immediately pre-

vious to the Reformation:—"Even bishops were not ashamed to confess that they were unacquainted with the canon of their faith, and had never read any part of the sacred Scriptures, except what they met with in their missals. . . . The religious service was mumbled over in a dead language, which many of the priests did not understand, and some of them could scarcely read; and the greatest care was taken to prevent even catechisms, composed and approved by the clergy, from coming into the hands of the laity. . . . It is difficult for us to conceive how empty, ridiculous, and wretched those harangues were which the monks delivered for sermons. Legendary tales concerning the founder of some religious order, his wonderful sanctity, the miracles which he performed, his combats with the devil, his watchings, fastings, flagellations; the virtues of holy water, chrism, crossing, and exorcism; the horrors of purgatory, and the numbers released from it by the intercession of some powerful saint—these, with low jests, table-talk, and fire-side scandal, formed the favourite topics of the preachers, and were served up to the people, instead of the pure, salutary, and sublime doctrines of the Bible."

Amidst the religious darkness which had thus been growing and deepening for centuries over Scotland, it is gratifying to trace the existence of a light, which, however dim, was never wholly extinguished. So early as the sixth century, the Culdees were established in Scotland; and though our information about the tenets of this interesting order is unfortunately very scanty, we find enough in their history to assure us that both in doctrine and discipline the Culdees were so much assimilated to the primitive type as to provoke the keen opposition of Rome—that, in fact, they were a protesting church against the growing corruptions in religion, as well as the conservators of knowledge and civilization amidst the increasing barbarism of society. In the twelfth century, after having maintained their ground for 600 years, the order was reduced by the extension of the Romish supremacy over Scotland, and finally extinguished, A.D. 1297, in which year the Culdees, as a public body, signed their last document. But the doctrines themselves could not thus be suppressed; and when the Lollards of Kyle, about 200 years afterwards, excited the attention of the Scottish government, under James IV., it is probable that the people thus branded with Lollardism, now a title of clerical odium and persecution, were nothing else than the surviving relics of the Culdees under a new name. They were to be found in great numbers throughout the kingdom, but more especially in the western districts of Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham, which, during the wars of indepen-

dence, were least disturbed by English invaders; and such was the alarm they occasioned, that in 1494, about thirty of these Lollards, both male and female, some of them persons of substance and consequence, were cited before the ecclesiastical tribunal of Robert Blacater, Archbishop of Glasgow, to answer for their heretical opinions.

While so many of the Scottish people were thus prepared for the advent of the Reformation, another cause is to be found in the erection of colleges, which did not take place till the commencement of the fifteenth century. The first of these was the university of St. Andrews, erected A.D. 1411. The second was that of Glasgow, which was established in 1451. The third was King's College, Aberdeen, which was not built till 1506. These three institutions owed their existence to the prelates of the respective sees in which they were established; and their founders—men who blushed at the ignorance of their order, and were probably alarmed at the growing intelligence among the laity, by which the priesthood would soon have been eclipsed—contemplated these colleges as the nurseries of a new clergy in that learning and civilization by which their intellectual superiority over the people might be still retained in spite of secular progress. Little, however, did they calculate upon the effect of learning in its relation to the interests of their church; and it was from these universities, not long after their establishment, that those Scottish Reformers issued by whom the doctrines of Rome were evverted, and its hierarchy overthrown.

In this way, Scotland, which had more or less protested against the errors of the Church of Rome since the days of St. Columba, was prepared and ripened for the Reformation. The initiative, in this case, was taken by one who, from rank and family, as well as character and accomplishments, was certain to arrest attention. This was Patrick Hamilton, a youth of royal lineage, his father being brother of the Earl of Arran, and his mother the sister of John, Duke of Albany. Like many others of his rank, he was provided for at the expense of the church, having been appointed, even in infancy, to the rich living of the abbacy of Ferne; but the studies of his youth, which were directed to ancient literature instead of the dry logic of the schools, having awoke within him a spirit of inquiry, he went, in his twenty-third year, to the colleges of Germany, became acquainted with Luther, Melancthon, and Lambert, and embraced the Reformed doctrines. He then returned to Scotland, resolved, at whatever hazard, to impart the religious knowledge he had acquired; and such was the power of his preaching and apos-

tolical labours, that the already decaying hierarchy were troubled at the tidings. It was necessary to silence such a formidable antagonist, and the priests pursued their purpose with a treachery, which showed their full belief in the infamous axiom, that the end sanctifies the means. They first sent one of their number, who under the guise of a sincere inquirer, learned from him enough of his creed to found upon it a charge of heresy; and that their further proceedings might be carried on undisturbed, they prevailed upon the young king (James V.), whose cousin Hamilton was, to repair upon a pleasure trip or pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Duthac, in Ross-shire. Having thus made sure of their victim, they courteously invited him to St. Andrews to a friendly religious controversy; and after they had encouraged him during several days of conference, by their concessions, to reveal his whole mind, they suddenly turned upon him as accusers, and sent him a prisoner to the castle. In the trial that immediately followed, the religious opinions of Patrick Hamilton, which had been thus extracted, were arrayed against him under thirteen distinct articles, each of them condemned by the Church of Rome; and he was sentenced to the stake, where his sufferings were protracted by the inexperience of his executioners. Never was there a greater blunder committed by the Romish hierarchy than the condemnation and execution of Patrick Hamilton. By this, they equally insulted the proud Scottish aristocracy, whose order they so daringly invaded, and called the attention of all ranks to the doctrines for which so amiable a martyr had suffered. The indifference of the Scottish nobles, or even their positive dislike to the priesthood, and their abandonment of the falling church to its fate, after the execution of Hamilton, are sufficiently illustrated in the subsequent history of Scotland. To the same cause, we may trace the fact of so many friars and learned men having abjured, at this period, the cause of the church, and become the able and effective successors of Patrick Hamilton. James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was advised from thenceforth to burn heretics in cellars, that the smoke of the flames might not infect the bystanders with heretical doctrine—but the advice came too late.

These defections among so many members of their own body, increased the alarm of the clergy tenfold, and in 1538, four priests, along with a lay gentleman, were burned in one huge pile upon the Castle-hill of Edinburgh. David Beaton, the cardinal, was now in the ascendancy, and in his hands the work of persecution was not likely to lie idle. But, passing over various scenes of martyrdom, we can only briefly touch upon that of George Wishart. This distinguished Reformer,

the preceptor as well as predecessor of John Knox, commenced his public career, A.D. 1544, and during less than two years his preaching was so successful, that he was attended by crowds of followers, while the attempts to assassinate him were so frequent, that he was generally preceded by Knox himself as his body-guard, armed with a two-handed sword. When he was debarred from the churches, instead of suffering the crowds to have recourse to violence, he contentedly adjourned to the market-place or the fields, where his preaching could always find an auditory; and



JOHN KNOX.—From Beza's Icones.

on the plague breaking out in Dundee, he hastened thither, to carry instruction and consolation to the dying. After his treacherous apprehension by the Earl of Bothwell, Cardinal Beaton, into whose hands Bothwell sold him, brought Wishart to open trial. He was condemned and sentenced as a matter of course; and when the execution followed, the cardinal and prelates who had sat in judgment, viewed the spectacle from the windows of the castle. It was the funeral pile of their own cause; their fate was foreshadowed in its dying embers. It was generally reported and believed among the people, that Wishart, in his last moments, looked to the place where the cardinal was seated in prelate pomp, and said, "He who in such state from that high place feedeth his eyes with my torments, within few days shall be hanged out at the same window, to be seen with as much ignominy as he now leaneth there in pride." How this prediction was fulfilled to the letter has been already related in another chapter.

The removal of Beaton, the representative of the old cause, was immediately followed by the

entrance of John Knox, the representative of the new; for among the refugees who fled to the castle of St. Andrews, to escape the vengeance of the prelacy, the future Reformer was one. As the biography of this remarkable man constitutes so large a portion of the history of the Scottish Reformation, a brief notice of him in this place may not be unnecessary.

John Knox was born in the year 1505, but his particular birth-place has not been fully ascertained. He was of humble parentage, his ancestors having been retainers of the house of Hailes; and as such, they rendered feudal military service to the first Earls of Bothwell. Being destined for the church, John, at the age of sixteen, was sent to the university of Glasgow, where, after the usual course of study, he regented; he also appears to have studied at the university of St. Andrews.

Before he had reached the canonical age of twenty-five, he was admitted into priest's orders; but an anxious spirit of doubt and inquiry prevented him from entering into the public duties of his office, and these investigations continued till his thirty-eighth year, when, from serious deliberate conviction, he became a Protestant. A choice so considerably made was but the starting-point of action, upon which he entered with all his characteristic ardour; and as the companion of Wishart, he exposed himself to all the dangers with which that martyr's career was continually surrounded. Being now obnoxious to the clergy, both as an apostate priest and a Protestant, he took refuge in the castle of St. Andrews, after the murder of Beaton, and during the siege that followed, he was unanimously invited by the garrison to become their minister. He trembled and wept at the responsibility of those sacred duties which he was now to discharge for the first time, and only submitted after much importunity. In this way, he commenced his great mission as a national religious Reformer, and the commencement was characterized by the same heroic qualities that pervaded his whole life to the close. An unbending reprover of guilt wherever it might be found, he denounced the excesses of the garrison, when such a proceeding exposed him not only to hatred, but personal danger. A fearless expositor of those truths which he had attained after the research of so many years, he entered into no compromise with the minor errors or apparently trivial observances of the Church of Rome; but condemned them all as inlets of error, and incentives to idolatry. The contrast of such preaching to that of his predecessors arrested the people even in his first sermon, and they justly observed, "Others hewed at the branches of Papistry, but he strikes at the root to destroy the whole."

On the surrender of the castle of St. Andrews, John Knox bore a full share of those hardships with which the unfortunate garrison was visited; for, in express violation of the treaty of surrender, he was sent to the French galleys, where he laboured as a chained felon for nineteen months. His captivity might indeed have been perpetual, but for the kind interposition of Edward VI., through which he was set at liberty. After this Knox went to England, where his services were so highly appreciated as one of Cranmer's itinerant preachers, that he was appointed one of the royal chaplains, and tempted to settle in England by the offer of the bishopric of Rochester. But not deeming the Church of England as yet sufficiently reformed, he rejected the application, and continued to labour as a humble missionary until the accession of Mary; and the persecution which followed obliged him, in 1554, to escape to France. In the following year he ventured to return to Scotland; but his preaching occasioned such a stir in Edinburgh that he was cited to appear before a clerical tribunal to be tried as an heretic. He attended the summons; but justly apprehensive of consequences, and warned by former acts of treachery, the friends of Knox accompanied him in such numbers that his terrified judges failed to appear, and he continued undisturbed a little longer, when he was once more obliged to leave the country. Upon his departure the clergy renewed their citation; and, after a mock trial, condemned him to the flames, and solemnly burned him in effigy at the cross of Edinburgh. But Knox himself was safe in Geneva, abiding his time, which arrived in May, 1559, when the religious contest between Popery and Protestantism was about to be decided by other weapons than those of reasoning and ridicule. The Scottish nobles, who afterwards were known as the "Lords of the Congregation," were well aware of the strength which Knox would impart to their cause from his well-tried energy, talents, and popular reputation, and accordingly they invited him to return and co-operate with them, pledging themselves to hazard their lives and fortunes in the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland. He complied with the call; and thus, at the advanced age of fifty-four, and with a constitution naturally weak, and impaired by many hardships, John Knox may be properly said to have commenced that task for which his whole life had been a period of training. Perhaps there is no record in history of any individual, who began a great national work so late in life, and yet accomplished so much.

The mere return of Knox to Scotland was the trumpet-signal for the commencement of action. He hastened immediately to Perth, the head-

quarters of the Protestants, and therefore the chief post of danger, and there preached the first of that series of sermons which were so productive of great public movements. The wild tumult that followed, and the destruction of monasteries and cathedrals with which it was signalized, have been mentioned in another department of our history. The war that ensued between the Queen-regent Mary and the associated Protestant lords, has also been detailed. On the return of peace by the treaty of Leith, a parliament was convened on the 1st of August, 1560, to settle the important question of religion; and the subject was introduced by a petition from the "barons, gentlemen, burgesses, and others," craving a full reform in religion, under the three following heads:—1. That the doctrines of transubstantiation, justification by works, purgatory, and indulgences, and the practice of pilgrimages and praying to departed saints, should be condemned, and rendered punishable by statute. 2. That, in consequence of the abuse and profanation of the sacraments, through the corrupt lives of those who administered them, as well as those who partook of them, means should be used that purity of worship and primitive discipline might be restored. 3. That the usurpation of the whole revenue of the church, by the hierarchy, might be reformed for the sustenance of a true ministry, the encouragement of learning, and support of the poor. That these changes might be fully accomplished, they craved, after referring to the notorious dishonesty, injustice, cruelty, and oppression of the Popish clergy, that they should be declared "unworthy of honour, authority, charge, or cure, within the church of God," and so, from thenceforth, "never to enjoy vote in parliament."

In answer to the first and most important head of the petition, the Reformed ministers were required, by the parliament, to draw out a summary of Christian doctrine, such as should be consonant with Scripture, and be fitted for general establishment. This Knox and his assistants undertook, and in four short days they produced their confession of faith. Many have been startled by the fact of a national creed being formulated in so short a space; but it should be remembered that this four days' writing embodied the study of years, and that the authors had not now to seek either for thought or expression. On its being presented to parliament, the Popish members, lay and clerical, were desired to state their objections, while the Protestant ministers stood by to answer them. But though solemnly adjured in the name of God, the bishops sat mute, while the only answer of the laity, delivered through the Earl of Athole, and the Lords Somerville and Borthwick, was, "We will believe as

our fathers believed." And yet full time for reply had been given, as the meeting for ratification had been adjourned till the 17th of August. On witnessing this strange apathy of the Popish prelates, when they might have obtained at least a safe hearing, the earl-marischal rose and said, "It is long since I had some favour to the truth, but, praised be God, I am this day fully resolved: for seeing my lord bishops who, for their learning, can, and for their zeal they owe to the truth, would, as I suppose, gainsay anything repugning to the same, yet speak nothing against the doctrine propounded, I cannot but hold it the very truth of God, and the contrary to be deceivable doctrine." Before the votes were taken, the confession was again read and considered, article by article, after which it was ratified, and the Papal jurisdiction was abolished.

This important affair being settled, the second part of the petition, which concerned the purity of worship and reformation of discipline, remained next to be considered; and for this purpose the first meeting of a General Assembly, held by the Church of Scotland, was convened on the 20th of December. The task of drawing up the form of church polity was committed to those who had penned the confession; and on the 15th January of the following year their work was completed, and ratified by the general assembly, under the title of the "First Book of Discipline." But it was not received with the same cordiality as the confession had been; and for this two causes have been assigned. The first arose from the strictness of life and manners enforced by the new code, which bore hard upon the licentiousness of many, especially among the upper classes. The second was from the demand which it made upon the confiscated property of the old church for the establishment of schools and colleges, and support of the poor. Although the Book of Discipline, therefore, was subscribed by the greater part of the nobility and barons, members of the privy council, it was not formally ratified by the council itself. As it embodied the fundamental principles of the Scottish Reformation, and was the origin of the Second Book of Discipline, an abstract of these principles may here be briefly stated.

The permanent office-bearers of the church were specified, as—1. The Minister, whose office, as in other churches, was to preach, administer the sacraments, and attend to the spiritual welfare of his congregation. 2. The Doctor or Teacher, who taught theology in the schools and colleges, or who was set apart to interpret and illustrate Scripture, and confute religious errors. 3. The Ruling-Elder, who aided the minister in ecclesiastical discipline and government; and, 4. The Deacon, who superintended the

temporalities of the church, took charge of its revenues, and administered the funds collected for the poor. No person was received into the first and most important of these offices, until he received a vocation or call, which consisted in "election, examination, and admission," the right of which was stated to lie in the congregation, who were made the judges of his "gifts, utterance, and knowledge," and his fitness to be their spiritual teacher and guide. Hence the continual resistance to the imposition of patronage upon the Kirk of Scotland, and the dissents which it afterwards occasioned. As the Reformed church could only muster twelve ministers previous to the meeting of the first general assembly, seven of these were placed in the most important and populous towns, while the other five, under the name of superintendents, were appointed to the charge, not of a single parish, but a whole district, generally comprehending an entire county. Even here, however, the principle of Presbyterian parity was carefully maintained, and the danger of episcopal rule avoided. The ordination of a superintendent, so long as the office was continued in the church, did not differ from that of the other ministers; his function was one of toil and travel, but not of emolument; and he was equally liable, with the ordinary ministers, to censure, or even to deposition, by the church courts. Another temporary office which the paucity of ministers occasioned, was that of the Reader, and filled by some person who, in that age of defective education, was able to read the Scriptures to his more ignorant neighbours, whom he assembled for the purpose. If he was so much advanced in religious knowledge and natural talent as to be able to accompany his reading with exposition, he was then termed an Exhorter, and might be finally admitted to the ministry. The advance of education and the multiplication of a regular clergy, however, at length made both superintendent and reader unnecessary, and therefore these offices were abolished.

In the government of the church and administration of its discipline, there were four separate courts. The first was that of the Kirk-session, belonging to each congregation, and composed of its minister, elders, and deacons, that met regularly once a-week, or oftener, if occasion required. Next was the meeting called the Weekly Exercise, or Propheying, held in every chief town, and composed of the ministers, exhorters, and other educated persons of the surrounding parishes, who assembled for expounding the Scriptures, and promoting mutual edification. These assemblies afterwards constituted the *classis* or regular presbytery. Still ascending in the scale, was the Provincial Synod, composed of the ministers and delegated elders of one or more

counties, that assembled twice a-year, and where, at first, the superintendent of the district acted as convenor or moderator. And lastly, there was the General Assembly, composed of ministers and elders commissioned from every part of the kingdom, and which generally met twice, and sometimes even thrice a-year. Through these different courts every doubtful case was so thoroughly sifted, that a satisfactory result was generally obtained, and an error in doctrine, however subtle, could scarcely escape undetected and undenounced. This fact was distinctly stated by King James himself to an English ecclesiastic, who was expressing his wonder that so seldom heresy had troubled the good people of Scotland. "I'll tell you how, man," replied this royal solver of difficulties, with more than his wonted wisdom: "if it spring up in a parish, there is an eldership to take notice of it; if it be too strong for them, the presbytery is ready to crush it; if the heretic prove too obstinate for them, he shall find more witty heads in the synod; and if he cannot be convinced there, the general assembly, I'll warrant you, will not spare him."

As the Scottish Reformers were aware that the general neglect of ecclesiastical discipline in the Romish church had been a fruitful source of its crimes, and the principal cause of its downfall, their chief care was to restore the apostolic rule to its primitive importance. "As no commonwealth," they said in their preamble, "can flourish or long endure without good laws, and sharp execution of the same, so neither can the kirk of God be brought to purity, neither yet retained in the same, without the order of ecclesiastical discipline, which stands in reproof and correcting of the faults which the civil sword *either doth neglect or may not punish.*" Its impartial character and universal application were also thus stated:—"To discipline must all the estates within the realm be subject, as well the rulers as they that are ruled; yea, and the preachers themselves, as well as the poorest within the kirk." It was upon these just but stringent principles that they specified the offences which lay within the cognizance of the church courts, and the penalties with which they should be visited. And, truly, the labour to be encountered was not a small one. The old Romish hierarchy, still struggling for the mastery, was to be suppressed; its abettors were to be watched and coerced; and the religious rites, as well as superstitious observances which Popery had naturalized among the people during a course of centuries, and converted by such usage into a portion of their domestic and festive life, had to be eradicated. And even this was not the worst. The ferocity, sensuality, and lawlessness of a community whose desperate recklessness in crime had made them

the wonderment and byword of Europe, were to be superseded by the strict rule of a Christian life, and a walk and bearing consistent with those religious privileges to which they laid claim. In all this, we may read a full apology for the excessive strictness with which the early Scottish church was ruled according to her First and Second Books of Discipline. We wonder at, and occasionally we denounce their excessive severity: but we should previously take into account the state of society for which they legislated, and the prevalence of those offences which they condemned and punished. We should also call to mind the immense moral change which this strict ecclesiastical legislation effected in so short a period of time upon the Scottish character and habits. How different were the people of the seventeenth century in Scotland from those of the sixteenth!

This Reformation, as it so greatly differed from that of other countries, had also its origin in peculiar circumstances. In Germany, the sovereign princes, and in England a despotic king, threw themselves into the front of the movement, and were thus enabled to impart to it that monarchical character which Protestantism has retained in these two countries. In Scotland, on the contrary, the Reformation commenced among the people, and was carried onward not only independent, but often in spite of the royal authority. It was natural, therefore, that it should possess throughout an essentially democratic or republican character. Its first champions were the inferior barons and clergy, by whom the danger was braved and the battle fought; and it was only when the cause was popular, and promised to be successful, that the higher nobility unfurled their banners, and assumed the leadership of the conflict. This was done when the only choice that remained to them was, to be the leaders of such a national rising or its victims. Had they resisted, or even stood still, they would have been borne down and crushed beneath that resistless popular movement, which was now a stronger element of the national character, than the old cherished feudalism, or even the pride of national independence.

Scarcely, however, had the Scottish Reformation been impersonated in its kirk, than the hostility of such selfish supporters began most distinctly to manifest itself. The Romish church being overthrown, an immense portion of the wealth of the country would revert to the common treasury, and might be made available for public purposes. These, as contemplated by Knox and his brethren, were the maintenance of the clergy, the establishment of schools and colleges, and the support of the poor. But such a scheme of allotment was odious to the nobility,

who looked upon the wealth of the overthrown church as so much plunder which should fall to the strongest hand; and, accordingly, a scramble for church lands and revenues commenced among them, in which the disinterested scheme of the Reformer was laughed to scorn, and all but utterly defeated. The poor, with whom Scotland, more than any other country, at this time abounded, were left to their shifts as before, so that until the union of the two kingdoms in 1706, Scotland continued to be a land overrun and eaten up with paupers. Such also was the fate of that splendid scheme of national education which Knox so ardently contemplated. He had already seen and announced the large intellectual character of his countrymen, and the development of which it was susceptible; and anticipating from this a happy futurity for Scotland, he had pleaded for the establishment of a well-endowed university in every city, and an academy in every town. But the stinted educational institutions were left just as the Reformation had found them; and those pupils who were dissatisfied with such a scanty training, were still obliged to repair to the colleges of France, Holland, and Italy. But it was in the miserable allowance for the support of the new national church that the avaricious spirit of the men in power was chiefly manifested. As the Reformed ministers had at first lived upon their own private resources, or upon the benevolence of their flocks, and as they increased so rapidly that the six ministers which the church could muster in 1560 had grown into 252 in 1567, an application was made to the privy council for the support of a regular clergy in all time coming. The arrangement made on this occasion by the council was, that the ecclesiastical revenues should be divided into three parts, of which two should be given to the ejected Popish clergy, and the third part be divided between the court and the Protestant ministers. In this way, the two-thirds given to the Popish ecclesiastics, and which was to last only during their lives, was finally absorbed by the nobles, who, on the death of the incumbents, appointed creatures of their own to the livings, of which they themselves drew the revenues. As for the remaining third, which was to be divided between the court and the Protestant ministers, it is easy to surmise how the latter body were likely to fare in a money contest with the former. The officers appointed by the privy council, who, under the title of the "Court of Modification," were to divide this third into two portions, and allot to each minister a stipend according to the circumstances in which he was placed, were so anxious to gratify the queen and lords, and so careless of the interests of the clergy, that the latter received a most inadequate allowance, which was also most grudg-

ingly and irregularly paid. Such was the commencement of that poverty of the Scottish kirk which has continued with little modification to the present day. On this unfair partition of the ecclesiastical revenues, John Knox might well exclaim, as he did, "If the end of this order, pretended to be taken for the sustentation of the ministers, be happy, my judgment fails me! I see two parts freely given to the devil, and the third part must be divided between God and the devil. . . . To these dumb dogs the bishops, 10,000 is not enough; but to the servants of Christ, that painfully preach the gospel, 100 marks must suffice! How can that be sustained?"

The bishops, as they had not been formally deprived by parliament, still retained their sees at the Reformation, and their successors continued to be appointed; but as such an order was incompatible with the nature of a Presbyterian church, the general assembly soon began to labour for its suppression and utter extinction. In 1574 it was therefore enacted, that the jurisdiction of bishops should not exceed that of superintendents. In 1576, the assembly declared the title of bishop to be common to every one that had a particular flock over which he had an especial charge. In the year following, they ordained that all bishops should in future be called by their own names, instead of by those of their dioceses. In 1580 they unanimously voted Episcopacy to be unscriptural and unlawful; and in 1592, the Presbyterian form of the government of the church by general assemblies, provincial synods, presbyteries, and kirk-sessions, received the full sanction of parliament. But every step thus won was a struggle against the court and the ruling powers. Such was especially the case when James VI. ascended the Scottish throne. The arbitrary spirit of this royal pedant and polemic, and his principles of king-craft, naturally made him the enemy of a church so independent as that of Scotland, while his prospects of the English crown made him desirous to identify the churches of both kingdoms, that he might reign over them with undisputed pre-eminence. "The bishops will govern the church, and I the bishops," was the favourite sentiment he expressed, and the purpose for which he wrought, in all his subsequent efforts to evert the whole system of Presbyterian polity, and establish Episcopacy in its room. It was in vain that these attempts were resisted by Andrew Melvil, the Beza of Scotland, and worthy successor of John Knox; for Episcopacy, fortified as it was both by king and court, and backed by the example of England, had obtained a stronger political hold than even the worn-out system of Popery which had been so lately overthrown. Melvil fled into exile to avoid a worse doom; and James, thus rid of the most

formidable of his opponents, carried on his measures with a higher hand than ever. The character of his hostility, and the despotic spirit with which it was animated, were fully evinced by the acts passed by a subservient parliament, commonly called the "Black Acts of 1584." On this occasion, the lords of the articles had been sworn to secrecy in preparing the measures that were to be laid before it; and when the members assembled, the parliament was held with closed doors, as if it had been a meeting of conspirators. The acts that were passed on this occasion were worthy of such an assembly. To decline the judgment of the king or privy council *in any matter* was declared to be treason; by which, the royal supremacy in matters ecclesiastical as well as civil, was established. All subjects were prohibited from convening any assembly except the ordinary courts, for the purpose of consulting or determining on any matter of state, civil or ecclesiastical, without the special commandment and license of his majesty—and thus, presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies had no right to meet without an express civil warrant. The rule of bishops over the church, and that of the king

through the agency of the bishops, was finally confirmed by enactments which gave to the prelates, and such as the king might appoint, the right to settle all ecclesiastical matters within their dioceses, and which strictly declared that none should presume in public or private, by sermons or conversation, to censure the conduct of the king, his council, and proceedings, under the penalties of treason. Such were the laws enacted in 1584, a year memorable in the history of the Church of Scotland, and by the rigid and arbitrary execution of which its liberties, its very existence would have speedily been extinguished. Events afterwards occurred by which James was obliged to modify or rescind the greater part of these obnoxious clauses—but it was in seeming only; and this lenity only continued until he had strengthened himself with the English throne and its obedient hierarchy, when he found that he might legislate for the obnoxious northern church as he pleased, as well as requite it for all the opposition he had encountered. The events by which these various changes were occasioned have already been recorded in the civil department of our history.¹

¹ "The history of the Reformation in England is full of strange problems. The most prominent and extraordinary phenomenon which it presents to us is the gigantic strength of the government, contrasted with the feebleness of the religious parties. During the twelve or thirteen years which followed the death of Henry VIII., the religion of the state was thrice changed. Protestantism was established by Edward; the Catholic was restored by Mary; Protestantism was again established by Elizabeth. The faith of the nation seemed to depend on the personal inclinations of the sovereign. Nor was this all. An established church was then, as a matter of course, a persecuting church. Edward persecuted Catholics—Mary persecuted Protestants—Elizabeth persecuted Catholics again. The father of those three sovereigns had enjoyed the pleasure of persecuting both sects at once, and had sent to death on the same hurdle the heretic who denied the real presence and the traitor who denied the royal supremacy. There was nothing in England like that fierce and bloody opposition which, in France, each of the religious factions in its turn offered to the government. We had neither a Colligny nor a Mayenne; neither a Moncontour nor an Ivry. No English city braved sword and famine for the Reformed doctrines with the spirit of Rochelle, or for the Catholic doctrines with the spirit of Paris. Neither sect in England formed a League. Neither sect extorted a recantation from the sovereign. Neither sect could obtain from an adverse sovereign even a toleration. The English Protestants, after several years of domination, sank down with scarcely a struggle under the tyranny of Mary. The Catholics after having regained and abused their old ascendancy, submitted patiently to the severe rule of Elizabeth. Neither Protestants nor Catholics engaged in any great and well-organized scheme of resistance. A few wild and tumultuous risings, suppressed as soon as they appeared—a few dark conspiracies, in which only a small number of desperate men engaged—such were the utmost efforts

made by these two parties to assert the most sacred of human rights, attacked by the most odious tyranny.

"The explanation of these circumstances which has generally been given, is very simple, but by no means satisfactory. The power of the crown, it is said, was then at its height, and was in fact despotic. This solution, we own, seems to us to be no solution at all. It has long been the fashion—a fashion introduced by Mr. Hume—to describe the English monarchy in the sixteenth century as an absolute monarchy. And such undoubtedly it appears to a superficial observer. . . .

"The truth seems to be, that the government of the Tudors was, with a few occasional deviations, a popular government, under the forms of despotism. . . . The Tudors committed many tyrannical acts. But in their ordinary dealings with the people, they were not, and could not safely be tyrants. . . .

"It cannot be supposed that a people who had in their own hands the means of checking their princes, would suffer any prince to impose on them a religion generally detested. It is absurd to suppose that if the nation had been decidedly attached to the Protestant faith, Mary could have re-established the Papal supremacy. It is equally absurd to suppose that if the nation had been zealous for the ancient religion, Elizabeth could have restored the Protestant church. The truth is, that the people were not disposed to engage in a struggle either for the new or for the old doctrines. . . . In plain words, they did not think the difference between the hostile sects worth a struggle. There was undoubtedly a zealous Protestant party and a zealous Catholic party. But both these parties, we believe, were very small. We doubt whether both together made up, at the time of Mary's death, a twentieth part of the nation. The remaining nineteen-twentieths halted between the two opinions, and were not disposed to risk a revolution in the government, for the purpose of giving to either of the extreme factions an advantage over the other."—Macaulay, *Burleigh and his Times*.

CHAPTER XXI.—HISTORY OF SOCIETY.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VII. (A.D. 1485), TO THE DEATH OF ELIZABETH (A.D. 1603).

Increase of the royal authority by the suppression of feudalism—Absolute rule of the Tudors—Their despotic enactments—Reaction on the succession of the Stuarts—The courts of Star Chamber and High Commission—Progress of the national commerce—Countries over which it extended—Commercial ports of England—Discovery of America—Its effects on English commercial enterprise—Introduction of foreign workmen and manufactures—Improvement of the national navy—Laws against usury—Trade with the Netherlands—Establishment of the Royal Exchange in London—English maritime discoveries—Colonization of new countries—State of commerce in the reign of Elizabeth—Internal traffic of the country—English fairs—Agricultural progress—Farms and their occupants—Modes of living among the agricultural classes—Improvement of their condition—Causes of the improvement—Architecture of the period—Introduction of the Tudor style—Its peculiarities—Noble mansions—Their chief characteristics—Mansions of the aristocracy—Their retinues and furniture—Meals and banquets—Increased refinement and splendour of a feast—Table observances—Introduction of coaches into England—Dress and personal ornaments of the Elizabethan period—Rich and extravagant style of aristocratic life—Rapiers as part of costume—Growth and state of London—Its streets—Its buildings—Furniture of the houses—London 'prentices—Civic banquets—Style of domestic life in London—Use of tobacco—Public sports and games—Various modes of hunting—Horse-races—Cock-fighting—Bear-baiting—Bell-ringing—In-door sports—Dancing—Card-playing—Merelles—Games with dice, &c.—Festivals—Joyous observances of May-day—The Maypole—War of Puritanism against maypoles—The play of Robin Hood—Observances of St. Valentine's Day—Of New Year's Day—Anniversaries of the national saints—Other saints' days—Observances of Midsummer Eve—Ceremony of setting the watch—Defective lighting of the streets of London—London watchmen of the period—Celebration of Easter—Easter holidays—Christmas—Lord of Misrule—Christmas excesses—King of the Bean—Pope of Fools—Boy Bishop—Plough Monday—Progress of learning—Establishment of new colleges—Effects of the Reformation on learning—Learned men of England—Learned ladies—English poets of this period—Stephen Hawes—Alexander Barclay—John Skelton—William Roy—John Heywood—Lord Surrey, and Sir Thomas Wyatt—Other poets—Edmund Spenser—His poetry. Condition of Scotland—State of its commerce—Of its ship-building—Style of living of the Scottish aristocracy—Their castles—Domestic life of the Scots—Costume—Slow progress of refinement in Scottish living—Sports of Scotland—Miracle and mystery plays—Active games—Football, &c.—Penny weddings—Funeral observances—Progress of learning in Scotland—Establishment of King's College, Aberdeen—Of Edinburgh university—High School of Edinburgh—Course of instruction at the universities—Learned Scots of the period—Erskine of Dun—John Knox—Andrew Melvil—George Buchanan—Scottish poets—William Dunbar—Gavin Douglas—Sir David Lindsay—James V. Condition of Ireland—Unchanged state of the people—Their barbarism confirmed by the English conquest—Continued rebellion of the Irish—Their love of news and gambling—Their modes of warfare—Sufferings endured in their revolts—Classes of Irish society—Their chiefs—Mode of electing and inaugurating a chief—Brehon laws—The Eric—Style of living among the chiefs—Cosherings—Coign and livery—Patriarchal system of their government—Fosterships—Office of foster-father—Fleas or bards—Their poetry—Irish schools—Priests—Gallowglasses and kerns—Their modes of warfare and their weapons—The tie of gossipred—Domestic life of the Irish—Their costume—Cookery and diet—Strange and barbarous dishes—Their drinks.



THE first effect of the suppression of feudalism in England was the increase of the royal authority. This was the inevitable result of the destruction, or, at least, the suspension, of that middle or balancing power by which the despotism of the king and the democracy of the people had been alternately held in check. The conflict now lay between the monarch and his subjects—between the one man who ruled with unchecked and unlimited authority, and the masses who had not yet fully learned their own power, or the mode of using it. In this way, the one man was more than a match for the many. But, besides this, the restoration of the old nobility, or the creation of a

new, was an exercise of regal authority of which the Tudor dynasty could largely avail themselves, in surrounding their throne, not with a hostile and rival, but a grateful and subservient aristocracy; for the new nobles were not slow to learn, that the same power which had made, could also unmake them at pleasure. But a third source of power which the new dynasty possessed, lay in the transition state which the religion of the country was now undergoing, and the apprehension of a coming change. Was the long established creed of England to be established in greater permanency than ever; or be left to struggle unaided against that formidable Lollardism, which was so soon, under the name of Protestantism, to shake every kingdom of

Europe, and effect a universal revolution? This question was of inferior importance in Scotland, where, as we have seen, the king was nothing more than the chief nobleman of the state; and, accordingly, when the crisis arrived in that country, the people could proscribe the old church and build up a new, not only without, but against the will of the sovereign. But very different was the case in England. There, the regal power, founded in conquest and established by centuries of rule, could still control every movement; and of this the two parties of religionists showed that they were conscious, by the solicitude with which they watched the royal sentiments, and the price they were willing to pay for the royal concurrence. This was especially the case when the outburst of the Reformation brought the question to full issue in England; and thus, while Henry VIII. was enabled to change the creed of the country day after day according to his own caprices, and punish every one who withheld his assent, Elizabeth was able to form and finish that ecclesiastical polity, and those forms of worship, which have continued in full authority to the present hour.

It is in these causes collectively that we are to understand the wondrous power of the Tudors, and the readiness of the nation to yield to it. Without these, general readers are unable to understand how the descendants of an obscure Welsh gentleman should have obtained, and that, too, so late as the sixteenth century, an amount of influence, and unrestrained authority of rule, which the English people had never accorded to the ablest and proudest of the Plantagenets. During the whole of the present period, the people sought a ruler, and even religious opinions a leader, and in both cases, the head of the state was recognized as the true and legitimate authority. As if this was not enough also, law was invoked to sanction what the crisis demanded, and the nation was so willing to concede; and these laws form a curious episode in the legislative history of England. Thus, when Henry VIII. divorced the unfortunate Catherine and married Anne Boleyn, it was enacted, that if any one by word, writing, or deed disturbed the royal rights of the king, or did anything derogatory to the rights of Queen Anne, or to her issue in their title to the crown, such offence should be high treason. Moreover, if any one by words only, should utter anything to the peril of the king, or the slander of his marriage with Queen Anne, or the slander or disherison of her issue by the marriage, he should be held guilty of misprision of treason. These statutes were repealed on the death of Anne, but they were renewed in favour of Jane Seymour, whose offspring by the king, should there be any, were now to succeed to the

throne; while failing these, Henry was empowered to appoint a successor by letters-patent or by will—and that none might be ignorant that Mary and Elizabeth were henceforth bastardized, it was made high treason to declare Henry's marriages with Catherine and Anne to have been good and lawful, or even directly or indirectly to accept, take, judge, or believe such a declaration. These were but specimens of the despotic enactments which his several marriages occasioned. Of a still more extravagant description were the veering and contradictory statutes which he made in the articles of religious belief, by which Papist and Protestant suffered at the same stake; and the title he assumed of "Henry VIII., by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England and also of Ireland, on earth, the Supreme Head," while the attempt to deprive him of this title amounted to the crime, and was to be visited with the penalties of high treason. To laws like these, the enactments that were passed confirming his irresponsible and unlimited right of rule, were nothing more than natural consequents; and therefore it was decreed, that when the emergency was sudden, and a parliament could not be conveniently called, the king, with advice of his council, "might set forth proclamations, with pains and penalties in them, which were to be obeyed as if they were made by an act of parliament."

Amidst this spirit of abject adulation, it was fortunate for the kingdom that Elizabeth had neither husbands to behead, nor children to disinherit. Still, however, such was the despotism of her rule, and the success of her measures, that both parliament and people were willing to concede to her the same despotic authority that had been granted to her predecessor. This was shown in the parliament assembled A.D. 1601, when the propriety of certain patents granted to courtiers by royal gift was called in question. In this case, it was declared by the advocates of royal rule, that absolute princes, such as were the sovereigns of England, were a kind of divinities; that their prerogative was neither to be canvassed, nor disputed, nor examined, as from its nature alone it could admit of no limitation; and that the queen had two powers over the law, one restraining, and the other preventive, so that she might set free what was limited by statute, or restrain that which had been proclaimed to be free. Nay, it was even added, that this royal power could not only insert clauses in any statute, but make void any clause it had itself inserted. Fortunately for such a delicate discussion, the queen received this appeal against the patents favourably, and forthwith annulled them, upon which the gratitude of the parliament knew

no bounds. They declared her message on this occasion to be a very gospel, and compared her to the Divine Being himself, in conferring blessings upon her people, exercising the quality of "restraining grace," and showing herself to be like the Divinity, "all truth." This fulsome address was presented by the speaker, attended by eighty members of parliament.

It is evident, however, that all this abject obedience could not be lasting. It was contrary to the spirit of the English people and to all they had hitherto done and suffered in vindication of their political rights. And besides this, the commons, freed from the oppression of the aristocracy, had been gradually learning their own strength, and only waited the opportunity to put it forth. That opportunity soon came, by the succession of the Stuart to the Tudor dynasty, and the change from the rule of the energetic Elizabeth to that of the imbecile James. As if, too, this had not been enough, James must needs provoke the conflict by becoming the aggressor, and prating about those Divine rights of sovereignty, which he was utterly unable to make good. It was but a natural sequence, that the oppressive government of the present period should be followed by the reaction of the next, and that both should ultimately settle down into that temperate monarchy, and those equal rights, which so happily constitute the main element of the British constitution.

Before dismissing this part of our subject, connected with the government of England during the present period, we cannot omit the mention of two courts of law, which were afterwards destined to be names of dread in the history of England. These were the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission.

Originally the Star Chamber was nothing but the council of the Kings of England, assembled for the trial of criminal cases; and the court received its name from the place where it usually met, which was the *chambre des estayers*. At first, it had been a powerful instrument in the hands of English sovereigns, by which they could confiscate or doom to death at pleasure, until the increasing restrictions upon the royal authority reduced it to comparative harmlessness. From this condition, however, it was raised by Henry VII., who loved money, and was not scrupulous in the mode of acquiring it. Recognizing in this court of Star Chamber a convenient means for the imposition of fine and confiscation, he remodelled it, and brought it into more vigorous action than ever. The cause stated for its restoration was the imperfect administration of justice by the multiplication of bribes, and the discontent and riot which such a course occasioned. To reform these evils, as well as those that originated from

corrupt or inefficient juries, the statute of Henry VII. ordained, "that the chancellor, treasurer, and privy seal, or two of them, calling to them a bishop and a temporal lord, being of the council, and the two chief-justices, or, in their absence, two other justices, upon bill or information put to the chancellor for the king, or any other, against any person for any misbehaviour above-mentioned, have authority to call before them, by writ or privy seal, the offenders and others, as it shall seem fit, by whom the truth may be known; and to examine and punish after the form and effect of statutes thereof made, in like manner as they ought to be punished, if they were convicted after the due order of the law." Such was the new form of the Star Chamber, as modelled by Henry VII., and sanctioned by an abject parliament. As may easily be seen, it gave to him and his successors an almost absolute power over the lives and property of his subjects, and it continued its despotic rule during this and the following period, until the revolutionary storm arose and swept it away.

The Court of High Commission originated at a later period, and for a different purpose. It dated from A.D. 1559, when one court was established for the ecclesiastical province of Canterbury, and another for that of York; and was intended not for secular objects, but the establishment of the Reformation. On this account, as it was wholly a spiritual court, its members consisted entirely of the clergy, and their commission was, to suspend or deprive unworthy clergymen, and proceed by church censure, imprisonment, or other legal inflictions, against all who opposed the Reformed principles and ordinances. This was not all, for they were afterwards empowered to visit and reform every kind of error, heresy, and schism in the towns, and prosecute their inquiry not only by juries and witnesses, but by "all other means and ways that they could devise." Here, then, was the establishment of an inquisition, and we can easily guess the nature of its proceedings. It was an unlimited power vested in the hands of churchmen, and for the accomplishment of an end that never limits itself to half measures. The tyrannous rule of this court, not only in spirituals but temporals, under the direction of Laud and Strafford—the prisons it filled, and the victims it impoverished, mutilated, or brought to the scaffold—will always show, that even the advancement of religious truth itself is not to be intrusted to men, however just or righteous, when they are armed with irresponsible power to coerce and punish.

During the whole of this period, the commercial interests of England were advancing with an always accelerating pace.¹ Indeed, it could not

¹ Some curious traces of the commercial as well as political

well have been otherwise, not only from the character of the sovereigns who had now succeeded to the English throne, but the new world that was opened up to commercial enterprise through the discoveries of Columbus and his successors. The peaceful reign of Henry VII., as well as his money-loving disposition, induced him to turn his attention to the important subject of national trade and manufactures, which he regarded as the best source for the supply of his own exchequer; and although some of his enactments, especially against usury, by which the taking of interest was meant, were marked by the inexperience and narrowness of the times, old commercial treaties were renewed, and new ones formed, by which the greater part of Europe was laid open to English traffic. This range of action comprised the following countries and ports:—Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Pisa, Florence, Venice, Spain, Seville, Portugal, France, Brittany, Normandy, Danzig, Eastland, and Friesland. The chief English export to these places still continued to be wool, either in its natural state, or made into cloth. During this reign also, in addition to the woollen manufacture, that of silk was introduced into England, not however in the form of weaving, but knitting, and was carried on by females, who were called “silk-women.” This kind of manufacture, besides, was extremely limited, and the chief articles made by it were “ribbons, laces, girdles, corsets, cauls, and corsets of tissues or points.” The principal com-

mercial towns in England during this time appear to have been London, Coventry, Norwich, Chester, Worcester, Exeter, York, Bristol, Southampton, Boston, Hull, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The progress of commerce, indeed, which depended so much upon freedom of action, was so hampered at the outset by those corporate privileges that confined the carrying on of most trades and handicraft professions, to such as were free of the corporation or members of a guild, that some of the oldest of these towns were even already falling into decay. This was especially the case with Coventry, York, Chester and Lancaster, Lincoln and Winchester, where it was complained that the streets were deserted, and the houses falling to decay, in consequence of persons unprivileged repairing to other towns where no such restrictions existed. As an offset, however, to this evil, the hitherto obscure villages of Manchester and Liverpool were fast rising into that importance which was afterwards to distinguish them as the great commercial and manufacturing cities of England.

It was during the reign of this king that an event occurred which might have had a fearful influence upon the commercial history of the country. This was the arrival in England of the brother of Columbus. When the great discoverer of America had convinced himself that immense regions were still in existence, and but awaited the search of a skilful and daring explorer, he not only repaired to different courts in the hope

connection of the south of France with England in early times are still extant. In Deppeing's *Histoire du Commerce entre le Levant et l'Europe*, we learn that “a note is still preserved from the household of the King of England, Henry III., at Bordeaux, ordering at Montpellier, not only twenty pieces of silk stuffs and four of scarlet cloth, but further, three gourds of preserved ginger.” M. Deppeing translates *tres curdas de gyngibracco, trois gourdes de gingembre confit*: but it seems more likely that *three squares of ginger tablet* are meant; so that the king had to send to Montpellier for what may now be had by the poorest children, either for halfpence, or in exchange for rags, bones, or broken glass. From the same author we learn that at a time when the coasts of France in general were dreaded by merchants, whose ships, in case of their running aground, were exposed to wreckers, and became the property of the lord of the manor, the whole coast was not thus forsaken. “Bordeaux long appertained to the English, and it was there that the wools of England arrived, for distribution in the south of France, and for embarkation in the Mediterranean ports, for other quarters. It is likely that Bordeaux was an entrepôt for the English of the productions of the Levant consigned to Great Britain. The wines of Bordeaux formed a considerable article of export. Edward I. favoured the introduction of them into England in 1302, asking only, as entry duty, a penny the pipe.” And again: “England took no great part during the Middle Ages in the Levant trade, and people were far from foreseeing that one day she would lord it over India. For a long period she could furnish only raw materials, such as wools and peltry. Foreigners brought her the many objects she required, and took those two articles in return. Florentine merchants bargained with the monasteries for the purchase of all their clips of wool for one or more years. Considerable cargoes of these wools were sent to Guienne and Languedoc, from which, as I have said, they were transmitted to Italy” (vol. ii. p. 337). Free trade flourished in England in the fourteenth century, but seemed to become more and more

restricted under the Tudors and Stuarts. M. Deppeing notes the *insigne privilegium* granted by Edward I. in 1303, and confirmed by Edward III., permitting all foreigners (thirteen countries are named) to trade in England with the natives and each other, to retail mercer's wares and spices, and freely to export merchandise bought in England, on simple payment of customs dues. But a kind of voluntary tax was at the same time to be paid by these merchants, chiefly on wools and skins, and on imported wax, scarlet cloth, and other articles (vol. ii. p. 338). No doubt a law so favourable to strangers, must have drawn to England many of the persecuted Albigenses from Guienne and Languedoc.

This free trade, far from hurting the manufactures of England, as many of the earlier financiers were likely to predict, seems to have promoted them. “About the middle of the fourteenth century,” says Deppeing, “an English company, which had taken the name of Thomas Becket, undertook the exportation of English cloths. Since Edward III. had sent for and protected the weavers of Flanders, the English cloth manufacture had been brought to perfection. Instead of continuing to sell raw wools to foreigners, and to buy from them the fine cloths they had made from those wools, the English themselves made fine cloths, which were exported by the German merchants along with the cloths of Flanders as far as to Russia. In the fifteenth century, the English cloths were even to be seen in the markets of Italy. Rome and Tuscany received them. . . . The English House of Commons never ceased to call for restrictions on foreign industry: they obtained the prohibition of the importation of foreign tissues; in 1381, exports and imports by foreign vessels were prohibited; and, finally, so far did Henry VII., Lord Bacon's model king, depart from the wise policy of Edwards I. and III., that he engaged by treaty to send to the port of Pisa, in English vessels, the wool required by the Florentine manufacturers, and to furnish them to no other nation excepting Venice.”—See *Hist. du Commerce, &c.*, vol. ii. pp. 338-340.

of obtaining royal aid to fit out an armament of discovery, but sent his brother Bartholomew to Henry VII. upon the same mission. Bartholomew was captured on his voyage to England by pirates, and did not reach London till after long delay; and during the interval, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain had acceded to the proposals of Christopher, and supplied him with the required aid. In this way, the paralysis of industry, as well as the terrible accumulation of national guilt which the useless gold of America entailed upon Spain, were happily escaped by England, and her own native energies left free and untrammelled. The discovery of a new world, however, could not be effected without stirring up a kindred emulation, and Henry VII., as far as his parsimony would allow him, became a candidate in the competition. In 1496 he intrusted a small armament to John Cabot, a Venetian, and his three sons, for a voyage in quest of unknown countries, and the result was the discovery of the coast of Labrador. This was but a trifling achievement in an era so fraught with discoveries, more especially as the exploration of Cabot was never of any particular use to England. It was not indeed in this way that she was to be benefited by the nautical enterprise of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in which she was left far behind. She had only to await her time, when her own superior industry and perseverance would win from their present possessors these fertile realms and islands, and turn them to their proper account.

If the peaceful reign of Henry VII., and the caution with which he avoided the search after remote El Dorados in an age of such adventure, were favourable to the development of natural industry and the healthful increase of manufactures and commerce, the result was more favourable still under the administration of his successor. On his accession to the throne, Henry VIII. lost no time in squandering the immense hoard which his father had so avariciously gathered; and although he sought nothing further in this proceeding than his own gratification, the circulation of such a capital gave that stimulus to trade which ready money is always sure to impart. At the same time, the love of luxury and rich attire which such an example introduced, was naturally caught by his courtiers, from whom it descended to the middle classes; and thus, while every kind of rich cloth was imported from abroad in quantities hitherto unprecedented, foreign workmen in every kind of manufacture repaired to London, and introduced that skill in workmanship which our countrymen afterwards carried to such perfection. Of course, this introduction could not be effected in the first instance without rousing the national jealousy; and not

only bitter complaints were the consequence, but desperate riots, in which the foreign workmen were exposed to the peril of a general massacre. As this hostile feeling on the part of the native manufacturers still continued, a soothing measure was attempted eight years afterwards, by which it was decreed, that no stranger, born out of the English dominions, should take any apprentice who was not a native, under a penalty of £10; and that he should not keep more than two foreign journeymen at the same time. In foreign trade, the Netherlands was still the great resort of the English merchants, the chief emporium of which was Antwerp, where English wool and cloths were sold, and every kind of foreign commodity purchased in return. As the continental wars of Henry VIII., however, subjected this communication to several interruptions, the English merchants endeavoured to repair the evil, not so much by attempting to discover new countries for themselves, as by trading to those already discovered. In this way, Guinea and Brazil became trading marts, in addition to the ports that were frequented in Europe and Asia; but these new experiments, which were afterwards to be so successful, were at first prosecuted with extreme caution. The English merchants also still continued to use foreign vessels and crews in preference to their own shipping, when the voyage was supposed to be attended with peculiar difficulty. The reign, however, of Henry VIII., unprofitable though it was to the kingdom in other respects, was signally advantageous in promoting naval skill and enterprise among his subjects—and for this, at least, he will ever deserve a grateful commemoration in our national history. He carried his ideas of stateliness and magnificence into ship-building, so that the vessels constructed by his orders were the largest that had hitherto been launched from an English dockyard. Of these, the *Regent*, built at Woolwich in 1512, has been particularly commemorated. It was of 1000 tons burden, and carried 700 sailors, soldiers, and gunners; and when this ship was blown up, with all its crew, in a naval engagement off Brest, only a few months after it had put to sea, he caused another still larger to be built in its room, called the *Henry Grace de Dieu*. By the royal navy which he thus created, amounting to 12,500 tons, he was unconsciously preparing for that fearful tug of war which the Spanish Armada soon afterwards occasioned. But Henry in these important labours did not exclusively confine himself to ship-building. He also instituted the first navy office with its various functionaries; established the "Corporation of the Trinity House of Deptford," which he also extended to Hull and Newcastle; and originated the naval store-houses and yards of Deptford

and Woolwich. He also erected the first pier at Dover, and caused the havens and ports of Plymouth, Dartmouth, Teignmouth, Falmouth, and Fowey, to be repaired and kept up. It is inter-

or the taking of interest, continued to be repeated, as a crime odious in the sight of God, and hurtful to the welfare of man. Ten per cent. had hitherto been allowed as a lawful rate of interest,



THE HENRY GRACE DE DIEU.—From a picture in Greenwich Hospital

esting to notice that the two worst kings of English history—John and Henry VIII.—were the founders and creators of the English navy.

During the following reigns, English commerce, which had entered upon a new era, mainly occasioned by the discovery of a new world, and the ten thousand wants which it had created, went onward with a strength and steadiness which the mines of Peru and Mexico, and the wealth of Ormuz, failed to impart to Spain and Portugal. The Newfoundland cod fishery, into which the English entered in 1536, was encouraged by Edward VI., and exempted from the levies which had been imposed upon it, so that it quickly grew into a source of national profit; and in 1554, the English Russia Company was incorporated by a charter of Queen Mary, in consequence of the encouragement given to traffic with England by the Muscovite sovereign, Ivan Vassilivitch, otherwise known as "John the Terrible." The Steel-yard Company, a corporation of German or Hanseatic merchants, residing in England, and possessed of exclusive privileges, by which they held a monopoly in certain branches of trade, was abolished, as subversive of the necessary freedom of merchandise; and the advancement of the English merchant-adventurers promoted in its room, by which native activity and enterprise were more fully called into exercise. But in spite of this growing liberality, the laws against usury,

this was branded with the name of usury, and made liable to the former pains and penalties.

All this mercantile progress, however, had been but a prelude to that which it made during the reign of Elizabeth; and the impulse imparted by her able administration to every branch



BADGE OF THE MERCHANTS OF THE STEEL-YARD.—From the original in Thames Street.

of political and intellectual life, by which England started at once from boyhood into adolescence, is especially observable in the commercial department of our history. The navigation laws, which had commenced so early as the latter part of the twelfth century, prohibiting all exports or imports in any other than English vessels, were

rescinded in her first parliament, as productive of national jealousies and dissensions, and injurious to the true interests of commerce; and in their stead, a slight tax was imposed upon car-

goes imported or exported by foreign shipping. This was of itself sufficient to expand, in an immense ratio, the sphere of English traffic; and the effect of the impulse was manifested in the quantities of English wool and cloth consigned to the fairs of Holland and the Netherlands. Of these commodities, there was a trade to both countries amounting to £2,400,000 annually—an immense sum compared with its rate in the pre-

leather, beer, cheese, and other sorts of provisions in great quantities; also Malnesey wines, which the English import from Candia." In this city was also an English bourse or exchange, to which merchants of various countries repaired for an hour every morning and evening, accompanied by brokers and interpreters, and bargained for those articles of English produce, which they afterwards re-sold in the markets of Italy and Germany. As an English exchange, however, was still more necessary at London than at Antwerp, this want was soon supplied, and that, too, not by public subscription, but the princely liberality of a single merchant. This was Sir Thomas Gresham, who perceiving the inconvenience of the usual mercantile place of meeting, which was in Lombard Street, in the open air, resolved to build a covered walk for the purpose, similar to that of Antwerp. His only demand upon the city on this occasion was for a site; and when this was readily granted, he erected upon it in 1567, a stately edifice of brick, roofed with slate, which, by the command of the queen, was proclaimed with the sound of trumpets and the voice of heralds, "the Royal Exchange."

It was now full time that England should enter upon that track of discovery which other nations had so successfully opened; and the first experiment tried during this reign was the attempt to find a new passage to India. This was commenced in 1567 by Martin Frobisher, who set sail upon the bold adventure with no better armament than two barks of twenty-five tons each, and a pinnacle of ten tons. He entered the strait leading to Hudson's Bay, thenceforth called Frobisher's Strait, and took possession of the neighbouring



THE ENGLISH HOUSE OR EXCHANGE, ANTWERP.

sent day. This most lucrative trade may be better understood by the following extract from the account given of it by Guicciardini, nephew of the celebrated historian, who lived in the Netherlands, and only described what he knew and witnessed:—"To England," he says, "Antwerp sends jewels and precious stones, silver bullion, quicksilver, wrought silks, cloth of gold and silver, gold and silver thread, camblets, grommings, spices, drugs, sugar, cotton, cummin, galls, linens fine and coarse, serges, demi-ostades, tapestry, madder, hops in great quantities, glass, salt-fish, metallic and other merceries of all sorts to a great value, arms of all kinds, ammunition for war, and household furniture. From England Antwerp receives vast quantities of fine and coarse draperies, fringes, and other things of that kind to a great value, the finest wool, excellent saffron in small quantities, a great quantity of lead and tin, sheep and rabbit skins without number, and various other sorts of fine peltry and



GRESHAM'S ROYAL EXCHANGE, LONDON.—From a print in the Crowle Pennant.

coast in the name of the queen, but was unable to proceed further from sickness among his crew. A second voyage which he made in 1577, with

more ample means, was not, however, in quest of an Indian passage, but of gold, with which it was thought the country he had discovered abounded, but which was never found. A third voyage, which he made in 1578, with fifteen ships, was for the discovery of a north-west passage, to which the strait of his own name was thought to lead, as well as a search for gold, but in either case his attempt was unsuccessful. His first voyage, indeed, although with such humble means, was his most successful, by the islands and coasts it enabled him to discover, as well as an entrance into the Polar seas. Another adventurous navigator of the same period was Sir Francis Drake, who left England in 1577, with the double purpose of discovering new countries and plundering the Spaniards, with whom we were still at peace; and in both of these attempts he was successful. After an absence of nearly two years, in which he explored the western coast of America, crossed the Pacific, and circumnavigated the globe—having been the first Englishman who performed that feat—he returned triumphantly to England laden with Spanish plunder. A third adventurer was Sir John Davis, who made three voyages in search of the north-west passage; and although he was unsuccessful in finding it, he enlarged the geographical knowledge of his countrymen, while he perpetuated his own name by the discovery of Davis' Straits. A fourth in the list of English naval adventure was Thomas Cavendish, who, like Drake, performed the periplus of the globe; and in a second expedition, one of his captains (John Davis, who has already been mentioned) discovered the Falkland Islands. Besides these, other expeditions were fitted out towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, which had for their chief object the exploration of the South Seas, and the discovery of a north-west passage. While these attempts were prosecuted with such diligence, the paths that had already been opened up by foreign navigators were not neglected; and among the foremost of these was India, the great commercial mart both of the ancient and modern world. For this purpose, the Turkey Company was incorporated in 1581, and the East India Company in 1600. The splendid results with which this enterprise was crowned belong to a later period of the commercial history of England.

As Britain was finally destined to be the "mighty mother" of colonies, England commenced her great vocation during this stirring period of adventure, by attempting experiments in colonization upon the North American continent. The first of these, undertaken by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1576 and 1583, accompanied by his more renowned step-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, were unsuccessful; and in the last of these voyages, Gilbert himself, and four

of the five ships that composed his armament, were lost at sea. Undeterred by this fatal example, Sir Walter, in the following year, fitted out two ships, which he sent to the coast of North America, with instructions as to the direction in which they were to sail; and the result was the discovery of Virginia, which was so named by Elizabeth herself, in honour of her own happy state of celibacy. As Raleigh by letters-patent had obtained the right of property in this discovery, which comprised at that time both what is now called Virginia and North Carolina, he sent to his new territory a fleet of colonization consisting of seven ships; but although this trial, which proved a failure, was followed by repeated attempts and sacrifices, Virginia was not at this early stage to become the home of an English population. Every successive landing was followed by an attack from the natives, under which the new comers perished, and at last the attempt was abandoned in despair. England was thus fated to learn at the outset, that to colonize a country is more difficult than to discover it: but bravely she persisted, and enduringly she persevered, until the lesson was learned, and the prize obtained.

A glance at the history of England during the reign of Elizabeth, will suffice to show how necessary this mercantile spirit was, not only for national prosperity, but even for very existence. Spain, which had taken the lead in maritime discovery, and been enriched with the treasure of America as her reward, was enabled in consequence to fit out an Armada which, according to human calculation, was justly termed the "Invincible." What in such a case would have been the fate of this country, had the Armada been able to land her armies, or even keep possession of the sea? Had England remained indifferent to her mercantile advantages as an island, the utmost she could have done in such a crisis would have been to abide the uncertain issue of an invasion, by which she would have been thrown back for a century at least in progress, even if she had been finally victorious. The former sovereigns had been obliged in their difficulties to apply for shipping to such foreign ports as Genoa, Danzig, Hamburg, and Venice; but in the present case, such a resource would have been useless. Happily, however, her commerce had already created not only a numerous and well-manned navy, but skilful commanders; and thus, when the battle was confined to the ocean, the Spaniards were confronted by men as inured to naval conflict as themselves. In this way, it is declared in the State Papers of the period, where the force sent out against the Armada is enumerated, that the sum total of English ships was 181. It is specified also that of

these, only thirty-four were regular men-of-war, of which not more than five were from 800 to 1100 tons burden each; of the other ships, eighteen were supplied by private adventurers, thirty-three by the city of London; forty-three were hired vessels, and fifty-three were coasters sent by various sea-ports. The fleet had on board 11,120 men. At the end of the reign of Elizabeth, the royal navy amounted to 17,110 tonnage; while at the end of the reign of Mary it had only amounted to 7110. Of these ships of Elizabeth, the largest was of 1000 tons burden, and carried 340 seamen and forty guns; while the whole royal navy amounted to forty sail, with a crew of about 300 men for each vessel.

In the internal traffic of England, the greater part of it, as in other countries, was carried on by fairs, held annually or more frequently, at stated periods, in some noted place of resort; and such were the local advantages derived from these great musters, that every means was adopted to make them attractive, as well as to retain them in existence, in those towns where they were found no longer necessary. It was no wonder, therefore, that when the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, during the reign of Henry VII., prohibited any of the citizens from repairing with their goods to any market or fair out of the city, so many places remonstrated, and so loud an outcry was raised, until the obnoxious prohibition was repealed by parliament in 1487. In the appeal that was made on this occasion, we learn the principal places at which fairs were then held in England, and the kind of business transacted, as well as the persons who frequented them. "There be many fairs," it said, "for the common weal of your said liege people, as at Salisbury, Bristow, Oxenforth, Cambridge, Nottingham, Ely, Coventry, and at many other places; where lords spiritual and temporal, abbots, priors, knights, squires, gentlemen, and your said commons of every country, hath their common resort to buy and purvey many things that be good and profitable, as ornaments of holy church, chalices, books, vestments, and other ornaments for holy church aforesaid; and also for household, as victual for the time of Lent, and other stuff, as linen cloth, woollen cloth, brass, pewter, bedding, osmund, iron, flax, and wax, and many other necessary things, the which might not be forborne among your liege people." The great meeting of this kind for the metropolis itself was Bartholomew Fair, to which multitudes annually repaired from the several English counties, and even from foreign countries, so that if any epidemic happened to prevail in London during the season that the fair was held, there was some danger that the infection might thus be carried over the whole kingdom. Such was

especially the case in 1593, while the plague was raging in the metropolis, so that its holding was prohibited; but so necessary had Bartholomew Fair now become for the welfare of the realm, that the people were willing to brave the danger; and all that the authorities could therefore effect was merely to appoint certain regulations by which the risk might be lessened. These regulations, as announced in the proclamation of Elizabeth, give a distinct idea of the kind of traffic that was carried on at an English fair at the close of this period of our history. It was decreed, "That in the usual place of Smithfield, there be no manner of market for any wares kept, nor any stalls or booths for any manner of merchandise, or for victuals, suffered to be set up; but that the open place of the ground called Smithfield be only occupied with sale of horses and cattle, and of stall wares, as butter, cheese, and such like, in gross, and not by retail; the same to continue for two days only. And for vent of woollen cloths, kerseys, and linen cloths, to be all sold in gross, and not by retail, the same shall be all brought within the close yard of St. Bartholomew's, where shops are there continued, and have gates to shut the same place in the nights, and there such cloth to be offered for sale, and to be bought in gross, and not by retail; the same market to continue but three days. And that the sale and vent for leather be kept in the outside of the ring in Smithfield, as hath been accustomed, without erecting any shops or booths for the same, or for any victualler or other occupier of any ways whatsoever." From these extracts, a distinct idea may be formed of the substantial business of an English fair, and the mode in which it was conducted. But the festivity that was intermingled with it, the shows and pageants, the feasting and swilling, the crowding, shouldering and shouting, by which the living mass was at times converted into a heaving sea, or even a downright storm—these inevitable accompaniments must be left to the imagination of the reader. The task has often been attempted, not only by the novelist, but the historian; but of all these descriptions, none appears to us so graphic and so true as the *Vanity Fair* of honest John Bunyan.¹

¹ "The progress of trade might, however, have been more slow if it had depended alone on those exact calculations of advantage from accessible and well-understood sources, which are its natural province. But the voyages of the Spaniards and Portuguese had disclosed to the dazzled imaginations of mankind new worlds and races of men before unknown; the owners of treasures, apparently unbounded, which they had neither power to defend, nor skill to extract from the earth. The spirit of commerce mingled with the passion for discovery, which was exalted by the grandeur of vast and unknown objects. A maritime chivalry arose, which equipped crusades for the settlement and conquest of the New World; professing to save the tribes of that immense region from eternal perdition, and somewhat disguising these

We now turn from the commercial to the agricultural state of England at this period. At its commencement, farms appear to have been cheaply rented, and carelessly or unskilfully cultivated; and the state of the peasantry, as described by Harrison, was that of lazy coarse contentment. A farm-house, of the ordinary kind, was a timber dwelling with walls of plaster, and a roof of thatch; the beds were pallets of straw covered with a coarse sheet, or at the best, a flock mattress; and the usual daily diet of the inmates was salted meat, poultry, and dairy produce, with the coarser grain, such as barley or rye, for bread, and only occasionally wheat loaves or cakes, for the frequent use of wheat bread was a luxury only for the rich. The clothing of the inmates was the produce of the farm; and the wool and flax were prepared and spun for the weaver by the industry of the female part of the establishment. The women also superintended the corn for the mill, brewed and baked for the household consumption, took charge of the cows, swine, and poultry, and performed the work of the garden; while their husbands not only attended to their labours a-field, but made their own ox-bows, yokes, plough-gear, and other utensils of husbandry. In this way, a rough but comfortable abundance was secured by the English yeomanry during the reign of Henry VII., even when their stock of money seldom exceeded a few shillings; and when rent-day arrived, if the hoarded sum of the year's labour was not enough for the emergency, the sale of a cow or horse had to be endured to supply the deficiency. By good industry and thrift, however, much could be effected even with such scanty resources, a picture of which Latimer has given in his own homely and practical but graphic style. His father, he tells us, was a yeoman who rented a farm under £4 a-year; but out of this limited holding, he had as much land under tillage as kept six men, thirty cows, and 100 sheep. He also kept a horse and man for the king's service when called upon, sent his son to school and afterwards to college, and gave to each of his daughters £5 as a dowry when they were married. Besides this, he could afford to be hospitable to his neighbours and kind to the poor—and all from the produce of his farm. In the foregoing statements, the descriptions, both of Latimer and Harrison, are to be understood as referring to the agricultural

commonalty alone, and not to the numerous exceptions which were presented by the rural aristocracy, who inhabited commodious mansions of brick or stone, and vied with the worshipful landowners themselves in dress, style of living, and domestic comforts. This is attested by the remains of those comfortable granges that evidently were homes of abundance, especially during the "golden days" of Elizabeth. It unfortunately happens, however, that we have no account of their inmates, so as to describe their mode of living with any sufficient degree of certainty.

Pursuing the description given by the good old Reformer, we find an important change in agricultural life during the reign of Henry VIII. The new occupant of his father's farm was obliged to pay for it a rental of £16 annually, or even more, so that he was unable "to do anything for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, nor to give a cup of drink to the poor." This prodigious rise in rent, which now, in most cases, trebled its former amount, unhoused many of the comfortable yeomanry, and converted them into day-labourers. To add to these evils, inclosures were multiplied over the whole country; large tracts were converted into sheep-farms in consequence of the increase in the traffic of wool; and the suppression of monasteries, which hitherto had maintained a comfortable tenantry, and given relief to the poor, threw their helpless inmates by thousands upon the already impoverished community. All this occasioned an aggregate of misery which the writers of the period exhaust themselves in deploring; and according to their account, the land was overspread with theft, beggary, and starvation. It could not indeed have been otherwise, from the suddenness and violence of the change; and laws were enacted, although in most cases in vain, to suppress the growing evil. Thus, the growth of large sheep-farms was prohibited, by a decree that no man should keep more than 2000 sheep except upon his own land; that not more than two farms should be occupied by one tenant; that no cottage should be built without having four acres of land attached to it, and that it should not be inhabited by more than one family. Other statutes were also enacted, which had for their object the equalization of the pastoral and agricultural interests, and the relief of the poor. It was well, however, that the wants of the people,

expeditions of rapine and destruction under the illusions of military glory and religious fanaticism. Great noblemen, who would have recoiled with disgust from the small gains of honest industry, eagerly plunged into associations which held out wealth and empire in the train of splendid victory. The lord-treasurer, the lord-steward, the lord privy-seal, and the lord high-admiral were at the head of the first company formed for the trade of Russia, on the discovery of that country. For nearly

a century it became a prevalent passion among men of all ranks, including the highest, to become members of associations framed for the purposes of discovery, colonization, and aggrandizement, which formed a species of subordinate republics—the vassals of the crown of England. By links like these, the feudal world was gradually allied with the commercial, in a manner which civilized the landholder and elevated the merchant."—*Sir James Mackintosh.*

combined with their industrial habits, were of greater force than acts of parliament. The subdivision of farms, and increase of rent, compelled the use of a better kind of cultivation; and this was followed with such success, that by the end of the reign of Elizabeth, the produce of each cultivated acre was at least doubled. The same active spirit, which necessity had thus kindled into new life, was also manifested in better farm-houses and cottages, and a more comfortable style of living than had hitherto prevailed. All this was manifested during "the days of good Queen Bess," according to the testimony of Harrison and other contemporary writers, from which we gather the following particulars of rural life during this period:—

The houses of the yeomanry, formerly built of wood, were now superseded by cottages of brick, or even of stone, while the rooms were larger and better suited for in-door life; the fashion of furniture, which had formerly been confined to the mansions of squires and franklins, had now found its way into these cottages; wooden trenchers had been converted into platters of pewter, and in some cases the pewter had given way to pieces of silver plate. A good feather-bed had taken the place of the straw mattress, and a snug coal-fire that of peat, heath, or crackling thorns; while good windows and chimneys were not wanting to the building. The occupants, indeed, were still obliged to subsist upon salted meat during the winter, and salted fish during the church holidays, even after the Reformation had been established; but to these there could now be added, in greater plenty than before, the fresh produce of the pasture, the barn-yard, and the dairy—

"Beef, mutton, and pork, shred pies of the best;
Fig, veal, goose, and capon, and turkey well drest:—"

While the owner of this good cheer had often several years' rent laid up in store. The source of all this improvement was to be found in the superior cultivation of his farm, where the land was manured with burned limestone, sand, and even the sweepings of the streets of London mixed with the ashes of coal. In this way, the better kinds of grain were not only produced in greater abundance, but new articles introduced into cultivation, the chief of which were clover and the hop, that were both brought to England from the Netherlands. The breeding of cattle, for which so many facilities were opened up, was now carefully attended to; so that not only were horses, oxen, sheep, swine, and goats, more plentiful than ever, but also in better condition, and more profitable for the market. A curious instance of this growing prosperity, and the effects it produced, is to be found in the great increase of malt, which was now so abundantly used, that

in 1597 it had to be checked by royal statute. While improvements in farming had thus been going on, those of gardening had not been neglected; for while plums, cherries, currants, apricots, pippins, and gooseberries, which had been introduced from abroad during the reign of Henry VIII., were now carefully cultivated and brought into general use, the garden was also ornamented with the damask and musk rose, the gilly-flower, rose of Provence, and carnation, which were imported into England towards the latter end of the sixteenth century.

From the yeomanry of merry England we now pass to the dwellings of the rich and the noble. Much of the former occupations of these magnates had now departed along with the political power and sway which they were no longer entitled to hold; but this deprivation only strengthened their desire for more comfortable homes, and a superior style of living. It was only thus that they could still retain their superiority as the descendants of nobles and princes; and as models, they could have found few better fitted, according to the age, for their imitation, than Henry VIII. and his gorgeous prime-minister Wolsey, the former of whom built, completed, or improved ten splendid palaces. The style of building now introduced into the palatial residences of the English nobles has been generally called the Tudor style, and prevailed during the sixteenth century. The change thus introduced is worthy of particular notice. Ecclesiastical architecture had now so far retrograded, and become so mixed up with foreign features, that its distinctive English character was gone. Henry VIII. patronized Italian artists, and these having no feeling for the Gothic of the North, could not appreciate its beauties, and sought to engraft their own ideas on a style which, as it had such hold on the national mind, they could not at once throw aside. The beautiful proportions of the old style were not seen; and when it was copied, it was without knowledge or feeling. The result was, that step by step, the ancient features were supplanted by the new introduction, until at length all character was lost, and churches were built in debased imitation of the classic styles. It will therefore be unnecessary in this place to treat further of ecclesiastical edifices.

In Domestic architecture, also, the same influences were at work, and produced a somewhat similar change; but other causes in this case led to modifications in the style of building and living. The cessation of the wars which had so long devastated England, and the consequent feeling of security under the house of Tudor, rendered no longer necessary the military character which had hitherto distinguished the dwellings of the aristocracy. The castellated form

to which the mind had been so long accustomed, was still retained; but it was no longer a military fortress, in which all domestic arrangements were compelled to give way to the necessities of defence. The windows, which before were small, were now gradually enlarged, until they became the most important feature of the building. Towers and turrets were still used, but only for ornament; and as they were no longer required for watch-towers, or to be manned with warders or bowmen, the flat leads within the parapet were no longer necessary, and they were finished with ornamental roofs, richly crocketed and finialled, and ending in gay weather-vanes or armorial devices. Chimneys, too, now became an important feature of ornamentation. They were mostly of brick, and consisted of large stacks of tall slender shafts, issuing from a square basement, frequently of stone. These shafts were richly moulded and often twisted, and they were generally ornamented over their whole surface with various diaper patterns and armorial bearings. Chimneys had been in use in England from the twelfth century, if not earlier, as is shown by remains of buildings of that date. They had increased in use until, in the fifteenth century, even the halls were warmed by fire-places, though they had previously had a large fire on a hearth, or, as it was called, a *brazier*, in the middle of the floor, with an opening over it in the roof, and which was called a *lowvre*. A good example of this does or did lately exist in the hall of Westminster School.

In the latter part of Henry VII.'s and the early part of Henry VIII.'s reign, brick buildings were much used, and ornamental moulded brickwork seems at this time to have attained its greatest perfection. All the ornaments are moulded in brick, and this gives a facility for profuse decoration without much increase of cost. Accordingly, we find these decorations, which consist of Tudor flowers, armorial bearings and badges, letters, flowers, medallions, &c., used in all parts of a building where they could be introduced, on the parapets, the cornices, the string-courses, and, above all, on the chimneys and turrets. At this time the buildings are without the mixture of Italian details which afterwards became so prevalent, and they exhibit the character of what may be taken as the genuine Tudor style. They retain the castellated form outwardly, and have in general the moat and gatehouse; but the towers are without strength, and are evidently intended for ornament and show rather than for defence. Small octagonal turrets flank the angles, and terminate in a kind of turret pinnacles capped with an ogee-shaped dome, which has frequently a large finial and bold crockets. These turrets, which are peculiar to this style,

are found in many of the large buildings, as at Henry VII.'s Chapel, Hengrave Hall, Westow Hall, &c., and have some resemblance to Turkish minarets; and with the richly ornamented stacks of brick chimneys, give a very remarkable and distinctive character to the buildings where



PART OF HENGRAVE HALL, ESSEX. TIME OF HENRY VIII.
Britton's Architectural Antiquities.

they occur. These turrets and chimneys, with the general prevalence of the octagonal over the square form for towers, &c., large square windows, divided into many lights by mullions and cross bars or transoms—the extensive use of

panelling and of the Tudor flower—and other details of the late Perpendicular style—and also of armorial bearings; with the very general use of brick—may be taken as the characteristics of the genuine Tudor style before its admixture with foreign details. But before the end of the reign of Henry VIII. it had become materially altered: the castellated form was lost, and it passed gradually into what is known as the Elizabethan style.



ELIZABETHAN WINDOW, Rushton Hall, Northamptonshire.

In the latter part of this style all trace of military character was lost, and the Gothic features were mixed with and gradually replaced by Italian. The Grecian and Roman orders were generally used, but were copied in an impure and debased manner. From these apparently discordant materials designs were formed, which have at least

great picturesque effect to recommend them. The windows, however, still retained their mullions and transoms, but they were increased in size in some instances (as at Hardwick) to such

histories from classic mythology. This was merely hung on the walls, and was removed from house to house as the family changed their residence.

On the exterior, as moats and walls for defence

were no longer needed, the sloping ground was cut into wide and stately terraces for promenading. These were generally bounded by massive stone balustrades, and connected with each other by steps, and were ornamented with statues, vases, &c. The space below was laid out as a flower garden, with generally a fountain in the centre, and beds cut out into various fantastical and geometrical forms, planted with flowers and evergreens, and enlivened by statues of the deities of the classic mythology.



WOLTERTON MANOR HOUSE, EAST BARSHAM, NORFOLK. TIME OF HENRY VIII.¹

an excess that the walls were reduced to little more than mere window frames. Indeed, the buildings of this reign were built for pomp and pleasure, for banquets and pageants; and therefore splendid apartments, approached by wide and magnificent staircases, and, above all, a gallery for dancing and other amusements, and which frequently extended the whole length of the building, were essential in a house of any pretensions. The ceilings were richly and profusely ornamented with flowers, foliage and arabesques, figures, and classic allusions. They are generally divided into compartments, and pendants are sometimes introduced. Great care and expense were bestowed on the massive chimney-pieces, which are frequently of large size, reaching the height of the room, generally of marble or carved oak, and of most elaborate and intricate design, consisting of the classical orders, figures, armorial bearings, ciphers, arabesques, &c. Wainscot, which had been much used in the Tudor period, when it was panelled and generally carved, was still continued, though in a plainer style, for the principal apartments, but it was commonly covered with tapestry, on which were represented various

history. These gardens, with their terraces, stiff and formal though they were, harmonized well with the style of building, and gave an air of dignity and magnificence to the edifice which we scarcely find elsewhere.

The princely houses, or rather palaces, which rose in this reign are numerous, many even yet remaining to attest the splendour of the reign of



DRAWING-ROOM OF BRAMHALL HALL, CHESHIRE. TIME OF ELIZABETH.
From Nash's *Mansions of England*.

the "Virgin Queen." Of these may be mentioned Burghley, Kirby, Oxnead, &c.

The illustrations chosen to elucidate the archi-

¹ From Repton's view in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, and restored from Pugin's *Examples of Gothic Architecture*.

ture of this period are:—Wolterton Manor House, East Barsham, Norfolk, which was begun in the latter part of the reign of Henry VII. and finished in that of Henry VIII. It is entirely of brick, and offers a perfect example of the style of the period. It shows the peculiar turrets before mentioned, the chimney-stacks, the panelling, the moulded ornaments, &c., and the royal arms conspicuously placed over both entrances.

Hengrave Hall (1538), the finest example we possess of the style of the early part of the reign of Henry VIII. It is of stone; has the ogee domes very large, and with bold crockets and large finials, pointed lights to the windows, and other features of genuine Tudor; but its entrance doorway shows a tendency to change, as Italian or classic features are there used. The ground plan of this building is that which mostly prevailed at the time, that is, the buildings forming a square and inclosing a central paved quadrangle, the hall being on the side opposite to the entrance. A moat with an outer gatehouse surrounded the whole. Other examples of this arrangement are Oxburgh, Norfolk; and Compton-Wynates, Warwickshire.

Burghley House, Northamptonshire (1587),



BURGHLEY HOUSE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. TIME OF ELIZABETH.—Richardson's Eliz. Arch.

built by Lord-chancellor Burghley. This is a magnificent specimen of a palatial Elizabethan building. It is classical or Italian throughout, with the exception of the windows, which still retain the mullions and transoms of the earlier

period, but the lights are square-headed, not pointed. The nondescript additions to the parapet over the principal entrance, and the introduction of the columns and entablatures for chimneys, are incongruities, but are still very charac-



HARDWICK HALL, DERBYSHIRE. TIME OF ELIZABETH.—From Lysons' Derbyshire.

teristic of the style, for though the general form was bold and striking, the details were meaningless and poor. A part only of the principal front is here shown.

Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, built by Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, in the reign of Elizabeth. This is a building on a less magnificent scale, but equally characteristic. It is here introduced to show the excessive enlargement of the windows, and the countess' initials, E. S., and coronet, in the parapet. This was a fashion in this reign, and sometimes, as at Castle-Ashby, the family motto formed the parapet.

Throughout the whole of this period timber houses continued to be used, and the greater part of those now remaining are of the time of Elizabeth or James. The framework of these was of oak, and the spaces between were filled up either with lath and plaster or with brick. The timbers between the principal bearers were arranged in various ornamental devices, as circles, lozenges, &c.; and the gables finished with ornamental barge-boards, and finials or hip-knobs. The whole of the principal timbers were often richly carved, and the entrance ornamented with small shafts, arches, &c. The upper stories frequently project over the lower ones. Many large and very fine

timber buildings are found in Cheshire and Lancashire, and one of these, Moreton Hall,

The architect of many of the finest houses of this reign and the next, was John Thorpe, whose very curious and valuable sketch-book is now in Sir John Soane's Museum, and from it the following design has been selected. It is intended for a street in London, and therefore differs from those for the country.¹ Its chief peculiarity is the projecting porch and gallery, extending along the whole front, and approached by steps. Porches of this character, but merely covering the door, are not of unfrequent occurrence in town houses of the next century.



MORETON HALL, CHESHIRE, TIME OF ELIZABETH
From Britton's Architectural Antiquities.

is here selected for an example. This house has a gallery extending along its whole length.

Bramhall Hall, Cheshire, is another but larger

The same political causes that swept away the feudal castles of England, or converted them into peaceful mansions, also abridged to a very great extent the trains of the nobility. It was no longer necessary for them to live in garrison, or ride attended by a numerous armed array; and, indeed, had they attempted it, such a mode of life would no longer have been permitted. On the accession

of the Tudors to the throne, the new dynasty found the aristocracy depressed, and resolved to keep them so; and hence the severe statutes that were enacted against numerous feudal retinues. A specimen of this severity, exhibited by Henry VII., will sufficiently illustrate the royal jealousy upon the subject. On retiring from Henningham Castle, after having been sumptuously entertained by his noble favourite the Earl of Oxford, the king passed through a lane of servants in rich liveries, who were drawn up to honour his departure. "My lord," exclaimed Henry, "I have

heard much of your hospitality, but see it is greater than report — these handsome gentlemen and yeoman are surely your menial servants." The earl confessed with a smile that they were not servants, but retainers, who had come to do him service on this im-



PERSPECTIVE VIEW AND GROUND PLAN OF A LONDON HOUSE. TIME OF ELIZABETH.¹
From a drawing by Thorpe in the Soane Collection.

and richer specimen of the same character. Its interior exhibits the elaborate ceiling, the wainscotted walls, the richly carved chimney-piece, and shows the opposite side of the room entirely occupied by windows. Its date is 1592.

portant occasion. "By my faith!" cried the king, "I thank you for my good cheer, but I may not have my laws broken in my sight; my attorney

¹ It is a wooden building, and is described as standing at the western end of Holborn. The plan of the building is very

must speak with you." The attorney spoke accordingly, and to such purpose, that the earl was fain to compound for his offence by the payment of 15,000 marks.

Although the furniture of these noble mansions had continued to improve so as to correspond with the style of building, we still find it in many cases both rude and defective; and while the lofty halls that were set apart for banquetings and state purposes exhibited abundance of pomp and glitter, in the shape of plate, gilding, carved wainscot, rich arras, and massive tables, the apartments for daily use were so scantily furnished in comparison, as to indicate the still continuing hardy habits and out-door life of the English nobility. Such was the case even in the palace of Henry VIII., that king of splendid shows and luxurious living; for the inventory of his bed-chamber was comprised in two joint cupboards, a joint stool, a steel mirror covered with yellow velvet, a couple of andirons, a fire-pan, a pair of tongs, and a fire-fork.¹ Besides such articles, the furniture of a noble mansion consisted of richly carved buffets, round tables with pillar and claw, sometimes a household clock—which, as yet, however, was a rarity—and stiff high-backed chairs, and carpets.² This last article, which was from Turkey, and not introduced into England until the close of the reign of Henry VIII., was at first used, very charily, for the covering of tables. But the choicest of all the domestic conveniences continued to be a bed, which contrasted strangely enough with the scanty and homely furniture of a bed-chamber; for its framework was often canopied and festooned like a throne, while the bed itself was of the softest down, covered with woollen blankets, fine Holland sheets, and a richly embroidered coverlet exhibiting the arms of the owner in silk or gold needlework.

As might be expected, the splendour of a royal or noble banquet had reached its height during the time of Henry VIII., and the chroniclers of the period are at a loss for language to describe the pageant feasts of this sovereign, and his other self, Cardinal Wolsey. But with all this variety of dishes, in which the four elements seemed to

be exhausted, and the whole art of cookery reduced to a stand-still, a refinement and also a moderation had been introduced that was in pleasing contrast to the former coarse swillings and gormandizings. The usual meals of the nobility during this reign were—breakfast, which was taken at eight o'clock; dinner, at twelve; a slight meal, called an afternoon, at three; supper, at six; and an after-supper, near bed-time. These five meals, however, which in themselves were moderate repasts, chiefly consisted of bread, meat, and ale, while wine was seldom used except at the after-supper. The two female reigns that followed had a powerful tendency still farther to moderate the appetites, as well as refine the tastes of table usages; so that the five meals were reduced to three, and a dignified stately decorum took the place of that shouting, jesting, and obstreperous mirth, as well as those mountains of salted beef and pork, of which they had so essentially consisted. For all this, indeed, the table of Elizabeth herself was an excellent model, where a dinner was served up as if it had been an act of worship, amidst kneeling pages, and guards, and high-born dames; while twelve trumpeters, and two kettle-drummers, atoned for the reverential silence of the bystanders. A nobleman's public dinner, therefore, during this reign, was something worth witnessing as well as partaking. When the guests assembled, rose-water and perfumery were handed round, in which they dipped their fingers, and perfumed their hands and handkerchiefs. After this dainty and decorous ablution, they were ushered into the dining hall according to their rank; where, besides the upper table for those of high degree, there were others for inferior guests and the chief officers of the household. These tables were now covered with tablecloths of costly materials and manufacture, and laden with dishes, no longer of wood or pewter, but of silver; while their dainties consisted of every variety that the season could produce, or wealth procure. There was the boar's head wreathed with rosemary; the dish of sucking pigs that had been fed on dates and muscadine, and were now dressed and served up with

interesting, and certainly it gives us very respectable ideas as to the comfortable requirements of the old London citizen or merchant—such a person we may very safely suppose to have been the tenant of the building represented. From the garden you ascend by five steps the inclosed terrace in front of the building; 'this has,' as Thorpe expresses, 'a terrace overhead;' a small porch leads into the great hall. The kitchen is on the right; the larder is the small square room leading out of it. The small room in front, on the same side as the kitchen, is the buttery, with cellar under, the small steps conducting down to it. Above the hall is the great chamber, the staircase leading to which opens into a gallery communicating to the rooms of the rest of the building. The square compartments at the back of the house, represented in the plan as 'staircase and larder,' are carried up above the roof as turrets;

a small prospect tower is placed in the front of the building."—C. J. Richardson, in the *Builder*.

¹ Such is the oft-repeated testimony of history; and if we can believe that he enjoyed the comfort of such a simple apartment as a refreshing contrast to the pomp of his public life—as monarchs have often done, and still do—the statement can easily be received. This, however, it is evident was not his state bed-chamber, which must have presented a very different aspect.

² The Kenilworth Inventory, drawn up A.D. 1584, exhibits the uttermost of grandeur and skill which the furniture of this period had attained under the royal favourite, Leicester, who was the most sumptuous as well as tasteful nobleman of his day. The list is too long for any attempt at quotation, but this is the less necessary, as the whole has been published in Sir Walter Scott's notes to the last edition of *Kenilworth*.

delicate puddings in their bellies; the substantial varieties of beef, mutton, and veal, and every kind of venison and fowl, wild or tame. Then, too, there were the confections, cakes, and puddings; the fruits, jellies, and preserves, most of which had been but recently introduced into England; and spices and sauces of every kind, with which every dish could be varied by each eater *ad infinitum*. The variety of wines matched that of the dishes; for ninety-two different kinds were at this time imported into England, to the amount of 30,000 tuns annually. One proof of the superior moderation to which the English had now attained, was the manner in which these wines were used at aristocratic banquets; for instead of flowing round the table without stint or measure, they usually stood upon a sideboard, and each guest called for a flagon of the kind he preferred. Not the least gay spectacle in such a revel must have been the rows of plumed and jewelled hats by which the tables were surrounded; for at this time, as well as long afterwards, every man, whether at church, theatre, or festival, kept his head covered, and only raised his hat to make a speech or return thanks for a compliment. In this way, a suggestion was gracefully propounded, or a health given and received at table. When the feast was ended, the plentiful remains were gathered and given to the poor, who, on these occasions, usually assembled at the rich man's gate.

The mutability of English male costume, hi-

The accompanying group will illustrate some of the fashions that prevailed in the reign of Henry VII. Instead of a hood, the head was now generally covered with a felt hat, cap, or bonnet, sur-



COSTUME, TIME OF HENRY VII.—From Royal MSS. 14. E. IV.

mounted with one or more ostrich feathers. A long coat or gown, with hanging sleeves, formed the outside covering, ornamented with a cape or collar of fur or velvet, and under it was a laced doublet, slashed at the elbow. Long hose were worn, of two or even more colours; while the shoes or slippers were broad at the toes, and were exchanged in riding for boots that reached to the knees. Sometimes the plumage of the hat was of extravagant height or profusion; and the neck was bared both from cloak and doublet, that the gold chains or collars with which it was adorned might be sufficiently conspicuous. Long hair was still in vogue, but both chin and upper lip were closely shaven. Our next illustration is literally, if not professionally, a gentleman of the long robe. He is



COSTUMES, TIME OF HENRY VII.¹

therto so remarkable in the eyes of strangers, had by no means abated during the present period.

evidently of some grave vocation, and therefore can dispense with the ornaments of slashed doublet, stomacher, embroidered shirt, and nodding plumage, of which his younger brethren were

¹ 1, From Royal MSS. 19. C. VII. 2 and 5, Harleian MSS. 4425. 3 and 4, Royal MSS. 20. D. 1111.

so profuse, while the rich fur, reaching from the collar to the skirts, gives evidence of his rank. Of the female dress during the reign of Henry VII., it was so complex and so varied, if we may believe the satirists of the period, that we can only notice one or two of its principal fea-

given place to hoods, that lay flat upon the head, and sometimes were prolonged over the back and shoulders, and ornamented with embroidery and jewels. Under these head-dresses little of the hair was seen, and what was visible was plainly braided. The square-cut body, short waist, and long skirt, with sleeves sometimes close, sometimes wide and hanging, by which the outer garment of the ladies was distinguished during this reign, will be recognized in the group we have selected.

During the latter part of the reign of Henry VII., and the early part of that of Henry VIII., the grave flowing skirts of the gentlemen disappeared, and gave place to hose fitted to the shape like pantaloons, either of one entire piece, or divided into two parts, called the upper and nether stock; while over the doublet was worn a short but full cloak, with arm-holes, and a broad fur or velvet

collar. As for the hats, caps, and bonnets, they were so varied in material, shape, and ornament, that it would be impossible to particularize them without the aid of the artist. The series of



FEMALE ATTIRE, TIME OF HENRY VII.—From Royal MSS. 16. F. 11.

tures. This, however, is the less to be regretted, as from the pictorial specimens it appears somewhat stiff and tasteless, and therefore less worthy of particular detail. The high head-dresses had



HATS AND CAPS, TIME OF HENRY VIII.—From ancient tapestries and other authorities.

examples given above will sufficiently illustrate the fact of this great diversity as regards general appearance, though of course it is impossible with simple woodcut illustrations to give any satisfactory idea of the materials employed, and the element of colour must be left entirely to the imagination. The greater number of these head-coverings are rather caps or bonnets than hats proper, being made of soft and often of very rich materials. In some of them feathers make a gallant show,

and from records of the time we find that the feathers so employed included those of the pheasant, while the fur of the ermine and beaver was also used by way of ornament. The reign of Henry VIII., indeed, was so distinguished by extravagance in rich attire of furs, velvets, and costly embroidery—an excess which the nobility had acquired at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and which those of inferior rank had eagerly adopted—that sumptuary laws had again to be enacted

to repress such ruinous expenditure.¹ But it was not the male sex alone who had improved | sionally appeared in public with her beautiful fair hair hanging in ringlets over her shoulders.



COSTUMES, TIME OF HENRY VIII.—Selected from Holbein's pictures.

in splendour of attire during the earlier and more | common with the other sex. Of the other parts

gorgeous part of this eventful reign. The ladies vied with, and if possible outshone the gentlemen in splendour of dress, while they equalled them in taste. The waist was now lengthened to more natural proportions, and the sleeves assumed a more becoming shape. The hood was still retained, and became very graceful in its forms. It was composed of the richest materials, and was often sumptuously adorned with embroidery and jewels. But this head-dress must have been sometimes dispensed with, as we find that Anne Boleyn occa-



FEMALE ATTIRE, TIME OF HENRY VIII.

From tapestry in possession of Mr. J. Adey Repton.

must have been sometimes dispensed with, as we find that Anne Boleyn occa- | of their costume, the names at least are still



COSTUMES, TIME OF EDWARD VI.—From contemporary portraits.

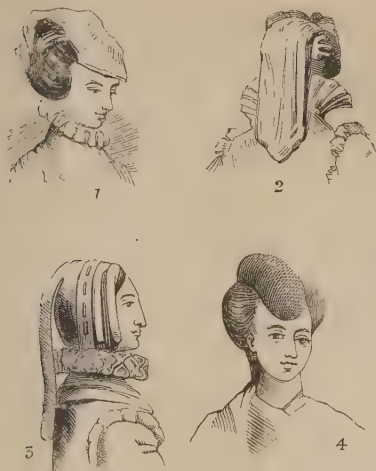
familiar to us, such as the cornet, the *bon grace*, and the cap of miniver; the partlet or ruff, the kirtle, and the stammel red petticoat.

When we advance to the reign of Elizabeth, we find that a new era had commenced in England; so that the changes which occurred in arts, arms, and government, extended themselves to every part of costume; and while new fashions were adopted, the old were swept away. Fortunately, however, while these changes in dress were so complex and numerous, the historians, dramatists, satirists, and painters, who were now

¹ See the costumes in the representation of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, vol. i. p. 756.

so abundant, were sufficiently ready to describe them; and thus her courtiers, statesmen, maids

of honour—every variety of the court, the camp, the market-place, and the village green, pass before us with such individuality that we feel as



HEAD-DRESSES, TIME OF ELIZABETH.¹

if we could tell how each looked, and walked, and dressed, as he performed his part in the great procession. This very profusion is more bewildering than the scantiness of the preceding periods, so that we are at a loss where to begin. Fortunately, however, with the exception of a few minute points, the subject may be left to the already-acquired information of the most ordinary reader, aided by the delineations of the artist. And first, as is fitting in a female reign, and one so illustrious in history, we shall give the preference of commencement to the female attire. To begin with the head—the caps, hats, and hoods were of great variety, some being called the “French hood;” others the “Mary Queen of Scots cap,” a head-dress the form of which is familiar to us from the many pictures of that unfortunate princess. As for the hair, it was now “curled, frizzled, and crisped,” says Stubbs, “and laid out in wreaths and borders from one ear to the other.” Sometimes we find it also combed straight up, and turned back over a cushion. But this was not enough; for as a taste for a different colour of hair continued to go on at this time, as the chief characteristic of fashion, ladies endeavoured to accommodate themselves to the whim of each day by artificial means. In this way, they not only dyed their hair, but wore false locks, or even entire perukes. Such was the case with Elizabeth herself, who

had wigs of several colours, so that at one period she wore black hair, and at another red. The same fashion was used by her beautiful rival, the Queen of Scots, who in her pictures is represented with the varieties of black, yellow, and auburn hair successively. But fair hair generally obtained the preference; and not only were artificial means used to procure this colour, but even fair-haired children were allured into by-places, and shorn of their locks, to furnish court periwigs for the ladies.² Next came the ruff of lawn or cambrie, which Elizabeth wore of such preposterous amplitude, that the difficulty was how to stiffen it; but this was obviated by sending to Holland for certain Dutch women, who were thoroughly skilled in the manufacture and use of starch. This material was now so much employed by the ladies of the court, that a snarling satirist did not scruple to term it an “underprop of the devil’s kingdom.” The next remarkable part of female dress that strikes the eye in the paintings of the period, is the long stiff boddice, descending apparently almost to the knees, crossed and re-crossed with laces, so that the wearer might be considered a captive in the closest of all prisons; while this stiffness was ornamented, if not relieved, by a profusion of embroidery and jewels. Standing out in balloon fashion from the boddice,



COSTUME, TIME OF ELIZABETH.
From Vertue’s print of Elizabeth’s visit to Hunsdon House.

came next the fardingale (the precursor of the hoop), which was introduced into England about

¹ 1 and 2, From a print by Boissard, dated 1582. 3, From the tomb of Sir Roger Morwood and Lady, St. Stephen’s Church, near Canterbury, 1592. 4, From Bulwer’s Pedigree of English Gallant, 1653.

² This freak of fashion will remind the classical reader of the taste that prevailed for fair hair during the earlier period of the Roman empire. As the young patrician officers had acquired a liking for the bright sunny locks of the North, during their

the middle of this reign. At this period, also, stockings of knitted silk, which were brought from abroad, were first used by Elizabeth, and from her they descended in quick transition to the ladies of the court. The shoes, that completed the costume, were made of English or Spanish leather, and sometimes of velvet embroidered with silk, or more commonly with gold and silver, in a variety of rich devices, and studded, moreover, with costly ornaments. The other articles, by which a fashionable lady's costume was completed, consisted of perfumed gloves, embroidered with gold and silver; a fan of ostrich or peacock's feathers and handle of gold; a small portable mirror, which she usually carried at her girdle when she



FAN WITH JEWELLED HANDLE.



STATE COACH, TIME OF ELIZABETH.—From Hofnagel's print of Nonsuch House.

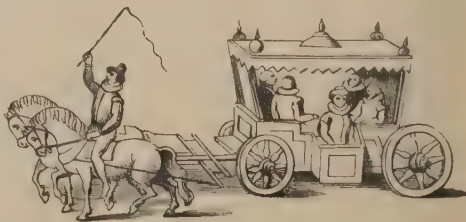
walked abroad, to rectify any disorder in her dress and ornaments; and a mask. This last article, which was used to preserve the complexion from sun, wind, and rain, was made of black velvet, and was so startling at its introduction, that many jeered at its grotesque appearance, while not a few were offended at the concealment which it favoured. To save the eyes, also, as well as the complexion, this mask was soon furnished with a pair of glass eyes, which, Stubbs informs us, glared full upon the beholder, like the saucer eyes of a devil. An array so rich and complicated, in such a variable climate as England, combined with the natural desire of displaying it, suggested a coach, and this appropriate vehicle was accordingly introduced into general use in Eng-

campaigns in Germany, the Roman ladies endeavoured to recal these deserters with similar allurements, not only by dyeing their hair into the fashionable hue, but by wearing perukes, the materials of which had originally graced the heads of female Dacian captives.

land. According to Stow, in his *Chronicle*, the first coach was not introduced into England until 1555, although such a conveyance had been used on the Continent nearly a century earlier. One of the earliest, built in 1564, was fortunately for Elizabeth herself, otherwise it might have been crushed in the bud; for, as Taylor, the water-poet, informs us, "a coach was a strange monster in those days, and the sight of it put both horse and man into amazement. Some said it was a great crab-shell brought out of China; and some imagined it to be one of the pagan temples in which cannibals adored the devil." Even in the following reign, when coaches had become pretty general in the metropolis, they were so odious to the populace, that they were stigmatized as "hell-carts," and sometimes thrown over into the mud by the enraged porters and carmen. The first coach appears to have been little better than the covered waggons and horse-litters in which ladies of the highest rank had hitherto travelled when they were unable to ride on horseback, as it was a heavy, clumsy-looking box without springs, lined

within and without with red cloth, fringed with silk of the same colour. Even at a funeral pace, such a car must have jolted so grievously in the rough streets and highways, as to have made a procession an act of penance; and therefore it is not wonderful if the Virgin Queen and her fair maidens were still to be found on horseback in the royal progresses.

As for the costume of the nobles and gallants of Queen Elizabeth's days, a volume would scarcely suffice to describe it. This, however,



ORDINARY COACH, TIME OF ELIZABETH.
From Hofnagel's print of Nonsuch House.

is the less to be regretted as it is so fully detailed by Shakspeare and his contemporaries, who, especially in comedy, draped their characters, of whatever country, in the clothing of England during the Elizabethan period. The head-covering, which, during the earlier part of her reign,

was of the same varied form that it exhibited during the period of Edward VI. and Mary, at length settled into the high, steeple-crowned hat, which afterwards prevailed for nearly a century, until it was wholly abandoned to the Puritans. These coverings, at first, were not only made of wool or beaver, but also of taffety, silk, and velvet. In the male costume, the ruff was almost as conspicuous as in the female, and nearly of the same amplitude; and, in the pictures of the day, forms a pleasing accompaniment to the beard and mustachios with which it is surmounted. Next came the doublet, which at first was fitted closely to the body; but the same inclination for long waists which prevailed among the ladies, was adopted by the gentlemen—accordingly, towards the close of this period, their doublets had descended so low as to give them the slimness without the nimbleness of the wasp. Either to break this monotony of length also, or to become more conformed in shape to the sex whom they sought to emulate, the breast was padded with stuffing, so that this garment at length obtained the name of the pease-cod-bellied doublet. The nether clothing, consisting of slops, breeches, or trunk-hose, was of various fashions, and adopted from different countries. Thus, there were what was called the Venetian hosen, reaching to the calf of the leg, and fastened by buttons or silken points; the French,

the knee. Over all this was a cloak, fashioned according to the cut of France, Spain, or Holland, and sometimes bordered with glass bugles. The stockings were ornamented at the ankles

COSTUMES, TIME OF ELIZABETH.¹

with clocks, while the feet were guarded by shoes of whatever colour the wearer fancied; or pantofles, that is, slippers without heels. In all this, we have given nothing more than the mere outline of a courtier or gentleman of the period of Elizabeth; the elaboration of ornament with which it was overlaid would be too difficult to describe. In an original portrait of Sir Walter Raleigh, he is represented in a white satin doublet, "all embroidered," says Aubrey, in his *Correspondence*, "with rich pearls, and a mighty rich chain of great pearls about his neck"—being

no doubt a dress which he wore on public occasions. The ropes and chains of pearl and gold round the hat or neck, the jewelled buttons, and fanciful devices of silken and golden embroidery, will be suggested by the remembrance of similar portraits of the great ones of the period. A noble thus arrayed, usually went forth with nothing more than a few attendants, and a page or favourite servant to carry his rapier; while his ancestor, only a century earlier, had perhaps been wont to appear in public with no fewer than 100 well-armed retainers. But now he had nothing to fear beyond an attack of St. Nicholas' clerks, if they dared to attack a man of such worship; or a ruffe with some political



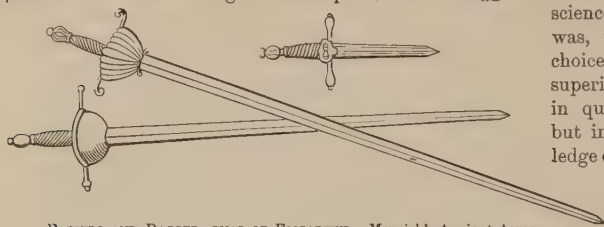
COSTUMES, TIME OF ELIZABETH.—1, From Isaac Oliver's portrait of Sir Philip Sidney. 2, From a figure by Gaspard Rutz. 3, From Strutt.

which were either wide and loose, or close and tight, ending below the knee in one or more rolls, called cannons; and Gallic hose, that were of large amplitude, but reached no farther than

rival, in which his own hand and weapon were

¹ 1, From Harding's Series of Historical Portraits. 2, From a print by Gaspard Rutz. 3, From Vertue's print of Elizabeth's progress to Hunsdon House. 4, From Titian. 5, From a painting by Mark Gerrard.

to be his chief sureties. In the costume of a nobleman or gentleman, towards the close of this period, we must not forget his weapons, which



RAPIERS AND DAGGER, TIME OF ELIZABETH.—Meyrick's Ancient Armour.

were a rapier and dagger, the former used for assault, and the latter for parry and defence. These weapons had now in a great measure superseded the broadsword and buckler, as well as the style of fence, which had chiefly depended upon mere strength; and, such was the recognized superiority of the rapier, that the skilful use of it now formed an important part of a finished education. The chief schools for this purpose were in Italy, whose people then, as now, were the most skilful fencers in Europe; and

sometimes Italians were invited to London, where they gave lessons in the practice of rapier and dagger. The consequence of this change in the science and weapons of single combat was, that he who had learned the choicest hits, was so confident in his superiority, as to be "sudden and quick in quarrel" with the less initiated; but in process of time, when a knowledge of these weapons was more widely diffused, the dangerous effects of a rapier-thrust made duellists more forbearing than ever.

Besides making sure of the advantage of superior skill, a quarrelsome person sometimes wore two rapiers in one sheath, which he could use in both hands at once with fatal dexterity; and sometimes he went forth with a weapon longer by an inch or two than that of any ordinary antagonist. At length, these rapiers increased so unfairly in longitude, and were productive of such mischievous consequences, that Elizabeth was obliged to interfere. Accordingly, discreet citizens were stationed at each city gate, who measured the rapiers of those who passed



1. ARMOUR FOR THE TOURNAIMENT, A.D. 1490.



3. FLUTED ARMOUR, TIME OF HENRY VII.¹



2. DEMI-LANCER'S ARMOUR, A.D. 1555.

3.

ly, and broke down to the standard of three feet every blade that exceeded it, by which the chances of quarrel were reduced to a wholesome uniformity, and the spirit of quarrel itself abated.

If this rapier-poking, as it was contemptuously called, was but a poor prosaic substitute for the chivalrous combats which it superseded, we shall do well to give a parting glance at the defensive

armour of the period. Our first specimen is a suit of tilting armour, which was generally heavier and more complete than even that used in actual battle. The helmet, which was now flat-topped instead of being rounded, was so completely guarded in front, that the wonder is how, in such

¹ 1 and 2, From the collection at Goodrich Court. 3, From the effigy in brass of Sir Thomas Peyton at Iselham, date 1488.

a close iron prison, the wearer could either see or breathe. One peculiarity of the foregoing specimen is, that the plates of the left arm are so ample, that in doubling it for the management of the bridle, they assumed the form and served the purposes of a shield. Such, we find from one of his effigies, was a favourite kind of defence in the armour worn by Warwick, "the king-maker," whose left-arm-brace, when so closed, formed a complete buckler. It was not singular if an angry disputant of this period should, like the Duke of Northumberland, offer to fight out his quarrel in his shirt,¹ rather than enjoy the protection of such a horse-load of harness. Neither would the matter have been greatly amended by substituting, for the panoply of chivalrous pageantry, that of hot battle and hand-to-hand struggle, more especially if the duels were to be maintained to the death. In this case, the bulging, rounded breastplate piece, the ridgy plate-work rising from arms and shoulders, the fluted form of the principal parts of the armour, the apron of chain-work, the voluminous defences of plate and mail behind, to make a dishonourable blow in that quarter impossible—all this must have given the wearer the stiffness and unwieldiness of movement, as well as the scaly appearance of a tortoise or armadillo. Upon such protections, even the heavy sword with which Sir Thomas Peyton is furnished could have made but little impression; and the work of the combatants must have been more like that of two smiths at the anvil, than the trial of two noble knights adjusting a punctilio of honour. Perhaps one of the wisest sayings of James I. was that in which he commended such unwieldy armour, as it prevented a man from doing any injury as well as from receiving any. In all these additions to the original load of armed knighthood, we perceive the multiplication of defences against gunpowder, until they were all found equally useless, and therefore thrown aside. This will be especially seen in the figure of a demi-lancer of the period, where the rounded corslet and ample cuisses are constructed more in reference to the bullet than sword or arrow, and where the armour descends only to the knee, to allow the wearer more freedom in walking.

In passing from the home-life of the peasantry and nobles to that of the middle classes, it is in the cities they are chiefly to be sought, and especially in London, the great type and exemplar of the mercantile towns of England. During the reign of Henry VIII., an active stir had commenced for the reparation of streets and highways in and about the metropolis; and the necessity for such improvement is fully evidenced by the words of the royal statute which was enacted for the pur-

pose. In granting permission to lay out a new road in the weald of Kent, that formed an important thoroughfare to London, we are told, that "many other common ways in the said weald of Kent be so deep and noyous, by wearing and course of water and other occasions, that people cannot have their carriages or passages by horses, upon or by the same, but to their great pains, peril, and jeopardy." Nor in approaching London was the case in several instances amended, for the suburban districts, as yet only villages separated from the city by fields, gardens, and a sprinkling of cottages, were connected with the city by a highway often left in grievous disrepair through the negligence of the inhabitants. Such was the case even with that great artery of London, now called the Strand, leading from London to what was then the village of Charing. Frequented though it was, and necessary for the comfort of the city, yet this highway in the time of Henry VIII. was described in the statute as "very noyous and foul, and many places thereof very jeopardous to all people passing and re-passing as well on horseback as on foot, both in winter and in summer, by night and by day." Holborn was little better, being described by the complaint of its inhabitants to the king, as so "noyous, and so full of sloughs and other incumbrances, that oftentimes many of your subjects riding through the said street and way, be in jeopardy of hurt, and have almost perished." But this work of paving appears to have gone on, by which miry highways were converted into comfortable streets; and, as a necessary consequence, village after village began to be absorbed into the metropolitan mass by that progress of London expansion which has been going onward to the present hour.

During the long reign of Elizabeth, London, as was to be expected, had a principal share in the increasing prosperity. This was manifested not only in its greater extension, but the filling up of many of those blanks by which streets and lanes had presented little more than a half-civic, half-rural character. But the extent to which it had attained during her reign can scarcely be distinctly understood, without a reference to the accompanying plan. Here we perceive, that the Strand was built on both sides with the mansions of the nobility, so that Westminster was joined to London. We also find Holborn gradually advancing onward towards St. Giles-in-the-Fields. In the same manner, while Aldersgate Street had made considerable progress, Goswell Street was but a country road, and Islington a village at some distance from town; and though Moorfields remain clear up to London wall, yet Bishopsgate has extended far beyond the walls towards Shoreditch and Houndsditch. Whitechapel is already

¹ See vol. ii. p. 41.

reached, and buildings are beginning to extend beyond the Tower as far as East Smithfield. Crossing London bridge, or passing by one of the numerous wherries with which the river is peopled, we find the beautiful church of St. Mary Overie already surrounded by houses; the bearing-garden and theatre at Bankside; and the High

Street extending to St. George's Church. But it is impossible to convey a clear idea of the extent of London at this period to any one unacquainted with the modern metropolis, unless he compares the plan here given with that of the London of the present day.

The stately temples with which London was



- | | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| a. Ludgate. | 4. St. Giles' Cripplegate. | 17. St. Towles (or St. Olaves). | 30. Savoy Palace. |
| b. Newgate. | 5. All-Hallows-in-the-Wall. | 18. Holborn Bridge. | 31. Somerset Place. |
| c. Aldersgate. | 6. St. Anthony. | 19. Fleet Bridge. | 32. Durham House. |
| d. Cripplegate. | 7. St. Andrew-under-Shaft. | 20. Strand Bridge. | 33. St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. |
| e. Moorgate. | 8. St. Botolph. | 21. Guildhall. | 34. Star Chamber. |
| f. Bishopsgate. | 9. St. Katherine. | 22. Bethlehem Hospital. | 35. Westminster Hall. |
| g. Aldgate. | 10. St. Thomas Apostle. | 23. Crosby Place. | 36. Parliament House. |
| h. Postern Gate. | 11. St. Mary Somerset. | 24. Billingsgate. | 37. Bull-baiting Ring. |
| k. Traitors' Gate. | 12. St. Dunstan. | 25. Queenhithe. | 38. Bear-baiting (afterwards
the Globe Theatre). |
| m. Temple Bar. | 13. St. Clement Danes. | 26. Baynard's Castle. | 39. The Tabard Inn. |
| 1. St. Paul's Church. | 14. St. Mary-le-Strand. | 27. Blackfriars Theatre. | 40. Marshalsea Prison. |
| 2. St. Andrew's. | 15. St. Bartholomew's Priory. | 28. Bridewell Palace. | 41. Hospital of St. Thomas. |
| 3. St. Martin's. | 16. St. Mary Overie. | 29. Old Bailey. | |

adorned at this period—the palaces of the nobles, especially on the banks of the Thames, with their gardens terminated at the river by a wharf, at which was anchored the family barge, and its fleet of attendant wherries—these, with Westminster Abbey, and Old St. Paul's Church, we must for the present pass by, to contemplate the condition of the middle classes, who had mainly created all this prosperity, and who were now rapidly becoming the chief estate, as well as principal strength of the realm.

On entering the streets, the visitor from the

country found himself all at once in a murky atmosphere, not merely from the cloudiness of sky over-head, but the architecture of the houses, where each successive story rose broader and broader, until the buildings on the opposite sides of the way almost closed upon each other at the top. These timber buildings are still to be seen, not only in the old towns of the Continent, but also in a few streets and lanes of our own cities that have resisted the march of modern improvement. It was not wonderful if, from the closeness of these houses and their smallness com-

pared with the number of the inmates, ventilation should have been impeded, and the pestilence a frequent visitor in our towns. This evil was further aggravated by the fixed windows, and want of chimneys in many of the dwellings, so that no healthy current could pass through, to arrest the coming of disease, or carry it away. These "walls of sticks and dirt," as they were contemptuously called by foreigners, were happily contrasted, however, with the cleanliness, the comfort, and even the elegance and luxury that were to be found within, especially in the houses of the wealthy merchants and substantial citizens. These men were now almost as rich as the nobility; and except that they did not attend court festivals, career in the tilt-yard, or wear the insignia of high rank and title, they saw no reason why their own style of housekeeping should greatly vary from that of the nobles themselves. This conclusion was manifested by the rich dresses they wore, the costly furniture with which their rooms were ornamented, and the plate that was piled upon their sideboards; the Turkey carpets that covered their chairs and tables, and the cloth of arras and silk that draped the walls of the principal apartments. While the master of such an establishment was pursuing his vocation at the mart, his wife and daughters, dressed in a style which vied with that of the court ladies, and equally desirous to exhibit their finery, usually took their stations at the windows or doors, to be seen of men, and bow to the kissing of hands that saluted them as their friends and admirers passed by. And when they went out in the evening to witness a play or public spectacle, or to walk for recreation, although they had no rapier-armed train of attendants, they still could command a formidable retinue of the 'prentices who lodged in the house, performed the duties of menials while learning their craft, and waited upon their masters and mistresses in these evening strolls, each furnished with a lantern or candle, as well as a stout club which he carried upon his shoulder.

In mentioning these 'prentices, we introduce, for the first time, to the reader, a comparatively new class in England, too numerous, important, and formidable, to be hastily dismissed. Even already they were the representatives of mercantile jealousy arrayed against aristocratic arrogance—of mercantile independence impatient of the restrictions of royalty, and ready, if need were, to give it battle and cast it off. From this period they are to be found in almost every London riot and revolt, until they were finally the conquerors at Marston Moor and Naseby. The London 'prentices, at this time, not only discharged the duties, but wore the dress of servitude, which was a little flat cap stuck upon the

crown of the head, a blue cloak in summer, and a blue coat or gown in winter; and a pair of round slops or breeches, with stockings of white broadcloth attached to them. Although they were generally the sons of substantial yeomen or tradesman, or even of a higher grade, and although the wearing of a rapier had now become general, yet this badge of a gentleman they were by no means permitted to assume. Still, being little disposed to be driven to the wall, they generally carried a stout bat or club; and as all



OLD HOUSES CALLED BUTCHER ROW, WHICH STOOD IN THE MIDDLE OF THE STRAND.—From a view by J. T. Smith.

those of a ward were united in sworn fellowship like a sodality of knighthood, while all the wards were combined like regiments into one army, they were able to retort with heavy interest the disdain of the courtiers, or even the violence of the martialists. This was not all; for they mingled with, or controlled every public commotion, so that, as soon as the uproar commenced, the warning cry of "'prentices! clubs!" was raised, and

"Up then rose the 'prentices all,
Dwelling in London, both proper and tall."

When not thus employed in active warfare, they were generally to be found in training for it; as a common sight in the streets, on summer evenings, was that of groups of them practising fence with "bucklers and wasters," before their master's doors.

While the houses of the merchants were so sumptuously furnished towards the close of this period, compared with what they had been in

former days, the style of living, in other respects, had undergone a correspondent improvement; and with greater wealth to spend, there was also full inclination to enjoy it. This natural result of the English character, which shone out so brightly in the "golden days," might have been predicted so early as the time of Alfred. The success of a merchant, therefore, and the yearly increase of his profits, could be best read upon his dining-table, which might scarcely be seen from the multitude of dishes with which it was covered. Besides those large well-dressed joints, which formed the pith and substance of good eating, and the dainties of fowl and venison by which they were followed, there were puddings composed of currants, which were imported so plentifully into England for the purpose, that the astonished Greeks, who shipped them, imagined that they were going to be used for dyeing cloth or fattening swine; and cakes of the finest flour and choicest sugar, and foreign spices; and dainty fruits, still of great rarity, such as quinces, pomegranates, and oranges, which were eaten in slices with sugar; and the more common accompaniments of apples, pears, strawberries, and other such home produce; and dried fruits, such as prunes, raisins, dates, and nuts; and opaque marmalades, and transparent jellies of every form and hue. But here we must adopt the quaint language of Stow, who exclaims, upon a similar occasion, "To describe to you the order, the dishes, the subtleties, and strange devices of the same, I lack both a head of fine wit, and also cunning in my bowels, to declare these wonderful devices." England, indeed, was then, as it ever had been, a land of good eating; and in the preparation of its great national dish, "the old English roast beef," its cookery was unrivalled. But here, again, lay the essential national difference between France and England. While the cooks of the latter country required choice good articles for their skill, without which it was nought, those of the former could all but *create* the articles out of which a plentiful banquet was to be made. Thus it was with the cook of Marshal Strozzi at this very period, who made an honest man eat, at unawares, a good portion of his own mule, transformed into excellent venison; and who, at the capitulation of Leith, regaled the victors with forty-five different dishes made out of the hind-quarter of a salted horse, being all the provisions that remained in the garrison. At the rich London citizen's dinner, while the edibles to which we have referred were so choice and various, the wines were of equal variety and goodness, and those which, as yet, were too acid or bitter for the unsophisticated taste of the people, were sweetened with sugar, and sometimes with the addition of lemon and spices. It

is grievous to add, that a frequent sequel to such a banquet, at the close of this period, was tobacco. This importation of Sir Walter Raleigh into England quickly grew into such favour, that, from Queen Elizabeth and the ladies of the court, the practice of smoking descended through all ranks until it rested with the utterly penniless, who, like Captain Bobadil, could console themselves for the want of a dinner by a whiff of Trinidada. Men, therefore—and ladies too, it is to be feared—usually carried about with them the necessary apparatus, which consisted of a tobacco-box containing tobacco that was supposed best fitted for use when it had been dried into tinder; a priming-iron, ladle, and tongs, which were made of silver and sometimes of gold; and thus furnished, nothing was wanting but pipes, which the master of the feast was sure to have ready in abundance. But the hourly demand which a love of tobacco creates, was not to be satisfied with mere formal opportunities of indulgence, and therefore, in an incredibly short space, tobacco ordinaries were to be found in every street, to which craving epicures might retire, amidst the bustle of their wonted occupations, and recruit themselves by a half-hour's indulgence in their favourite luxury. We regret to add that the ladies of England at this period, beautiful though they were, were distinguished, in London, at least, by the blackness and rottenness of their teeth, at which incongruous defect foreign visitors were not a little puzzled. But perhaps the immoderate use of sugar and tobacco, to which these ladies were addicted, might account for this peculiarity.

The out-door sports of England have been already sufficiently mentioned. While those that were strictly national continued to be practised in all their original simplicity, those which were of later origin continued from one reign to another, notwithstanding the prohibitions for their suppression, in favour of archery practice among the yeomanry. These laws, in the time of Henry VIII. especially, bore hard on public gaming-houses, bowling-greens, tennis, and quoits, against which, however, his commands were as powerless as that of Canute against the resistless advance of the ocean. As for tilts and tournaments, with their glorious stir of chivalrous enthusiasm and broken bones, these had almost wholly disappeared during the reign of Elizabeth, and given place to the trivial though graceful sport of riding at the ring—a sport that, with the use of the horseman's lance, which it was intended to perfect, also passed away, at the coming of new forms of warfare. Nothing remained instead but hunting, which was pursued in a variety of ways, sometimes with horse and hound, and sometimes on foot. In the latter case, the game that could

not be run down was to be entrapped, in which case, the hunter approached it under cover of a stalking-horse, that is, the figure of a horse, cow, or stag made of canvas, which he carried before him, and from behind which he could approach and bring down his unsuspecting victim with bow or arquebuse, which was used indifferently on these occasions. Hawking had also been a princely sport in England, as in other countries, for centuries; but as it likewise entailed a princely expense, which was now alienated into the new style of living that had succeeded, the game was abandoned, and the mews, which had formed an essential portion of every great mansion, were shut up or converted into coach-houses, by the close of the present period. Fowling of course became more common as a cheap substitute, and this was prosecuted not only with the light gun, called a birding-piece, but also with net, and pipe-call, and other modes of enticement. But a still more exciting active sport was that of horse-racing, which had at last become national, and from which the improvement of English horses may be dated, the breeds hitherto in use having been of very inferior quality, whether for war, hunting, or travel. The example of giving a public prize for victory in the horse-race was first set

in the reign of Elizabeth, by the saddlers of Chester, and an example so contagious quickly became general over the kingdom. The other outdoor sports of England at this period were essentially of a cruel and brutalizing character. These were cock-fighting, in which the creatures either destroyed each other, or were tied to the ground and shied at with cudgels, until they were killed by a lucky throw; an ape-chase, in which a poor monkey was strapped to a horse, and galloped hither and thither, while the spectators enjoyed the uncouth terrors both of steed and rider; bull-baiting, and bear-baiting. This

last amusement especially became so fashionable in England, that the forests of the North were now as carefully ransacked for strong bears, as formerly they had been for high-soaring falcons; and in her royal progresses, Elizabeth and her maidens were often regaled at the mansions of the nobles with a tournament of bear-baiting, which they enjoyed with keen relish. Such was the case in that famous visit which the queen made to the castle of Kenilworth, when thirteen bears were baited for her amusement. "It was

a sport very pleasant of these beasts," says the lively gossiping Laneham, who witnessed the exhibition, "to see the bear with his pinkey eyes leering after his enemy's approach; the nimbleness and wait of the dog to take his advantage, and the force and experience of the bear again, to avoid the assaults: if he were bitten in one place, how he would pinch in another to get free: but if he were taken once, then what shift with biting, with clawing, with roaring, tossing, and tumbling, he would work to wind himself from them; and when he was loose, to shake his ears twice or thrice, with the blood and slaver about his physiognomy, was a matter of goodly relief." It was not thus, however, that the bear was always allowed a fair field, with mastiffs for his antagonists; for sometimes he was hood-winked, and surrounded by men with whips, who lashed him unmercifully, while the sport consisted in witnessing the blundering attempts of the poor blinded creature to escape his tormentors, by stumbling hither and thither, and making vain snatches at their weapons. In this way, bear-baiting was converted into a game of blind-man's-buff. These sports were not confined to the country, but introduced into London, where they formed an important part of civic recreation, so



THE BEAR GARDEN, SOUTHWARK.—Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata*.

that while bulls were baited in the vacant places of the streets, large buildings were erected for bear-baiting and cock-fighting, and a flag hoisted over the door or roof, warned the eager public of the hour when the exhibition was to commence. Another public amusement, in which the English were distinguished above every other people, was the ringing of bells, which they reduced to a science; and nothing more astonished foreign visitors, than to see the eagerness with which a party of revellers would hurry from the tavern

to the church, and commence a vigorous chorus of bell-ringing, which they kept up for hours without intermission.

Among the in-door sports of the English at this period, those of the court hold the most conspicuous place; and during the reign of Henry VIII., and his minister Wolsey, these palace exhibitions had attained the height of regal magnificence. Still, however, there was a coarseness and barbarism about them, which two successive female reigns could not wholly eradicate. They chiefly consisted of masks, pageants, banquetings, interludes, and allegorical plays—and the whole, gathered into one brilliant constellation to welcome and dazzle the most honoured of royal visitors, are still as bright and intelligible as ever in the mirror-like pages of Sir Walter Scott's *Kenilworth*. Dancing, the amusement of all nations and ranks, was not likely to be neglected during a female reign, and of all queens, such a one as Elizabeth, who danced "high and disposedly," and rewarded the best dancer of her court with the chancellorship. Her beautiful rival, Mary Stuart, who danced as well, perhaps even better, had no such favourable opportunities for its display in the sombre halls of Holyrood, and among her stern gray-bearded Presbyterian barons, as Elizabeth had in the palace of Greenwich, among the kneeling and admiring nobles, and therefore the question of the latter to Melville, as to which was the better dancer of the two, sounded grievously like cruel mockery and insult. The chief style of court dancing at this time, seems to have consisted of grave stately movements; and the *pavo* or peacock, which was the favourite dance, appears to have been so called, from its imitating the march, attitudes, and display of that proud bird of beauty. It need not surprise us to learn, that under the reign of such a sovereign as Elizabeth, and with such graceful accomplished courtiers as the Earls of Leicester and Essex, Sir Christopher Hatton and Sir Walter Raleigh, the English dancing was renowned over the whole Continent. Downward through every gradation of rank, from the palace to the village hut or green, went the practice of dancing in all its manifold forms; but while some of these were sufficiently innocent and healthful, others were as certainly indecorous and immoral, and hence the loud outcry that condemned the whole practice, both from the Puritans of England and the Presbyterians of Scotland. Next to dancing, the games of skill and chance come to be mentioned among the in-door amusements; and foremost of these was card-playing, which was equally practised by prince and peasant. In Elizabeth's time, the games seem to have been as various among card-players as they are at present, and equally calculated to

draw forth the utmost skill, and occasion the most ruinous losses; so that, while a man might peril his soul, like Falstaff, by "forswearing himself at primero," he might be cleaned out at gleek, new-cut, bankerout, lodam, noddly, lavalta, prime, trump, and such forms, of which little is now known but the names. Next to cards was backgammon, which was now refined into a sober intellectual amusement, and adopted as a favourite among the studious. Other house games, which had long prevailed in England, were now about to recede before the superior attractions of backgammon and cards, and to which we can only afford a parting notice. These were:—*Merelles*, or nine men's morris, a game honoured by the mention of Shakspeare,¹ and which was played upon a smooth board, divided into nine compartments, at which a counter was jerked, while the aim was to throw it into the one that numbered highest. In the country, where this game was frequently played in the open air, the sod sufficed for a board, and the compartments were made by nine holes dug in the turf. In Scotland, where many of the old Anglo-Saxon sports common to both countries are still retained, there exists in some rural districts the game of nine-holes, which is played by school-boys in the same fashion. The games of shovel-board and shove-groat were improvements upon the *merelles*: the table, often of the finest wood, was divided into the same number of compartments, and a groat or silver penny, impelled by a dexterous jerk of the palm, was sent in quest of a lucky number. Higher still than these, was the game of draughts, usually called tables, and probably derived from the more difficult one of chess. As for the different modes of dicing, these depended upon the caprice of the moment, or the games to which they were auxiliary, and therefore need no description. The dice, however, were not only thrown by hand, as at present, but also by a machine contrived for the purpose. This was a box or funnel, into which unmarked dice were dropped, while a round board beneath, that turned upon a pivot, and was marked with the different numbers, received them upon one or other figure as they fell. Perhaps it is unnecessary to add, that besides taverns, eating-houses, smoking ordinaries, and other such places of public entertainment, gaming-houses had now multiplied to a great amount over the whole extent of London.

Besides these general sports and amusements, there were days set apart for festive observances, in which all classes threw aside their cares, and

¹ "The nine men's morris is filled up with mud;
And the quaint mazes in the wanton green,
For lack of tread are undistinguishable."

—*Midsummer Night's Dream*, act ii. scene 1.

agreed to eat, drink, and be merry. The first of these which we would particularize was the 1st of May. The celebration of this most gladsome of months was commenced so early as midnight of the last day of April; and as soon as the twelfth hour had struck, every parish, village, and town was alive with unwonted bustle, and its inhabitants, male and female, betook themselves to the fields and forests, accompanied with a band of music, where they spent the hours in merriment until morning had dawned, at which time they returned to their homes, carrying with them the branches of trees, and heaps of wild flowers, with which they erected arbours, and held a feast to welcome the coming of summer. But the chief object of their search was



MAYPOLE AT ST. BREVELS, Forest of Dean.
From a sketch by J. Brown.

a tall straight tree for a may-pole; and having selected one suitable for the occasion, it was cut down, and conveyed to the town or village,

sometimes by twenty or even forty yoke of oxen, while each ox had its horns wreathed with flowers. The pole was then set up in the widest opening of the street; the people danced round it during the greater part of the day, and afterwards it remained untouched during the rest of the year. As London of course deserved the stateliest of may-poles, that which was erected at the north-west corner of Aldgate Street, and opposite St. Andrew's Church, was higher than the steeple itself, and hence the church was called St. Andrew-under-Shaft. An evil destination, however, awaited this pole, for, in 1517, the London 'prentices raised such a desperate insurrection against the foreign dealers and artisans, whom they meant utterly to extirpate, that, after the uproar was quelled, and the gallows had done its work, the towering pole was levelled, and laid under the pent-house-lids of a row of houses in Alleygate, thenceforth called Shaft Alley, while the May festival of this year was called "evil May-day." During the reign of Elizabeth, the Puritan spirit regarded these flower-wreathed may-poles, and the dances round them, as an abomination equal to the idolatry of the golden calf, but was unable to effect their suppression until the time of the Commonwealth; when, by a decree of parliament, in 1644, every may-pole in England and Wales was ordered to be taken down, and none to be afterwards erected. Another May game that was dear to the people, was the play of Robin Hood—this patriot, robber, and outlaw having, by universal consent, been commemorated as king of good fellows, and lord of the May. On this occasion, the fitting characters for the pageant were elected; and besides Robin himself, his fair mate, Maid Marian, who was lady of the May, Friar Tuck, his chaplain, Little John, his lieutenant, and a band of Sherwood archers, in Lincoln green, figured in the play. Besides these appropriate characters, the pageant was heightened by the dragon and hobby-horse, that crawled or pranced hither and thither, and a band of morris-dancers, who capered in gay or antic attire, and with small bells, toned according to the scale, fastened to their elbows, knees, and ankles.¹

Among the other seasons of festive obser-

¹ How much this festival of Robin Hood was opposed to the Reformation, and in what light it was regarded by the Reformers, may be learned by the following extract from one of Latimer's sermons, preached before Edward VI. :—"I came once myself riding on a journey homeward from London, and I sent word over night into the town that I would preach there in the morning, because it was holiday, and methought it was a holiday's work. The church stood in my way, and I took my horse, and my company, and went thither, and when I came there the church door was fast locked. I tarried there half-an-hour and more. At last the key was found, and one of the parish comes to me and said, 'Sir, this is a busy day with us, we cannot hear you; it is Robin Hood's Day: the parish are gone abroad to gather for Robin Hood; I pray you let them not.' I was fain

there to give place to Robin Hood. I thought my rocket would have been regarded, though I were not: but it would not serve, it was fain to give place to Robin Hood's men. It is no laughing matter, my friends; it is a weeping matter, a heavy matter, a heavy matter. Under the pretence for gathering for Robin Hood, a traitor and a thief, to put out a preacher; to have his office less esteemed; to prefer Robin Hood before the ministration of God's Word; and all this hath come of unpreaching prelates. This realm hath been ill provided for, that it hath had such corrupt judgments in it, to prefer Robin Hood to God's Word."

This play or pageant of Robin Hood, instead of being confined to England, was also a favourite in Scotland, and was as distasteful to John Knox as to his friend Latimer. On this account

vance, may be mentioned St. Valentine's Day, the usages of which are too well known to require particular detail. The chief amusement upon that occasion was the lottery of love, in which prizes or blanks were drawn amidst much repartee and laughter, and the pairing of true love-mates effected that was to hold for the rest of the season—other circumstances permitting. New Year's Day was also a joyous occasion, and deemed of such importance, that it was always ushered in with the ringing of bells from an early hour in the morning. During the day, presents were interchanged between persons of all ranks; and when evening arrived, the mighty wassail bowl was prepared, and carried from door to door with shouting, singing, and merriment, generally by the young women of the village; and at each halt, the inmate of the dwelling came out, drank a *wass hael* to the fair visitors, and bestowed on them a small present in return. This was but a prelude to the replenishing of the bowl in the evening, to be emptied round the household hearth; and on this happy occasion, it was expected that all unkind feelings should be buried, and new friendships cemented. Besides the day of St. Valentine, there were other saints' days observed by our British ancestors, either throughout the island at large, or by separate portions of its population. Thus, there was St. David's Day, which was held on the 1st of March, and by the Welsh, who claimed David as the tutelary saint of their principality. On this day they were wont to wear a leek in their hats or caps, and for this, various reasons have been assigned by the old chroniclers, none of which, however, is satisfactory. Every reader of Shakspeare can recollect, as if he had seen with his own eyes, Fluellin, with his leek, at the battle of Agincourt, and how he made Ancient Pistol swallow it some days after, when it had become old and stale. The leek still continues to be worn on St. David's Day by every Welshman, generally, however, made of tinfoil or silver, and sometimes ornamented with jewellery. Another national saint, whose day was commemorated on the 17th of March, was St. Patrick of Ireland, and his badge, worn on this occasion by the Irish, was a

a riot occurred in Edinburgh in 1561. Four years before that date, an act had been issued by the reforming Scottish parliament against the holding of "Robert Hood nor Little John, Abbot of Unreason, Queens of May, nor otherwise, neither in burgh nor to landward, in any time to come;" but the act had been trespassed during the above-mentioned year, and a riot ensued for the rescue of the trespassers, during which the gallows itself was broken down, and the offenders set free. Notwithstanding these edicts of the Scottish parliament, the prescribed festival was in such high favour in Scotland, that even to the end of the century, the general assembly complained of the excesses that were occasioned by "the making of Robin Hood."

shamrock, a plant with which he is said to have illustrated the doctrine of the Trinity, when he converted their countrymen to Christianity. As great numbers of the Irish had emigrated to England, and settled in Pembrokeshire, during the reign of Henry VIII., they introduced, not only their wonted riotous observance of this day, but the national beverage with which it was commemorated, by the distillation of whiskey, then first known in England, but which soon had a considerable sale over the whole kingdom. The day of St. George, or the 23d of April, was, as might be expected, a season of solemn observance among the English, and especially during that period when chivalry had obtained full ascendancy. St. Andrew's Day (the 30th of November) was the great period of religious festival among the Scots, whether in their own country and England, or among those nations into which their early love of wandering had carried them.

But besides these days that were devoted to the celestial guardians of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, the English had other saints' days, which they signalized with peculiar observances. Thus, there was St. Michael's Day, or Michaelmas, held, as is well known, on the 29th of September. Why this day of all others was consecrated to the prince of the archangels, and why its chief observance was the eating of a goose, are questions that cannot be answered. Some think, that when tidings arrived of the destruction of the Spanish Armada, Queen Elizabeth, on this 29th of September, was casually dining upon a goose, and that the practice from that period became a national and patriotic custom. Others allege, that the practice was observed at a much earlier period, and originated in an old Lancashire usage of the farmers eating a roasted goose on that day, probably because the animal, at such a season, was in its best condition. On the 26th of December occurred the festival of St. Stephen, on which day, farmers were wont to have their horses examined and bled by the horse-doctors. Another practice on this occasion was, to have a procession in honour of the wren, which has been kept up in many parts of England to the present day. It is perhaps unnecessary to add, that whatever might be the change of ceremonies on these occasions, they were all connected with the invariable accompaniments of eating, drinking, and merry-making.

After this transient mention of the set times for honouring St. Stephen and Michael the Archangel, we must not forget Midsummer Eve, or the "Eve of Good St. John," as it was affectionately termed in England, and sometimes the "Feast of John the Baptist." The rites with

which it was celebrated remind us of the advice given by Pope Gregory to St. Augustine, which was in full accordance with the spirit and policy of Popery at large. This was, not to abrogate the heathen festivals of the people, but rather to turn them from a profane to a sacred use, by consecrating them to the honour of the Christian saints. In this way, a day devoted to the Phœnician or Druidical worship of fire, and Baal its lord, in all probability was transferred, with its rites and ceremonies untouched, to the guardianship of the blessed precursor of Christianity. Upon the arrival of this vigil of St. John, the inhabitants of the towns and villages of England, men, women, and children, used to repair to make merry round a huge bonfire kindled in some convenient spot; and the chief sport of the young men on this occasion was, to leap rapidly over or through the flame, and with such dexterity as to escape a scorching. Was this a lingering memorial of that "passing through the fire" so connected with the idolatry of the Canaanitish nations? The other sports of the young and active on these occasions were dancing, wrestling, and running races. It was in London, however, that the full blaze of a "Midsummer Eve" was the most resplendent. Not only were large bonfires kindled in the open places of the city, but the streets were further illuminated with glass lamps, while the doors of the houses were shaded with branches of green birch and orpin, long fennel, and St. John's rush, called at that period "Midsummer men." But the chief ceremonial in the metropolis was "setting the watch," by which the city was to be protected by night during the whole year; and an affair of such importance was conducted not only with solemn religious ceremonial, but also with all the splendour of a great national festival. On this occasion, the lord-mayor and the civic officers, the city minstrels and waits, the morris-dancers and henchmen, formed the head of the procession; while 940 blazing cressets, each cresset having a man to carry and another to trim it, composed a flaming river of light, under which the bonfires themselves, as the procession passed them, must have turned pale. The watch itself, to which the guardianship of each part of the city was to be consigned, was not the least brilliant part of this gorgeous array; for it consisted of 2000 men, part of them "demilances" mounted on powerful war-horses, part of them footmen equipped with the weapons of this transition period, and forming a connecting link between the ancient and modern warfare. Thus, there were troops of musketeers armed with arquebuse and wheel-lock; archers in white coats with their bows bent, and a sheaf of arrows at their sides; billmen with their long

heavy brown weapons, and their bodies protected by loose frocks of chain armour; and pikemen wearing smartly-polished corslets. Then, too, there were the constables of the night watch clothed in harness of shining steel, and each wearing a gold chain over his scarf of bright scarlet. Still, this march, however warlike and important, would have been insufficient as a London procession, without the Dagons of civic idolatry; and therefore, high over not only every honoured head, but every banner and cresset, towered the gigantic images of Gog and Magog, that were brought out from their shrines for the occasion, and borne gallantly along by their staggering but zealous supporters. Such was the mode of setting the watch in London during the present period of our history. The practice had been instituted by Henry III. in consequence of the prevalence of street conflicts and robberies, and it had been appointed not only for London, but all the cities and borough towns throughout the realm. But in 1539, Henry VIII. put down the watch, upon the plea of its costliness; and to make amends for the suppression, he exercised such a vigorous guardianship over the public safety, that, according to Harrison, 72,000 great thieves, petty thieves, and rogues, were hanged during his reign. Many attempts were made to revive the practice, but unsuccessfully, except in 1548, when the watch was set on St. John's Eve, during the mayoralty of Sir John Gresham. But this was the last gleam in the socket, after which the streets of London were doomed to perennial darkness, and a "substantial standing watch for the safety and preservation of the city," was appointed in 1569. London was indeed a city of midnight darkness, not only up to the close of this period, but long afterwards; and although lights and lanterns were ordered to be hung out at house-windows or doors, betwixt All-Hallows and Candlemas, while the watchman bawled himself hoarse with the regular cry of his round, "Hang out your lights!" the duty was easily evaded, and therefore generally neglected. In the reign of Queen Mary, a sagacious mayor endeavoured to enforce the regular call of the watchman by furnishing him with a bell, which continued to be rung till the time of the Commonwealth; and thus, the night patrol of Shakspeare's days could admonish the sleeping citizens about their darkened premises, both by shout and knell. Besides these sounds of city guardianship, none other was to be heard, for by the "Statutes of the Streets," enacted in the time of Elizabeth, no man was to blow any horn during the night, or to whistle after nine o'clock, on pain of imprisonment; nor to make any sudden outcry in the still of the night, like one making any affray—nor even "to occasion any

noise by beating his wife!" How these rules were observed, and how order was kept under such a regimen, the houses of the rich burghers that were untiled, the purses that disappeared, and the "peaceable watchmen" who followed

Dogberry's advice about shunning a knave and comforting themselves with a nap, can best inform us.

The heathenism, both of Phœnician and Teutonic origin, which adhered to the observance of



GOG AND MAGOG.¹—Drawn by T. S. Boys from the originals at Guildhall.

saints' days in England, was still more conspicuous in those important seasons which were set apart for the commemoration of man's redemption. And, first of all, was the celebration of Easter. Even the name has anything but a Christian aspect, and was probably derived from the goddess Eastor, whom the Saxons worshipped, and who is supposed to have been the same with the ancient Eastern goddess Astarte. A week before the arrival of Easter, a common custom in England was to bring a twisted tree, or *withe*, into the king's palace, and the mansions

of the nobility and gentry, with noisy congratulations and rejoicings. Then came Palm Sunday, in which the people commemorated Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem by walking with palm branches in their hands, or, at least, with such substitutes as the foliage of England afforded. Maundy Thursday, the day before Good Friday, followed, in which Christ's humility in washing the feet of his disciples was commemorated. It had long been the practice of the proudest sovereigns and princes of Christendom to imitate, or at least to ape, this Divine

¹ In a rare old book, entitled, the *Gigantic History of the two famous Giants in Guildhall*, it is affirmed that Gog and Magog are corrupted names, and that their original titles were Corinaeus and Gogmagog. The first of these names figures in the traditional history of Britain, as one of the Trojan followers of Brutus in his conquest of Albion. The second is said to have been the leader in an earlier raid of the giants of the race of Cham, who overthrew the kingdom of Samothec, son of Meshech. (The reader will find another version of the tradition in vol. i. p. 3.) Perhaps, for brevity's sake, the more classic name was dropped, and that of Gogmagog divided between the two gigantic warders of Guildhall. There appear to have been several reproductions of these figures, and those of an earlier period are said to have been framed of wickerwork. Hatfield, in his *New View of London* (1708), speaking of the restoration of Guildhall in 1669, after the great fire of 1666, says that it was adorned with two new images as before. They next appear in history on the 24th day

of April, 1685, as taking part in "an high entertainment of wonderful and stupendous fireworks, in honour of the coronation of James II. and his queen, being placed on a raft on the river opposite Whitehall, in front of a huge pyramid of fireworks, the display of which lasted an hour." The present images are the work of a certain Captain Richard Saunders, who dwelt in King Street, Cheapside, and was an eminent carver. They were set up in Guildhall about 1708. They stood originally on a balcony on the north side of the hall. The figure on the right leans on a shield, on which is emblazoned a black eagle, on a field *or*, and bears a long weapon, the langbard of the Germans, used in guarding the halls of the great in ancient times. These particulars would denote that it is intended to represent the Saxon dominion in England. The other has a sword by his side and a bow and quiver at his back, in his right hand he holds a long pole, with a spiked ball suspended from the top, and is conceived to represent an ancient Briton.

example; and this they did by kneeling before twelve mendicants, whose feet they washed in open court, and whom they afterwards kissed with brotherly condescension, and dismissed with presents. Sometimes, however, to render this loathly office more tolerable, the feet of the paupers were previously purified, and the water with which they were laved by the dainty hands of royalty was sweetened with perfumes. The day itself was called Maundy in England, in consequence of the *maund*, or basket, in which the alms and gifts were carried for distribution, after the washing was finished. Sometimes, instead of being limited to twelve, the number of Christ's disciples, the paupers were as numerous as the years in which the master of the ceremony had lived. The evening before Easter, called "Holy Saturday," was a night of vigil; and when twelve o'clock struck the triumphant cry was raised, which is still heard in the Greek church, "He is risen!" and the sun, at rising, was anxiously watched, as it was supposed that on this occasion its rise was accompanied with a joyful dancing motion in honour of Christ's resurrection. Easter or pasche eggs were prepared for the festival, by being boiled hard and tinged into every colour, which the people presented to each other as congratulatory gifts of the season. On Easter Day, also, the courts of law were opened, probably for the purpose of imparting to their proceedings the sanctions of religious consecration. The Easter holidays were generally celebrated by games at hand-ball for tansy cakes, dancing, and other amusements. In London and at Greenwich, Easter Monday was a joyous day for the citizens, as it was then that the annual hunt in Epping Forest was held. Another amusement, practised during these holidays, called *heaving*, consisted in the female servants of a house placing the master, or gentleman present, in an arm-chair decorated with ribbons, then lifting and turning it round, after which process the sitter received a salute from each, and bestowed a trifling present in return. On the Tuesday that followed the second Sunday after Easter Day, was the festival of Hock-Tuesday, also called Binding-day, because on this occasion people were wont to bind each other in sport, but chiefly the women the men, thus commemorating, it was said, the deliverance of England from the Danes at the death of Hardicanute. As such days could not pass without correspondent jollity, the Easter-ales were held in the church-yard, where opened casks were nearly as abundant as tombstones, and where the swilling villagers and townsfolks, who repaired to these strange revels, paid a large price for their good cheer, which was devoted "to pious uses." Such were the "fancy fairs" and "charity sales" of the sixteenth century. As

the clergy found these church-ales so profitable, and this mode of opening the hearts and purses of men so easy, they had also their Whitsun-ales, which were of the same description as those of Easter.

But of all the holidays and saints' days with which the calendar was crowded, none were to be compared to the festival of Christmas, which the English celebrated in a manner different, in many respects, from every other Christian people, combining in it all the freedom of the Roman Saturnalia, and the wild festivals of Thor and Odin, with the sanctions and religious observances of the Christian church. What, indeed, could be expected, from the following note of preparation?—

"First, all the wild heads of the parish, conventing together, choose them a grand captain (of mischief), whom they ennoble with the title of my Lord of Misrule, and him they crown with great solemnity, and adopt for their king. This king anointed chooseth for him twenty, forty, threescore, or a hundred lusty-guts like to himself, to wait upon his lordly majesty, and to guard his noble person. Then, every one of these his men he investeth with his liveries of green, yellow, or some other wanton colour. And, as though that were not gaudy enough, they bedeck themselves with scarfs, ribbons, and laces, hanged all over with gold rings, precious stones, and other jewels; this done, they tie about either leg twenty or forty bells, with rich handkerchiefs in their hands, and sometimes laid across over their shoulders and necks, borrowed, for the most part, of their pretty Mopsies and loving Bessies, for kissing them in the dark. Thus, all things set in order, then have they their hobby-horses, dragons, and other antics, together with their bawdy pipers and thundering drummers, to strike up the devil's dance withal; then march these heathen company towards the church and church-yard, their pipers piping, their drummers thundering, their stumps dancing, their bells jingling, their handkerchiefs swinging about their heads like madmen, their hobby-horses and other monsters skirmishing amongst the throng; and in this sort they go to the church (though the minister be at prayer or preaching), dancing, and swinging their handkerchiefs over their heads in the church like devils incarnate, with such a confused noise that no man can hear his own voice. Then the foolish people, they look, they stare, they laugh, they flee, and mount upon forms and pews to see these goodly pageants solemnized in this sort. Then, after this, about the church they go again and again, and so forth into the church-yard, where they have commonly their summer halls, their bowers, arbours, and banqueting-houses set up, wherein they feast, banquet, and dance all

that day, and peradventure all that night too. And thus these terrestrial furies spend the Sabbath-day. Then, for the further ennobling of this honourable lurdan (lord, I should say), they have also certain papers, wherein is painted some babblery, or other of imagery work, and these they call my Lord of Misrule's badges; these they give to every one that will give money for them, to maintain them in this their heathenry, devilry, drunkenness, pride, and what not. And who will not show himself buxom to them, and give them money for these the devil's cognizances, they shall be mocked and flouted at shamefully; yea, many times carried upon a coulstaff, and dived over head and ears in water, or otherwise most horribly abused. And so besotted are some, that they will not only give them money to maintain their abomination withal, but also wear their badges and cognizances in their hats and caps openly. . . . Another sort of fantastical fools bring to these hell-hounds (the Lord of Misrule and his complices), some bread, some good ale, some new cheese, some cakes, some flauns, some tarts, some cream, some meat, some one thing, some another."¹

Such a master of the Christmas revels sufficiently indicated how the season would be spent. His reign lasted from All-hallow Eve—that is, the last day of October—till the Purification, or 2d of February. The office, too, of such a mad Comus and his crew was not confined to country villages and jolly rustics; on the contrary, every noble mansion and even the royal palace, the grave civic corporations and learned inns of court, had their Lord of Misrule, whose authority in mischief and mirth-making was absolute and unlimited. Sometimes, also, the title was altered; thus, in Lincoln's Inn he was called the King of Christmas Day; and at court, where his office sometimes assumed a clerical character, his title was Abbot of Unreason. When the season had arrived in which the festival days were to be observed, all classes threw aside their wonted occupations; care was banished and industry suspended, while the whole island reeled with drunkenness and dancing, and rang with the echoes of bell-ringing, Christmas carols, and street merriment and shouting. Then came Christmas Day itself, in which, as might be expected, the worship was most fervent, as well as the revelry most abundant; and in the houses of the rich a boar's head formed the principal dish of the banquet, which was ushered into the hall with much state, and the singing of a Christmas carol composed in Latin. But the most important ceremony was that of the Yule-log, which, on Christmas Eve, was drawn into the house and lighted upon the hearth, where its burning was

watched with much solicitude, as an omen of the future fortunes of the inmates. The largest log that could be found was usually selected for this purpose, and if it continued to burn the whole night and ensuing day, this was hailed as a promise of Divine favour and protection. It was no doubt a relic of the fire-worship of the Phœnicians. The last day of the year, and New Year's Day, which followed in course, were held in the manner we have already described. On January 5, the eve or vigil of Epiphany, the revelries received a fresh impulse by a round of new observances, the chief of which was the choosing of the King or Queen of the Bean. This was done by breaking a cake, and distributing the pieces among the company, and whosoever was so lucky as to find in his portion the bean that had been baked into the cake, was declared the sovereign of the season. On the day of Epiphany itself was elected a Bishop or Archbishop of Fools, and this act was performed with profane parodies of the church service, and of the most solemn rites of an episcopal installation. In a still more objectionable fashion, however, this practice was observed in foreign countries, and especially in the Papal dominions themselves, where the people were wont to elect a Pope of Fools. As if this also had not been a sufficient profanation of things considered most sacred, a similar practice was observed on the fast of St. Nicholas, or Innocent's Day, in the election of the Boy Bishop. A strippling, generally a child of the church choir, was invested with mitre, crozier, and pontifical array, while his juvenile companions were dressed like priests; and, thus attired, they took possession of the church and performed mass, after which the boy-bishop preached a sermon with solemn grimace to the listening multitude, who, on this merry occasion, were sure to be punctual church-goers. These rites being finished, the mock bishop and his assistants paraded the town, and collected money for their own behoof. The chief place of this exhibition in England, which was common also over the Continent, was the church of St. Paul's, in London. Henry VIII., considering that the play of the boy-bishop savoured too much of profanity, decreed its abolition; but it was such a popular amusement that it kept its ground for some time afterwards, in spite of his prohibition. Following Twelfth-day, or Epiphany, was Plough-Monday, which was held on the first Monday after. On this day ploughmen went from house to house requesting plough-money, to be spent in drinking. Another form of ceremony on the same occasion, was to parade the fool-plough (supposed to be a corruption of Yule-plough), in procession, which was dragged along by a number of sword-dancers, attended by a band of music, and accompanied by several people

¹ Stubbs' *Anatomy of Abuses*.

fantastically dressed. One of these mummers, who officiated as the fool or jester of the pageant, was clothed in hairy skins, and a cap of the same material, with a long tail dangling from behind, while his mate, called Bessie, was a man dressed like an old woman. In this way they marched along, collecting money from house to house in honour of the fool-plough; and if any was so hardly as to refuse, the ground was ploughed up before his door, by way of branding him as a churl. This practice is still kept up in some parts of the north of England, where it appears to have originated.

It will be seen at once that all these foregoing observances, some of which dated from the introduction of Christianity into the English heptarchy, and others from a still earlier period, could not long maintain their ground against the changes and revolutions in manners and character that had now resistlessly commenced. The growing intelligence of the people began to despise them, the stern rules of the Reformation condemned them, and the severe spirit of Puritanism swept them away. Nothing of them has survived the storm but a few relics, which like ruins attest the completeness of the overthrow.

In the history of the progress of Learning, the fifteenth century will ever constitute the most important of epochs: it was then that the unlocking of its repertories by the taking of Constantinople, and the new mode of communicating its treasures through the invention of printing, accomplished in a single generation the work of ages, and impressed a new character upon Europe. Happily, too, this progress commenced by laying a solid foundation—by the erection of schools and colleges, through which the newly acquired treasures were to be prepared for universal diffusion. Such was the case in England, where between the close of the fifteenth, and little more than the middle of the sixteenth century, eight new colleges were founded in the university of Oxford, and as many in that of Cambridge, while the endowment of grammar-schools in London, and other parts of the kingdom, during the same period, rivalled the newly-excited zeal for the erection of princely colleges. In the establishment of these institutions also, we find, that Latin was no longer deemed sufficient, and that Greek formed the most essential part of their *curriculum*. It was not, however, without strong opposition that this innovation was accomplished, for the old scholars were not only indignant at a novelty by which their own literary importance was lessened, but religious bigotry was alarmed at the introduction of the study of Greek, because it was identified with the commencement of the Reformation, and the new readings of Scripture. But as soon as Protestantism began to obtain the

ascendant in England, the acquirement of Greek, and even of Hebrew, as well as Latin, was regarded as a necessary accomplishment of thorough scholarship. Even this extension, too, upon which the progress of the Reformation so greatly depended, was in the first instance favoured in many cases by the champions of the ancient faith. Among these, may be mentioned Cardinal Wolsey and Bishop Fox, Sir Thomas More and Richard Pace, themselves accomplished scholars in the new learning, and therefore all the more eager to promote it. Even Henry VIII. himself, who possessed more learning than most sovereigns of his day, was a patron of the study of Greek, though a persecutor of Protestantism. When only a younger son, his father had educated him for the church; and thus, it may be, that in the course of events, the future "Defender of the Faith" missed the Popedom, through the accident of succeeding, by the death of his elder brother, to the throne of England.

While learning was thus encouraged, and the means of its acquirement so greatly facilitated, we must still remember that little more than a solid foundation as yet was laid, and that happier times were needed for carrying on and completing the superstructure. The revival of learning needed a previous work of demolition, and that, too, not merely in literary but religious belief. Not only the old philosophies were dethroned, but the monasteries as well as schools that were attached to them were suppressed; and a transition period followed, in which reflective minds were at a loss not only as to what they should study, but what they should believe and worship. Hence, scholarship was rather of an individual than a general character, and the names of the accomplished men of England during the whole of this period may be easily enumerated. But these very difficulties only the more invigorated this chosen band in their efforts, and the result was exhibited in the production of such scholars as would have equalled the list of any succeeding age. Here, the names of Cardinal Pole, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Cheke, and Roger Ascham, will occur; of Leland, Lily, and Colet; of Grocyn, Linacre, and Dr. Walter Hadden; of Archbishop Parker, and Bishop Andrews; and superior to them all, of Sir Thomas More. But this extraordinary passion for learning in the midst of general ignorance, when few of the commons even yet could sign their own names, was not exclusively a characteristic of the stronger sex. This was also in a remarkable degree an age of learned ladies, and perhaps no subsequent period in the history of England could exhibit such an amount of female erudition. The example that was set by royalty itself during this period of female sovereignty, must have in no small de-

gree contributed to such a change. Thus, Queen Mary wrote with ease and elegance in Latin, French, and Spanish. Her sister, Elizabeth, besides being a proficient in these languages, as well as Italian, was an accomplished Grecian, and translated Isocrates. Equal in scholarship, and greatly superior in taste, was Lady Jane Grey, whose favourite author was Plato in the original, and the study of whose last hours was the Greek Testament. The three daughters of Sir Anthony Coke were also famed for their varied and classical erudition, to which the youngest added the study of Hebrew, in which she became an apt scholar. To these may be added Mrs. Roper, the daughter of Sir Thomas More, and Mrs. Clement, his kinswoman, who inherited his learning as well as his virtues; Joanna Lady Lumley, and Mary Duchess of Norfolk, her sister, and Mary Countess of Arundel. To these female examples of classical attainments several others might be added, for in the court of Queen Elizabeth, and among her maids of honour, the acquirement of Greek, and the study of Plato, had become a fashionable accomplishment. Still, however, as in the case of the learned men of the day, these ladies were prodigies that stood out the more conspicuously, on account of the general ignorance with which they were surrounded. This may easily be perceived when we remember, that the common education of ladies of the highest rank at this season was, "to read and write; to play upon the virginal, lute, and cittern; and to read prick-song at first sight."

As the English mind during the whole of this period had been struggling to create a literature of its own, instead of being wholly dependent upon that of Greece, Rome, or Italy, the native language in which it was to be embodied was constantly acquiring a wider compass, and more harmonious character. As this course of improvement also had commenced in poetry, as is commonly the case in every country, the list of illustrious poetical names in England, from Chaucer to Shakspeare, throws the writers of prose into the shade. A long interval, however, had to continue after the time of Chaucer and his immediate successors, before the English muse produced anything worthy of its original character; and it was not until the wars of the Roses had ended, that even anything like an attempt was hazarded. The first name that appears in this list of revival is that of Stephen Hawes, who wrote during the reign of Henry VII. He was the successor of Lydgate, whom he imitated, and whom he may be said to have surpassed; and like him, he not only modernized the language, but greatly improved its versification. His chief work, entitled, *Pastime of Pleasure, or History of Grand Amour and La Belle Pucelle*, although

written about A.D. 1505, was not printed till twelve years after, when it appeared from the press of Wynkyn de Worde. 'The estimate formed by Warton of Hawes is, that he was the first writer who dared to abandon the dull taste of his own age, for the inventiveness and brilliant style of Chaucer. Contemporary with Hawes, was Alexander Barclay, whose best work, the *Ship of Fools*, was published in 1509. This poem, originally written in German by Sebastian Brand, Barclay has not only translated, but greatly enlarged with a description of the follies of his own countrymen, so that his translation possesses most of the merits of an original production. And yet, these two poets, it must be acknowledged, were at the best little more than imitators: they lacked the daring of original genius, and were more intent upon the choice of words and smoothness of measure, than the discovery of new trains of thought. In this fashion, however, they successfully prepared the way for greater geniuses than themselves.

In passing from the English poetry of the period of Henry VII., to that of his successor, the first name which occurs is that of John Skelton. He was so accomplished a scholar, that Erasmus called him the "delight and ornament of English literature," and the Latin verses of which he was the author were characterized by classic elegance. But it was as an English poet that he was chiefly distinguished, in which character he became popular not only by the rattling vivacity of his verses, but the severe lampoons he wrote upon Cardinal Wolsey, who in requital chased the bold bard into the sanctuary of Westminster, where he died in 1529. But besides vivacity, Skelton had little poetic merit, and his works, which were numerous, are now of as little account as the persons he satirized. A better poet, or perhaps we should say, versifier, was William Roy, the coadjutor of Tyndal in the translation of the New Testament into English,—like Skelton, a severe satirist of Wolsey, and who, finally, for his labours in behalf of the Reformation, suffered martyrdom at the stake. His chief work, published soon after the burning of Tyndal's translation, was distinguished by the following quaint title:

"Rede me, and be not wrothe;
For I say no thyng but trothe."

Under the poetic and religious wrath of Roy against the cardinal, the English language seems to acquire a force and amplitude hitherto undiscovered. The following brief specimen from the above-mentioned poem, will convey a slight idea, not only of his style of versification, but the condition of the language itself at this period:—

"O perverse preste, patriarke of pryde,
Morthierer with out mercy most execrable;

O beastly brothell, of bandry the bryde,
 Darlynge of the deuil, gretly detestable,
 Alas! what wretch wolde be so vengeable?
 At any tyme to attempte soche impediment,
 To brenne God's worde, the wholy Testament.

* * * * *
 "O paynted pastoure, of Satan the prophet,
 Ragynge courre wrapped in a wolves skynne,
 O butcherly Bisshop, to be a ruler unmete,
 Maker of misery, occasion of synne.
 God graunt the grace now to begynne
 Of thy dampnable dedes to be penitent,
 Brennyng Goddis worde, the wholy Testament."

Another poet of this period was John Heywood, who was author of *Six Centuries of Epigrams*, a number of plays, and a huge controversial allegory, entitled *A Parable of the Spider and the Fly*, in which the Romish and Protestant churches are personified. But nothing that he has written can now attract the notice of any one, unless he is some zealous black-letter antiquary.

After this twilight of English poetry which succeeded the period of Chaucer, wherein the only lights were at best mere stars, a new morning began to dawn, the happy promise of which was afforded in the writings of Lord Surrey and Sir Thomas Wyatt. The life of the first of these poets was itself a poem. The son of the victor of Flodden, and trained not only in every martial but every literary accomplishment, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, was not only the ornament of the



HENRY HOWARD, Earl of Surrey.—After Titian.

court of Henry VIII., which he attended in the capacity of companion to the Duke of Richmond, natural son of his sovereign, but of the still more chivalrous and brilliant court of Francis I. His travels on the Continent were those of a scholar and knight-errant, and the vision which he beheld in Agrippa's magic mirror, of his lady-love, the

"Fair Geraldine," whom he has so nobly perpetuated in verse, excited him to such a transport of enthusiasm, that at a tournament in Florence he challenged all who could handle a lance—Turk, Saracen, or cannibal—to dispute against him her claims to the supremacy of beauty, and came off victorious. But the well-known hatred of the tyrant Henry against the whole race of Howard, prematurely extinguished this bright promise of excellence, and Surrey, the last victim of the royal murderer, perished on a scaffold at the early age of twenty-seven. His poetical works were a collection of songs and sonnets, a translation, in verse, of Solomon's Ecclesiastes, and a translation, in blank verse, of the second and fourth books of Virgil's *Æneid*. In estimating the character of Lord Surrey as a poet, we find him so greatly in advance of his predecessors, as to be justly considered the first in order of the new poetical school upon which the literary character of England is founded. Like Chaucer, he adopted the poetry of Italy for his model; and while he polished his native tongue into a refinement which it had not hitherto exhibited, he avoided the artificial and quaint style of his instructors, and expressed his sentiments not only in the language of genius, but that of nature also. Among his merits it may be noticed, that he was the first of English writers who attempted blank verse, which he did in his translations from Virgil; but whether he invented this innovation or borrowed it from the Italian, it is impossible to determine. Sir Thomas Wyatt, whose name is usually associated with that of Surrey in the history of the revival of English poetry, was father of that unfortunate person of the same name who was executed for rebellion in the reign of Mary, and with whom he has been frequently confounded. This poet, one of the brightest ornaments of the court of Henry VIII., where he lived in close friendship with the Earl of Surrey, is also said to have been an ardent lover of Anne Boleyn, before she sacrificed her hopes of domestic happiness to the allurements of ambition, and the precarious love of a tyrant. As a poet, Sir Thomas Wyatt neither reached the graceful flow of language, nor tenderness of sentiment by which the writings of his illustrious friend are distinguished; but to compensate for this, he occasionally exhibits greater strength and depth of feeling. He died in 1542, only four years before the other perished on the scaffold. The effect of their example may be easily recognized in the classical style and versification of their immediate successors. These were Lord Vaux, Nicholas Grimoald, and Thomas Sackville, whose poetry belongs to the reign of Mary. The first of these poets, of whom but a few relics remain, is chiefly remarkable for the small poem, entitled, "The aged

Lover renounced Love," from which Shakespeare borrowed three stanzas, which he has put into the mouth of his gravedigger in "Hamlet." As for Grimoald, who was chaplain to Bishop Ridley, and saved himself by recantation when his superior suffered martyrdom, his verses are distinguished by much sweetness both of sentiment and language, while in blank verse he successfully followed the example that had been set by the Earl of Surrey. Thomas Sackville, born in 1536, commenced his career as a poet while still a very young man, and student of law in the Inner



EDMUND SPENSER.—The picture is in possession of the Earl of Kinnoul.

Temple. Here it was that he planned "The Mirror for Magistrates," which, written upon the plan of Dante's *Inferno*, was to give a detail of the misfortunes of the great in English history; and to this collection he contributed the "Induction," and the "Legend of the Duke of Buckingham." The first of these poems is a magnificent collection of allegorical figures, with which the poet is brought into acquaintance while he is conducted by Sorrow through the infernal regions; and they are delineated with such power, as to be little inferior to those of Spenser himself, whom they are supposed to have inspired with emulative ardour. While still a student in the Temple, he also composed "Gorboduc," afterwards changed into the title of "Ferrex and Porrex," the earliest specimen of a regular tragedy in the English language. Though already so distinguished as a poet, his ambition lay elsewhere, in consequence of which he first rose to the title of Lord Buckhurst, and afterwards Earl of Dorset, while he enjoyed the highest offices of the state till his death, which occurred in 1608. In that highest of all poetic attributes—the creative power—

he, more than all the preceding English poets, approached nearest to Chaucer, while he was only surpassed by the author of the "Faerie Queene," whom he so worthily heralded.

We now come to Edmund Spenser, by far the greatest of all the poets who had yet appeared in England since the days of Chaucer, and, next to Shakspeare, the brightest ornament of the Elizabethan period. He was born in East Smithfield, London, about the year 1553, and was educated at the university of Cambridge, where he became acquainted with Gabriel Harvey, his first instructor in versification. Unluckily, however, Harvey's favourite idea was, that English verse, like that of Greece and Rome, should be measured by quantities; and Spenser, following this theory, commenced his first attempts in trimeter iambics. His good taste, however, soon rejected this barbarism; and his "Shepherd's Calendar" procured for him the patronage of Sir Philip Sidney, to whom Harvey introduced him, and the still more effectual favour of the Earl of Leicester, through whom he obtained the appointment of secretary to Lord Grey of Wilton, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. After two years, his patron being recalled, the poet followed him to England, where he obtained from Elizabeth a grant of 3000 acres of land in Cork, out of the forfeited estates of the Earl of Desmond—a boon that obliged him to reside in Ireland, and attend to the cultivation of the land thus assigned to him. On this occasion, he took up his abode in Kilcolman Castle, the residence of the former Lords of Desmond; and here, amidst the rich and picturesque scenery by which he was surrounded, he commenced the "Faerie Queene"—that work of beautiful images and dreams, which so significantly speaks of solitary musings among the loveliest of nature's retirements. On being visited by Sir Walter Raleigh, then a young captain in the Irish campaign, Spenser was easily persuaded by such a congenial spirit to give his new work to the world; and, accordingly, after a few years' residence in Ireland, he returned to London, where he published the first three books of his matchless allegory. These visits were more than once repeated in following years, for the publication of the rest of the "Faerie Queene," and other poetical works; but notwithstanding the signal merit of the first-named production, and the admiration of the choice spirits of the day, who could fully appreciate its excellence, the poet had too much occasion to complain with bitterness, as he did, of the hostile influences by which he was condemned to neglect. The scanty pension which Elizabeth vouchsafed him, the malignity of Lord Burghley, by which any further favour was prevented, and the unproductive nature of his Irish property.

were sufficient to counterpoise the enjoyment of his poetical fame, and make him feel how fruitlessly he had lavished the richest panegyrics on the queen and her ungrateful courtiers. But



KILDRUMNA CASTLE, Spenser's Irish residence.—Hall's Ireland.

even a worse calamity was at hand. After his last return to Ireland, in 1597, the rebellion under Tyrone broke out; the insurgents stormed and burned down his castle, and Spenser, after one of his children had perished in the flames, returned to London a heart-broken and impoverished man, only to die a few months after, in the beginning of 1598.

The works of Spenser, besides his principal poem, are the "Shepherd's Calendar," in twelve bucolics, "Colin Clout's come home again," a translation of Virgil's "Culex," "Mother Hubbard's Tale," "Hymns and Visions," "The Tears of the Muses," "Spousal Poems," &c. Besides these, he wrote in prose a "Memorial on the State of Ireland, and its Remedy," in the fashion of a dialogue—a work still applicable to the condition of that unhappy country in the present day. But the superior lustre of the "Faerie Queene" has completely eclipsed all his other productions. As an allegorical poem, indeed, it is certainly faulty, being so complex as to involve allegory within allegory; and as a narrative it is so tedious, that few are able to peruse it consecutively to the end. The chief interest of the work is contained in the first three books; and although it is but half finished—six books only

having been published of the twelve which were designed for its completion—this is the less regretted, as each book is a complete story, or rather epic in itself. But all these defects are only specks upon the sun's disk; and amidst the gorgeous pictures and images with which the "Faerie Queene" abounds, few who step within its maze can pause to inquire whether it is an allegory or a tale. The reader finds himself among brave knights and beautiful women, who act, and speak, and feel, like other human beings; and amidst scenery where he hears the murmur of waters and the breath of winds, and sees the bright undulations of mountain, lawn, and forest, mixed with the chivalrous splendour of castles and pavilions, the blare of martial music, and the stirring achievements of tilts and tournaments; while here and there are intermingled the giant's cave, the enchanter's den, and the tangled wilderness, through which the errant damsel strays, or her bold champion rides in quest of dangers. All this, too, is depicted in language appropriate to the subject, and therefore so peculiar, that no other poet has adopted it, or been able successfully to imitate it. "His versification," as a modern critic has well observed, "is at once the most smooth and the most sounding in the language. It is a labyrinth of sweet sounds that would clog by their very sweetness, but that the ear is constantly relieved and enchanted by their continued variety of modulation."¹ Another writer, who was one of the best of poets as well as critics,² thus characterizes the style of Spenser: "Though his story grows desultory, the sweetness and grace of his manner still abide by him. He is like a speaker whose tones continue to be pleasing though he speak too long."

There were other English poets during the Elizabethan period who might well deserve to be noticed, but for the superior brilliancy of the "Faerie Queene." This was, indeed, a poetic era, in which the emulation of chivalry had received a higher direction: the intellectual tournaments that had now commenced were for a different competition than that of mere thewes and sinews; and candidates hurried into the lists with all the eagerness of a new-born enthusiasm. But this was especially the era of the English drama, a department in which poetry evinced its highest power, and accomplished its noblest achievements, while it was exclusively a native production, instead of an imitation of the classical ages, whether of Greece or Italy. But here a field opens upon us so wide and so important, and withal, of such progressive growth, that we must defer it till the commencement of the next period, to which it more properly belongs. It

¹ Hazlitt.

² Thomas Campbell.

was not till the reign of James I. that the dramatic poetry of the nation had grown to full maturity, and acquired its natural ascendancy.

In turning our attention to the condition of Scotland during this period, we find that the Netherlands was the principal emporium of its commerce, as it had been from a very early period; and a commercial treaty between the two countries that was established in the reign of James I., was renewed by Charles V., and his sister the Queen of Hungary, Regent of the Low Countries. The chief traffic with this quarter consisted of wool, hides, and skins, exported by the Scots, in exchange for which they imported articles of mercery, haberdashery, and the machines and carriages necessary for domestic and agricultural labour. Campvere, in Zealand, was the principal port of this trade, and there a Scottish commercial consul was established, with the title of Conservator of Campvere, an office that has been but lately abolished. Before the close of this period, also, the Scottish trade had extended itself to the Canaries and the Azores. But, although the mercantile spirit of Scotland struggled bravely to keep abreast of its wealthier neighbours, the scantiness of its native produce was rendered still less profitable than it might have been, through the unwise legislation by which the government sought to enhance it. Thus, in 1488, every merchant exporting national articles of commerce—wool, cloth, salmon, and herrings—was required by act of parliament, to import a certain amount in money. It was enacted by the same parliament, that every vessel coming from abroad, whether native or foreign, should not have liberty to enter any other ports than those of the free burghs; and no foreigner whatever was allowed to carry on any traffic, except at these burghs. Foreigners were also prohibited from buying any fish in Scotland, until they were salted and barrelled. In spite, however, of these and such prohibitions, by which free competition was restricted and individual effort discouraged, Scottish commerce continued to extend and prosper, especially during the reigns of James IV. and his successor—sovereigns whose taste for splendour was matched by their liberal spirit and love of naval enterprise. An idea of the relative importance of England, Scotland, and Ireland, at this time, in wealth, and ability to endure taxation, may be found in their several assessments of the tenths of benefices which were paid as a tax to the Roman See. The account, which is contained in one of the Harleian MSS., stands thus:—

De terra Scotiæ,	£3947 19 8
„ Hiberniæ,	1647 16 8
„ Angliæ et Walliæ,	20,872 2 4½

This was at the period when the authority of Rome over the three countries was as yet untouched. It will be perceived, that although care was taken not to tax Scotland too heavily, it paid more than twice the amount imposed upon Ireland, and nearly a fifth part of that of England.

While commerce was thus producing its legitimate fruits for Scotland by an increase of comfort and wealth, the art of ship-building, upon which it so much depends, flourished in a remarkable degree through the munificence, enterprise, and skill of James IV. and James V. The first of these, especially, was so devoted to his navy, and raised it to such a powerful condition, that, in the naval engagements which took place between it and that of England, it seemed for some time a question whether the ocean-flag of supremacy might not finally be secured by the weaker country. In his enthusiasm for ship-building, in which he was ably seconded by Sir Andrew Wood and the Bartons, he evinced the true spirit of a British sovereign; and considering the inferiority of his means, went far beyond his wealthier rival Henry VIII. Such, indeed, was his ardour in this department, that it was sometimes carried too far, as was especially the case in the construction of his principal ship, the *Great St. Michael*. This vessel, upon which all the forests of the well-wooded county of Fife, with the exception of the royal demesne of Falkland, were exhausted, was 120 feet in length, and 36 in width, while its strong sides were 10 feet in thickness, so that they were imperforable by any cannon-shot at that time in use. To man such an enormous hulk, 300 mariners and 1000 soldiers were required; but even then, the nautical skill was wanting to impart due life and activity to its movements, so that it was little more than a splendid promise of what a later period would accomplish. His son, James V., was not only a gallant knight, but a bold skilful sailor, as was evinced by his naval progresses which he undertook for reducing the Highlands and Isles to order. That which he conducted in 1540, against the islands on the north-west coast, was especially memorable, as it was only then that they were reduced to full submission, and incorporated with the kingdom of Scotland. Upon this adventure he embarked with a royal fleet of fifteen ships, whose crews amounted to 2000 men, and accompanied by several of his chief nobility.

The mode of living among the Scottish aristocracy still continued, during the whole of this period, to be distinguished by the same turbulence abroad, and the same rudeness and discomfort at home, which had been prevalent in the time of James I. The chief feature in their political history was the *bond of manrent*, by which the

lesser barons were wont to ally themselves with some powerful noble for mutual benefit and protection; but as these bonds were too often found to be formidable coalitions, not only against the authority of the crown, but the liberties of the people, they were repeatedly denounced by parliament. These prohibitory acts, however, were disregarded by men who could make themselves independent of parliamentary statutes. Sometimes these unions were for unrestricted defence "against all deadly;" but at other times a saving clause was inserted, by which the obligations were limited. Such was the case of a bond of manrent, entered into in 1462, between the city of Aberdeen and the Earl of Huntly, in which was the clause, "saving allegiance to the king and the freedom of the burgh." A Scottish nobleman's castle, during this period, was still assimilated to the strongholds which the English aristocracy had inhabited before the time of the Tudors, being, like them, furnished with moat, barbian, and portcullis, and in the centre a keep, for the residence of the master and his family. The walls of these castles were so strong as to be often impregnable, before the invention of gunpowder; while they were provided against open violence or secret treachery, by numerous military retainers who manned the walls, and by vigilant warders upon the watch-towers. Tantallan Castle, the fortress of the Douglasses, and that of St. Andrews, when completed by Cardinal Beaton, were among the choicest specimens of this kind of military architecture in Scotland; and the sieges they were able to undergo form important notices in the Scottish chronicles.

The general style of living, among the different classes of the Scottish population, at the close of this period, has been given by Fynes Moryson, with considerable minuteness, in his *Itinerary*, published in London in 1617. He visited Scotland in 1598, and, as an Englishman, seems to have marvelled greatly at the coarseness and poverty of living that everywhere prevailed. The following seems to have been the first specimen which he saw among the better classes:—"Myself was at a knight's house, who had many servants to attend him, that brought in his meat, with their heads covered with blue caps, the table being more than half-furnished with great platters of porridge, each having a little piece of sodden meat; and when the table was served the servants sat down with us; but the upper mess, instead of porridge, had a pullet, with some prunes in the broth; and I observed no art of cookery, or furniture of household stuff, but rather rude neglect of both, though myself and my companions, sent from the governor of Berwick about Bordering affairs, were entertained after their best manner." This poverty of larders and scantiness of good cheer,

even among the better classes, is not to be wondered at when we consider the state of Holyrood itself, only two years afterwards. The second son of James VI., afterwards Charles I., was to be baptized in royal state, and certain princes of France, and other noble foreigners, were to be present at the solemnity. But to furnish a meet banquet for such an occasion, materials were wanting, at which the Scottish Solomon was sorely disturbed, as not only his own character, but that of the kingdom was at stake. In this difficulty he wrote a piteous letter to the Laird of Dundas, describing his strait, and requesting him to send "venisons, wild meat, brissel fowls, capons," and such other provisions as were suitable to Holyrood, inviting him, withal, to attend this regal banquet, and partake of his own good cheer. All this poverty, however, Moryson attributes to the number of followers and domestics which the nobles were obliged to entertain in consequence of the divided state of society, and the quarrels that arose from it. Describing their general diet, the author of the *Itinerary* tells us that, in the country, their bread was chiefly hearth-cakes of oats, and, in the towns, wheaten bread, "which, for the most part, was bought by courtiers, gentlemen, and the best sort of citizens." Their drink was chiefly pure wines, not sweetened, as in England, with sugar, but comfits, according to the French fashion; and, unlike the English vintners, they did not "froth and lime," or adulterate their wine in any other fashion. Inns, he tells us, were unknown in the country, at least he had never seen any sign hung out to indicate their existence; but for every purpose of festivity or hospitality, the better sort of citizens brewed ale, their usual beverage, which, however, was sickening to strangers unused to it. It was the custom to present to their guests a "sleeping cup" of wine when they retired to rest; and the beds to which they adjourned were built into the wall, with doors to open and shut, so that the sleepers were obliged to climb into their dormitories. Such beds are still to be found in many of the cottages in Scotland. Such a luxury, however, even with its "one sheet, open at the sides and top, but closed at the feet, and so doubled," still common among the poorer classes in Scotland, must, at this period, have been chiefly confined to cities; for we find that, in country mansions, even the young nobility had often nothing better than beds of straw, where they lay with their weapons beside them, which they were ready to snatch up in any sudden alarm. In the article of temperance in drinking, the Scots of this period were, on the whole, decidedly inferior to the English, and this especially in their set carousals, when strangers were plied with healths at a rate to which they were unaccustomed. It appears, too,

that gentlemen and courtiers were more moderate in drinking than the country people and merchants.

In giving an account of the costume of the different ranks, we cannot do better than quote at full, on this point, from Moryson, who seems to have had a very observant eye during the whole of his northern journey. He says—"The husbandmen in Scotland, the servants, and almost all the country, did wear coarse cloth, made at home, of gray or sky colour, and flat blue caps, very broad. The merchants in cities were attired in English or French cloth, of pale colour, or mingled black and blue. The gentlemen did wear English cloth or silk, or light stuffs, little or nothing adorned with silk lace, much less with lace of silver or gold; and all followed, at this time, the French fashion, especially in court. Gentlewomen, married, did wear upper boddices after the German manner, with large whalebone sleeves, after the French manner; short cloaks, like the Germans; French hoods and large falling bands about their necks. The unmarried of all sorts did go bareheaded, and wear short cloaks, with most close linen sleeves on their arms, like the virgins of Germany. The inferior sorts of citizens' wives, and the women of the country, did wear cloaks made of a coarse stuff, of two or three colours, in checquer-work, vulgarly called *pladden*. To conclude; in general, they would not, at this time, be attired after the English fashion in any sort; but the men, especially at court, follow the French fashion; and the women, both in court and city, as well in cloaks as naked heads, and also sleeves on the arms, and all other garments, follow the fashion of the women in Germany."

Of the sports of Scottish life at this period, may be mentioned those of chivalry, which flashed out with a dying effort during the reigns of James IV. and James V., themselves the last of knight-errant kings. It was then that Scottish tournaments assumed their gayest form, and were frequented from every part of Europe. Hunting and hawking, especially the last, were still in vogue also, when they had been considerably diminished in England, from the greater quantity of ground that was now taken into cultivation. Masks, and those court pageants called *ludi*, were prevalent during the reigns of the above-mentioned sovereigns, and were not only performed with a splendour hitherto unknown in Scotland, but with a truthfulness to nature which few courts could equal—the parts of Ethiopian queens and sable enchanters being personated by veritable black people, natives of India, whom Sir Andrew Wood had captured in his cruises against the Portuguese. In those public sports that were common to all classes, may be men-

tioned the miracle and mystery plays, which were found at the Reformation to be powerful engines for the overthrow of Romish doctrine, and the influence of the established hierarchy. Unfortunately, however, the poets knew not when to stop short, and their attacks upon religious truths themselves became so indiscriminate, that the Reformed clergy took the alarm, and opposed the stage as an incorrigible profanity. The same ecclesiastical authority had to be exercised against the popular pageant of the "Abbot of Unreason," from its tendency to burlesque religion itself; and the play of "Robin Hood," from the profligacy and disorder which it encouraged among the onlookers. Another kind of popular assemblage was the *weaponshaw*, instituted by James IV., by which the people of every district were obliged to assemble four times a year, harnessed and weaponed according to the amount of their income, and exercise themselves in warlike competitions, such as shooting at the papingo, trials of archery, and the stirring athletic games of casting the penny-stone, quoit, and bar; wrestling, running, and leaping; for excellence in which, the most common prize was a silver arrow. Another sport, peculiarly a favourite in Scotland, perhaps from its aptitude to stir up the tranquil blood of the people into a tempest, was the game of football.

Among the more peaceful amusements of the Scots, was that of *penny weddings*, which are scarcely yet wholly abrogated in the more remote districts of Scotland. On this festive occasion, a very large assembly was usually collected; and as the chief object, besides the enjoyment of fun and festivity, was to make some provision for the young couple on commencing life, the bride went round the room, and kissed each man of the assembly, who, in return, put a piece of money into a dish, according to his means or inclination. Out of this collection, the expense of feast and fiddlers was defrayed, and a sum reserved to meet the new wants of the pair. But as overabundant drinking, and sometimes quarrels and bloodshed were occasioned by these marriage assemblies, which were chiefly confined to the humbler classes, the clergy, soon after the Reformation, endeavoured to suppress them, but in vain: all they could accomplish, was a partial abatement of their excesses, by stinting the price usually paid by the guests of a penny wedding. Five shillings Scots, for each corner, was usually the specified sum of these presbyterial enactments, and any one trespassing this limit, subjected himself to the censure of the kirk-session. Dancing formed an essential portion of every Scottish merry-meeting; and among these, what is called the sword-dance was an especial favourite. The other games were hand-ball, kayles,

and golf; and cards, dice, chess, draughts, and backgammon. Indeed, in all their sports, the Scots were almost wholly assimilated to those of England, the consequences of the common Saxon origin that belonged to the two nations. From this general rule, however, we must not only except the wedding, but also the funeral observances of the Scots, which were more of a Celtic than a Saxon character. When a person died, the body, after being dressed out for interment, had lighted candles placed at the head and feet, and a cellar of salt laid upon the breast, while a plentiful store of provisions and liquors was laid in to hold the *lyke-wake* of the deceased. But this death-feast was anything but lugubrious, being one of those desperate attempts to be merry, with which so many rude tribes, that cannot look beyond the grave, endeavour to reconcile themselves to its stern necessity. On the body being carried to the grave upon hand-spokes, the funeral, if the deceased had been of consequence, was signalized with the ringing of bells, and volleys of musketry and artillery. In diet, moreover, it may be noticed, that the Scots, while they resembled the English, had some dishes peculiarly their own, such as the haggis and singed sheep's head, which are too well known to need description. In some other respects also they imitated their allies the French, from whom they seem to have acquired their fondness for broths and soups, and mode of preparing them; and their liking for preserved fruits, the chief of which—marmalade—was introduced, with other such preparations, by Mary Stuart.

In passing from these less important events to the progress of learning in Scotland, we find this period signalized by the erection of new institutions. The first was King's College, Aberdeen, the third in point of time in the order of Scottish universities, which was founded, under the name of the College of St. Mary, in 1506. The three universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, were followed by the erection of a fourth in Edinburgh, by James VI., in 1582. The High School of Edinburgh was also founded by the magistrates of that city in 1577. Still, however, the progress of learning was slow; and for this, more than one cause may be assigned. The first course of teaching adopted at these universities, consisted of little more than the pedantry of the earlier ages, in which theology and the canon and civil law were of chief account, and Latin the only language in which they were communicated: beyond these, ethics, physics, and logic, although included in their curriculum, were but little regarded. The introduction of the study of Greek, by which this pedantry and exclusiveness were to be overcome, was but partially accomplished by the labours of Erskine of

Dun, and the still more distinguished example of Andrew Melvil.

From the foregoing account, it cannot be expected that Scotland during this period should have been prolific of learned men and accomplished scholars. Erskine of Dun, whom we have already mentioned, was the first to introduce the study of Greek into Scotland. This he did, by bringing from the Continent a learned Frenchman, whom he established in the town of Montrose, in 1534. A better scholar than even this accomplished Laird of Dun, was John Knox himself, whose renown as a Reformer has caused his learned acquirements to be lost sight of; but he was not only conversant with Latin, but also with Greek; and in his old days, while still involved in the throng of great events, and standing almost alone against the selfish opposition of nearly the whole Scottish nobility, he resolutely set himself to the study of Hebrew. As an author, also, his writings are not only superior to those of his contemporaries of Scotland, but are equal to the best prose compositions of the English themselves, in whose language he wrote. It was this acknowledged talent and scholarship, combined with his other high qualities, that made the Popish clergy so unwilling to encounter him in controversy, even when he repeatedly challenged them to step forth in defence of their creed. Greatly superior to Knox in erudition, while he resembled him in many of the high qualities of a national Reformer, was his successor, Andrew Melvil. Having acquired a knowledge of Greek at the school of Montrose and the New College of St. Andrews, he afterwards perfected it by a two years' study in the university of Paris, and taught as regent for three years at the university of Poitiers, when he exchanged that appointment for the professorship of humanity in the university of Geneva. After residing there for the space of five years, the renown of his learning induced his countrymen to recal him home. He complied with the invitation, and the illustrious scholars, who at that time were the chief ornament of Geneva, resigned him with regret. Beza, in his letter to the Scottish General Assembly upon the occasion, declared, that the greatest token of affection which the Kirk of Geneva could show to Scotland, was in suffering themselves to be bereaved of Andrew Melvil, that thereby the Kirk of Scotland might be enriched. His labours in his native country as scholar, theologian, teacher, and Reformer, and the impulse which he gave to the literary character of its Reformation, more than fulfilled the high expectations that had been formed from his remarkable attainments.

But a superior in scholarship to Melvil was George Buchanan, of whom any age or country

would have been proud. Although driven at first by poverty, and afterwards by the persecutions of the Romish clergy, into an unsettled life, his diligence in literature was such as few scholars could have equalled; and of this, his miscellaneous poems, his Latin paraphrase of the Psalms of David, his tragedy of "Jephthes," his philosophical poem "De Sphæra," and his translation of the "Alcestes" of Euripides, are full evidence. When he returned home, he became preceptor and poet of Queen Mary: afterwards, under the regency of Moray, he was appointed principal of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, and, subsequently, tutor to the boy-king, James VI. His last, as well as most distinguished work, was the *History of Scotland*, that was passing through the press at the period of his death, which occurred in 1582, when he was now in his seventy-seventh year. While Buchanan has been wholly unrivalled in his wondrous mastery of Latin, which he used as if he had been born in it, the richness and variety of his mind as philosopher, political writer, poet, and historian, was such, as in each department to distance every competitor. No other fitting place could be found for him, than that which contains the honoured names of Cicero, Horace, and Livy.

But it was in poetry that the revival of learning was distinguished in Scotland, as well as England; and while in the latter country there had been a long gap from Chaucer till near the close of the reign of Henry VIII., that interval had been nobly filled by the Scottish poets, James I., Barbour, Henry the Minstrel, and Henryson. Other poets succeeded; and of these northern bards who graced the present period of our history, the first in order of time was William Dunbar. He was born at Salton, in East Lothian, about the year 1465. Little is known of him, except that in his youth he was a travelling novice of the Franciscan order, in which capacity he travelled through England and France. His chief productions were the "Thistle and the Rose," an allegorical epithalamium on the marriage of James IV. with Margaret of England; the "Golden Targe," a moral allegory, illustrating the predominance of love over reason; and the "Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins." The music of his language and versification, and the vivid colouring of his pictures, which in many cases fall little short of Spenser himself, have procured for him from Ellis the character of the "greatest poet that Scotland has produced."

The next poet was one of a race that had furnished as yet none else than matchless men-at-arms and formidable conspirators. This was Gawin or Gavin Douglas, third son of the formidable Earl of Angus, usually known by the name of Bell-the-cat. He was born in 1474.

Like many of the young Scottish nobles of the period, he studied at the university of Paris, and finished his education by a tour on the Continent. His works were a translation of Ovid's "Remedy of Love," finished about the close of the fifteenth century; and the "Palace of Honour," an instructive and admonitory poem, addressed to his youthful sovereign James IV. But his best known work was a poetical version of Virgil's *Æneid*, the first translation of a Roman classic into the English tongue. His version, while executed with remarkable spirit and fidelity, is something more than a mere translation, for to each book he has attached a prologue of his own, full of striking sentiments and rich poetical description. Another poem of Gavin Douglas, entitled "King Hart" (or Heart), is characterized by an eminent modern Scottish critic, as "a most ingenious adumbration of the progress of human life." It is unfortunate for the works of this distinguished Scottish poet, as well as those of his contemporaries, that their antiquated style makes them almost wholly unintelligible to ordinary readers of the present day.

Another poet more widely known, was Sir David Lindsay of the Mount. He was born in Fife in 1490; and after having finished his education at St. Andrews, he became an attendant of James IV., and a sort of governor, or rather dymurse of the young prince, afterwards James V. More honourable and important offices, however, awaited him, and in 1530 he was knighted, and appointed Lyon King-at-Arms. His sagacious spirit, stirred up by the Reformation, and his satirical powers that found ample scope in the vices of the clergy, made him so formidable, that he probably would have shared the fate of Patrick Hamilton and Wishart, but for causes still unexplained; it is possible, indeed, that James V., who could keenly relish the jokes of his early companion, especially when levelled against the church dignitaries, may have interposed between the poet and his relentless enemies. They burned his works, however, during the regency of Mary of Guise, thus showing what they would have done to the author himself, who probably had retired to the quiet seclusion of the Mount, while John Knox and the Lords of the Congregation were preparing to avail themselves of the effects of his writings. These effects, indeed, by which the people were prepared for the preaching of the Reformation, it would be difficult to estimate: it is enough to state, that his poems were everywhere welcomed, and that in every dwelling the name of "Davie Lindsay" was an endeared household word. The principal works of Sir David are "The Dreme," the "Complaynt," the "Complaynt of the King's Papingo," the "Satyre on the Thrie Estaitis," the "Historie of Squire Meldrum," and

the "Monarchie." While his poetry was neither elevated nor refined, and often of startling coarseness, the universal interest of his subjects, the keenness of his satire, and the vigorous though homely language in which his sentiments were expressed, sufficiently explain the preference that selected him as the favourite national poet, when those of equal, or even higher poetical merit, were overlooked and neglected.

Hitherto, we have not spoken of the manners, customs, and modes of living that obtained among the Irish people, although their country had formed part of the English monarchy since the reign of Henry II. This, however, was the less necessary, as their Celtic origin and enslaved condition had tended to stereotype the form of Irish life from the period of their conquest downwards, so that the natives, at the close of this period, were nearly in the same state as Strongbow and his Normans had originally found them, with the miseries of bondage superadded. This we can easily perceive by a comparison of the statements of Giraldus Cambrensis about Ireland, written in the reign of Henry II., and those of the author of the "Faerie Queene," and of Sir John Davies, the poet and statesman, written during that of Elizabeth. The same accounts, indeed, hold good of the Irish during the whole period of the Stuarts, and in too many cases are still applicable to those of the present day.

In reading the history of Ireland, we can perceive at once how its conquest was unfitted to civilize it. When England was conquered by the Normans, the victors were not only in great numbers, but were of the same race with the vanquished, and the effect in the first instance was mutual improvement, and afterwards complete incorporation. But in the case of Ireland, the conquerors were but a handful; while the disparity between them and the vanquished in the arts of life was so great, that no kindly approximation could be expected. This was different from the almost entire equality that originally existed between the Saxon and the Norman. Then, again, there was not only the difference of civilization and language between the invaders and the invaded, but also of lineage, habits, and feelings, which tended to keep them for ever apart, and the man of Milesian or Celtic origin continued to hate the descendant of the Norman or Saxon with a hatred which time has failed to extinguish. The barbarism of the Irish was further deepened and confirmed by the very necessity which their own position entailed upon the conquerors. They were but a small community, obliged to maintain by the sword what they had won with the sword, and thus they remained a besieged encampment in the country

which they came to colonize. A wholesale and simultaneous conquest of the island would have materially abated these evils; but England, occupied as she was with the wars of Scotland and France, was inadequate to such an effort; and, therefore, the scanty successive supplies of her population which she could afford for Ireland, were rather reinforcements to a chain of garrisons, than masters of the country, and cultivators of the soil. In this case the likelihood was, that instead of absorbing, they would be absorbed by the native population, and thus lose their national individuality in the mass into which they were melted. Such was the case; and not only English civilization and its improvements were thus successively swallowed up, as if they had disappeared in the native bogs, but a race grew and multiplied, Anglo-Irish in blood, but wholly Irish in character. This necessity, also, was further increased by the policy of the victors. Perceiving the smallness of their numbers, and conscious of their weakness, they adopted the expedient of the Tartars towards the Chinese in similar circumstances, by assuming the speech, manners, and dress of the Irish, in the hope that not only their feebleness might be concealed, but their conquered subjects conciliated. Hence it was, that during this period, so many of the new English comers into Ireland were scandalized to find men wearing the names of an honoured Saxon and Norman lineage, converted in every respect into a wild Irish chieftainry. The difficulty of governing such a country was well set forth by the Earl of Kildare, viceroy or deputy under Henry VIII., when he was taunted by Cardinal Wolsey at the council board, with the nickname of King of Ireland. "As for my kingdom, my lord," replied the stout old earl, "I would you and I had exchanged kingdoms one month; I would trust to gather up more crumbs in that space, than twice the revenues of my poor earldom. But you are well and warm; so hold you, and upbraid me not after so odious a form. I sleep in a cabin, when you lie soft in your bed of down; and serve under the cope of heaven, when you are served under a canopy. I drink water out of my steel cap, when ye drink wine out of golden cups. My courser is trained to the field, when your jennet is taught to amble. When you are be-graced and be-lorded, and crouched and kneeled unto, then find I small grace from our Irish borderers unless I cut them short by the knees."

In this way, the superiority of the English over Ireland was little more than nominal, while the subjection of the natives was a constant rebellion. The former, who occupied but a portion of the country, commonly called the English Pale, built towns more for the purposes of safety

than civilization; while the latter, who regarded every Englishman as an oppressor, and every town as a prison, fled to their woods and morasses, where the blessings of freedom only the more endeared to them that barbarism which such a life naturally cherished. In this way, also, the bulk of the native population consisted of hordes called *Booles*, who subsisted upon their cattle; wandered from place to place in quest of pasturage; and were ready to receive with welcome and protection, not only every malefactor pursued by English law, but every political intriguer, whether native or foreigner, who sought to stir them up against their rulers. In this state, the character attributed to these Celts was the same as that which the Roman writers attributed to the Gauls under the dominion of Rome. Alive to every rumour (and with too much cause), their continual inquiry was "What is the news?" for which they were laughed at by the English. They were also addicted so keenly to gambling, that even modern fashionable life could not equal them in the desperation of their throws. Thus Spenser, in describing a class of Irishmen called *Carrows*, whose sole occupation was gambling, tells us, "They wander up and down living upon cards and dice; the which, though they have little or nothing of their own, yet they will play for much money, which if they win, they waste most lightly; and if they lose, they pay as slenderly." *Campion* is more particular, when he informs us of these *Carrows*—"They play away mantle and all, to the bare skin, and then truss themselves in straw or in leaves—they wait for passengers in the highway, invite them to a game upon the green, and ask no more but companions to hold them sport." Were we not aware of the enthusiastic intrepidity of gamblers in general, we could scarcely believe what follows. *Campion* adds, "For default of other stuff they pawn portions of their glib, the nails of their fingers and toes, and their privy members, which they lose or redeem at the courtesy of the winner." All this love of news-hearing and gambling, as well as buoyancy of spirit, and excitability of temper, that hurried the Irish from one extreme to another—their superstitious credulity, that made them put faith in spells and omens—and their impatience of restraint, combined with their continual blunders in attempting to be free—only complete their resemblance to the Gauls, as delineated by *Cæsar* and other Roman historians.

Not only was war inevitable between a people so dissimilar, who stood in the relationship of rulers and ruled, but it was conducted with a rancour which nothing short of extermination could satisfy. It was also carried on upon either side with a reference to their condition, so that, while the Irish harassed their English enemies

with ambuscades and surprises, the latter requited these annoyances with formal battles and wasteful campaigns. It was the unequal match of a savage against a civilized foe, in which the latter, however outnumbered, was sure to prevail in the end. The following account of the surprisal of a town gives us a distinct idea of the mode of Irish warfare:—"Rorie Oge O'More and Cormocke MacCormocke O'Connor, accompanied not with above 140 men and boys, on the third of this month, burned between 700 and 800 thatched houses in a market-town called the Naas. They had not one horseman nor one shot (musket) with them. They ran through the town, being open, like hags and furies of hell, with flakes of fire fastened on poles' ends, and so fired the low thatched houses; and being a great windy night, one house took fire of another in a moment. They tarried not half-an-hour in the town, neither stood they upon killing or spoiling of any. There was above 500 men's bodies in the town, but neither manful nor wakeful as it seemed; for they confess they were all asleep in their beds, after they had filled themselves and surfeited upon their patron day, which day is celebrated, for the most part of the people of this country, both with gluttony and idolatry as far as they dare." Such doings were certain to be fearfully recompensed by the English, as may be seen from the following picture of the desolation of Munster, from the pen of the author of the "*Faerie Queene*;" a desolation, by the way, which was not of rare occurrence during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth:—"Ere one year and a half, they [the natives] were brought to such wretchedness as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carriages, happy where they could find them; yea, and one another soon after, inasmuch as the very carcases they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and if they found a plot of water-cresses or sham-rocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time; yet not able long to continue therewithal, that in short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man and beast; yet sure, in all that war, there perished not many by the sword, but all by the extremity of famine, which they themselves had wrought."

In passing from this account of the general condition of Ireland, to the several classes of which its population was composed, and the characteristics by which they were distinguished, we begin with the Irish chieftainry. And here we

find the law of Tanist succession prevailing among them, as among the Highlanders of Scotland, by which, on the death of a chief, his son, if a minor, was set aside for the present, and a brother, or near relative of the deceased, of mature age, called to the captainship of the clan. By this simple expedient, which seems to have been peculiar to the Celtic race, a tribe exposed to frequent warfare was able to avoid the hazards of a minority, and secure a competent leader. The ceremonies used in the election of this deputy-chieftain are thus described by Campion:—"They used to place him that shall be their captain upon a stone always reserved to that purpose, and placed commonly upon a hill. In some of which I have seen formed and engraven a foot, which, they say, was the measure of their first captain's foot; whereon he, standing, receives an oath to preserve all their ancient former customs inviolate, and to deliver up the succession peaceably to his Tanist; and then hath a wand delivered to him by some whose proper office that is; after which, descending from the stone, he turneth himself round thrice forwards and thrice backwards." When the Tanist, or legitimate heir, succeeded to the rule, Spenser informs us that, at his installation, he set only one foot on the stone, and had the same oath of government prescribed to him as the captain. Having thus a ruler chosen after their own fashion, and whom they were ready to obey implicitly, the natives were not likely to trouble the English law courts with cases of litigation. Their own Brehon law, by which their chief administered justice, was fully sufficient to content them. By this simple patriarchal system, the brehon, or judge, held his court in the open air, a green bank was his tribunal, and his decisions, which were prompt, were followed by instant action. It is to be observed, also, that in this system of native jurisprudence, only a step was made in advance of the original *lex talionis*, which enacted an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, as in every crime whatever a full expiation was supposed to be made by a fine called the *eric*; and as each offence had its prescribed price, every offender knew how far he might go, and every judge what penalty to impose. Even a murderer, on paying the *eric*, was dismissed from the court without further punishment, being completely absolved according to Brehon law. How he was to escape the consequences of his feud from the relatives of the victim, was a question for his own adjustment, as the law made no provision on that head, so that he might be murdered in requital as soon as he left the court, by any avenger who was rich enough to pay his *eric*.

The style of living among these native Irish chiefs, was characteristic of a people whose bar-

barism had only been indurated and confirmed by conquest. Even the mightiest of them all, called the "Great O'Neil," Earl of Tyrone, who for years held Elizabeth and the whole English power at defiance, on being visited by Sir John Harrington, the translator of Ariosto, during a time of truce, was found dining in the open air off tables of fern, while his attendants, "for the most part, were beardless boys without shirts, who, in the frost, wade as familiarly through rivers as water spaniels." But the same O'Neil knew what was due to his rank and office, and could magnify them sufficiently on great state occasions, as was the case on his visit to London, when he repaired to the court of Elizabeth in the style of a great feudal sovereign. On his arrival he marched in stately procession through the streets, attended by a throng of gallowglasses, arrayed in the long flowing saffron and particoloured costume of their country, with heads uncovered and their long hair streaming in the wind, having chain armour on their breasts and battle-axes on their shoulders. As a match to the home life of O'Neil was that of O'Kane, a great chieftain of Ulster, according to the description of a Bohemian nobleman, given by Fynes Moryson, who, on visiting him, tells us "he was met at the door with sixteen women, all naked, except their loose mantles, whereof eight or ten were very fair, and two seemed very nymphs, with which strange sight his (the nobleman's) eyes being dazzled, they led him into the house, and there sitting down by the fire, with crossed legs like tailors, and so low as could not but offend chaste eyes, desired him to sit down with them. Soon after, O'Kane, the lord of the country, came in, all naked, excepting a loose mantle and shoes, which he put off as soon as he came in, and entertaining the baron after his best manner in the Latin tongue, desired him to put off his apparel, which he thought to be a burden to him, and to sit naked by the fire with this naked company." It is surely unnecessary to add, that the astounded Bohemian excused himself from complying. If power the most unlimited, and a devotedness on the part of his people the most unbounded, could satisfy human ambition for the want of the common comforts of life, an Irish chief had abundant compensation. Speaking of his followers, Sir John Harrington says—"With what a charm such a master makes them love him, I know not; but if he bids them come, they come; if go, they do go; if he say do this, they do it." This clannish devotedness to their chief, so natural to the whole Celtic race, was troublesome to the conquerors, who found it all but impossible to apprehend the leader of a conspiracy, or convict him when apprehended. Even when a chief condescended to

litigate any claim about property or rights in an Anglo-Irish law court, he entered with great advantage, for he had witnesses in abundance to confirm whatever he alleged. He had but to announce his pleasure to his vassals, and they not only swore accordingly, but made good their testimony by such cunning and fluent speech as sufficed to nonplus both judge and jury. Such is the account of Campion, and other juriconsults of the day, who had made full proof of the nature of Irish testimony.

As the rental of an Irish chief was little more than nominal, derived, as it was, from an uncultivated territory and proscribed people, it had to be chiefly collected in kind, and then, too, only where it could be found. His principal remedy, therefore, was to quarter himself, with his attendants, upon such of his vassals as possessed a good larder, and take up the value of the land they held in fee, in the shape of eating and drinking. These rounds for the collection of rents were called *cosherings*; and happy occasions they doubtless were, not only to the chief, who was certain of the best of entertainment, but to the clansman who was honoured by such an august visit. In this way an Irish magnate might *cosher* over the extent of a whole county, from one's year end to another, both giving and receiving pleasure from the practice. This, however, was an offence in the eyes of the English rulers, who denounced it as unlawful, and endeavoured to suppress it—forgetting, the while, that Elizabeth, in her royal progresses, used the same liberty with the richest of her English nobles, although she had not the same show of right, and thus dried up those resources of her over-great courtiers that might otherwise have been employed in feud and rebellion. The danger, however, of these Irish *cosherings*, arose from the close personal connection it established between the chieftainry and their vassals, by which the English rule was continually menaced. A similar practice, not, however, by right of possession, but conquest, was used by the Anglo-Irish nobility, under the name of *coign and livery*, or horse-meat and man's meat. This pretended right of nobility, which had been established in England at the Norman conquest, had also been introduced into Ireland by the successors of Earl Strongbow; but although, in the former country, it expired with the decay of feudal despotism, in the latter it had continued to flourish in full vigour. By this usage of coign and livery, a rich nobleman might live at free quarters at pleasure over the whole extent of his possessions, exhausting his tenantry, and aggravating the general discontent by his extortions, or strengthening his feudal influence against the government by his popular conciliatory visits. It was no wonder,

therefore, that the same jealousy of the law, which attempted to restrain the native rulers, bore with still greater severity against this Norman aristocracy, who were so difficult to be reached; and, accordingly, the laws of the Tudors against the right of coign and livery were both numerous and stringent. But the proud nobility of Ireland refused to submit, alleging that thus only they could avail themselves of the services of their tenantry who had no money, and travel in a country where there were no inns; and having enjoyed the privilege so long, and found it so pleasant, they continued their man's meat and horse-meat journeys as before, although the penalties of high treason were denounced upon the practice.

In an Irish clan the early patriarchal system prevailed, and every one was a relative more or less of the chief, though it might be by a hundred steps of removal; and to this, as the primary source, may be traced the devotedness of all the members to their head. From this also arose a great portion of their scorn towards their Saxon and Norman neighbours, who could elect at pleasure a leader for the nonce, and follow him only as long as it suited their own convenience. In this, the Irishman and the Highlander showed their common origin, by a mutual sympathy. Both also being so nobly descended, thought it foul scorn to follow a mechanical profession, and preferred a life of war or robbery, even though it should lead to the gallows. In either country, also, a closer relationship to the chief than that of common consanguinity could be obtained, through the institution of *fostership*. By this practice, as soon as the son of a chief was born, instead of being reared in the paternal home, he was consigned to the paternal care of a vassal of the clan, by whose wife he was suckled, and with whose sons and daughters he was brought up. On this account, the future chief was more closely connected with his foster relatives, than with the members of his own family, and his adopted father and brothers from this connection became the chief men of the clan. As the office of foster-father was attended with such distinction, it became the great mark of ambition, so that no price was thought too high to purchase it.

Next to the chief in influence and importance among the native Irish, was the *filea* or bard. The Celt of all countries, whether French, Irish, Highland, or Welsh, has always been of a poetic temperament; and hence the account in which the poet has been held among them, especially in the earlier stages of society. He was their teacher and historian, the chronicler of great deeds and dispenser of fame, upon whose voice it depended whether a man should be elevated into renown, condemned to infamy, or

sunk in oblivion. So important a functionary was consequently subjected to a long and laborious training, and we may, therefore, safely credit the Irish legends about the colleges set apart for the education of fleas alone, at the time when Ireland was free, and the "harp of Tara" was swept with an honoured hand in the palaces of princes. Now, however, his themes as well as his office were of a less elevated description: he was a vagabond among bondmen, and the eulogist of thieves, rebels, and cut-throats, who constituted his principal auditory. So at least say the English writers, who could be little expected to sympathize in those songs, under the inspiration of which their houses were fired or plundered, their cattle driven away, and the national resistance perpetuated from generation to generation. They add, also, that the terrors of the flea among his own countrymen, from the power of his satire, were so great, that, like certain modern journalists, his silence was often purchased with a bribe. Of their songs in general, fallen as they now undoubtedly were from the ancient standard, a competent critic, the author of the "Faerie Queene," says, "I have caused divers of them to be translated unto me, that I might understand them, and surely they savoured of sweet wit, and good invention, but skilled not of the goodly ornaments of poetry; yet were they sprinkled with some pretty flowers of their natural device, which gave good grace and comeliness unto them, the which it is great pity to see abused to the gracing of wickedness and vice, which with good usage would serve to adorn and beautify virtue." Such were the bards of Ireland in the days of Queen Elizabeth. Another important personage, although in a much less degree, was the chief's storyteller, "who bringeth his lord on sleep with tales vain and frivolous whereunto the number give sooth and credence." Such an indulgence, indeed, was necessary among such a lively people, who for the most part had neither books to read, nor scholarship enough to read them, even had they been within their reach. Schools, indeed, there were in the country, but these it would appear, were chiefly for the behoof of the children of the Anglo-Irish, and for those only who were to be trained in medicine, law, or divinity. Of course, Latin was the principal language in requisition, but such Latin as

was overlaid with the barbarism of the country, as well as the monachism of the dark ages. Campion, who describes these seminaries, tells us, "I have seen them where they kept school, ten in some one chamber, grovelling upon couches of straw, their books at their noses, themselves lying flat, prostrate; and so to chant out their lessons piecemeal, being the most part lusty fellows of twenty-five years and upward." As yet, the Irish priest had not obtained his paramount importance. Educated at such schools as these, and regarded as the refuse of his proud order, while Popery was still paramount over Europe, he was little more than the Friar Tuck of a band of outlaws, to bless them on setting out on an expedition, and absolve them of its crimes on their return. But when Protestantism became the established faith of England, and was imposed upon Ireland at sword-point, a new principle of antagonism was introduced, in which the native ecclesiastic was the most distinguished agent. He had now to fight for his order and his faith, as well as his political liberty; and while the people rallied round him as their natural leader, the conflict was aggravated into the tenfold bitterness of a religious war. Such was the element now in active operation, which for centuries after was to produce such disastrous fruits.

As might be expected in the state of such a country, every native was more or less a soldier, or at least a robber and plunderer. But of those



CHARGE OF IRISH HORSEMEN WIELDING THE LANCE.—Harl. MSS. 1319.

who properly were soldiers, under the names of gallowglasses or yeomen, and kerns or irregular troops, we shall now briefly speak. That their undisciplined cavalry were excellent horsemen, and well fitted for the guerilla warfare of morass and mountain, their enemies were ready to attest. They rode, we are told, with sliding reins,

and a shank-pillion without stirrups, and held their lances overhead instead of couching them, so that they could thrust suddenly, and at unawares, wherever an enemy was exposed. They could also dismount, run by the side of the horse in full gallop, and vault into the saddle without abating the career. In addition to their lances which they used in hand-to-hand fight, these wild cavaliers carried darts of knotted wood about four feet long, and terminating in a broad steel head, which they threw with great dexterity and force. The defensive armour of the Irish soldiery, whether of horse or foot, consisted of a quilted jack, which they wore every day as part of their necessary clothing, and a light broad shield of wicker work, resembling those of the ancient Britons at the period of the Roman invasion. Besides these, the cloak was of such tough texture that it could blunt the ordinary stroke of a sword, while it was of such ample dimensions, that during a long campaign, it served the wearer for tent, bed, and clothing. With a helmet the Irish soldier often dispensed; but in lieu of it, he wore his hair at full length, platted into cords, and wound round his head; and this defence, which was called a glib, could withstand both a sharp edge and heavy blow. With this glib, too, uncoiled and thrown over his face, an Irish soldier could disguise himself for the purposes of plunder or espial; and when in danger of detection he could cut it off in a trice, and look as demure as a harmless palmer. For offensive weapons, the Irish gallowglasses or foot soldiers had battles-axes, long sharp broadswords or skeins—and for distant fight, short bows, and short bearded arrows.

It will be seen that a military force like this was no match in the open field for the superior intelligence, arms, and discipline of the English; and the experiment, therefore, after a few trials, the Irish seldom cared to hazard. Instead of this, they confined themselves to the irregular warfare for which they were best fitted—to feigned flights, skirmishes, and surprises. As might have been expected, too, the English who were harassed by such a mode of resistance, which had continued for centuries, and been conducted with admirable cunning, were loud in their complaints of Irish treachery, cowardice, and cruelty—forgetting that every people so situated resist after the same fashion. The Irish being also the weaker party, although the most numerous, had recourse to supernatural aid besides the ordinary resources; and as their conquerors were not much more enlightened than themselves upon such a subject, they trembled more at the spells and incantations, than at the weapons of the Irish, who, they complained, had enlisted the devil upon their side as an auxiliary. To this, the daring

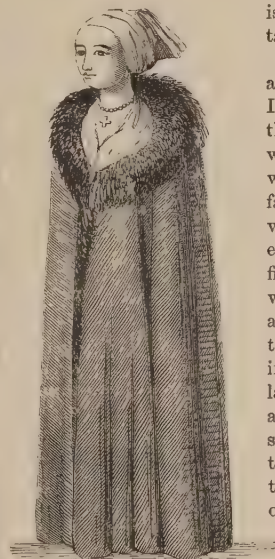
deeds, and hair-breadth escapes of Rorie Oge O'More, already mentioned, and other such chieftains, were attributed, and not to mere natural craft and courage. As the long sharp skein was the favourite national weapon of the Irish, the soldier swore by it as a patron saint, while he was anxious to increase its efficacy by a double portion of magic; and, therefore, before going to battle, he addressed prayers to it, signed it with the cross, muttered conjurations over it, and thrust its point into the earth, after which, he charged the enemy as if he wielded a charmed blade which nothing could resist. As the bonds of chivalry and distinctions of knighthood were useless among such warriors, they were not sought after; but in their stead they had a tie called *gossipred*, which has existed among the soldiery of more than one nation of savages, both of ancient and modern times. Under this gossipred, the Irish bound themselves to stand by each other to the death, whether in evil or in good; and to ratify the bargain, they opened their veins and drank a small portion of each other's blood.

In turning to the domestic usages and modes of life among the Irish at the close of this period, we find a ruder barbarism than had ever prevailed either in England or Scotland. What kind of houses could be expected among a people composed of predatory soldiers or wandering shepherds, and whose daily scramble was not merely for the means of subsistence, but for life itself? The dwellings of the peasantry were, therefore, such hovels as could be raised without trouble, and abandoned without regret—mere shelters of a mud inclosure, in which, we are told by Speuser, men, women, children, and beasts, were littered together without distinction, “in one house, in one room, in one bed, that is, clean straw, or rather a foul dunghill.” This coarse mode of living was further confirmed by the looseness of the marriage tie, in which man and wife lived together for mutual convenience, and parted upon the most frivolous quarrel, when they went forth in quest of new partners. “They seldom marry out of their own town,” says Camden, “and contract with one another not *in presenti*, but *in futuro*, or else consent without any manner of deliberation. Upon this account the least difference generally parts them, the husband taking another wife, and the wife another husband; nor is it certain whether the contract be true or false till they die. Hence arise feuds, rapines, murders, and deadly animosities about succeeding to the inheritance.” As for the children of such a union, Campion informs us, “the natives neither swaddled nor lapped them in linen, but folded them up stark naked in a blanket, after which it was fortunate if a rag could be found to cover them.” The truth of these squalid pictures of Irish do-

mestic life, the experience of the nineteenth century can but too well verify. As for the dress of the people—a scanty theme—it in most instances consisted of the thick sword-proof mantle we have already described, which served as the wearer's clothes by day and blanket by night, and constituted the whole of his wardrobe. But among the higher and wealthier classes a more becoming style prevailed, the memorial of what the national costume had been when the nation was free and independent. This, besides the cloak, a flowing *toga* of saffron colour, which was the national hue, consisted of a *cota* or *cotaigh*, the classical *tunica* of ancient Rome, and as Walker in his *History of Irish Bards* informs us, was “a kind of shirt of plaided stuff or linen, dyed yellow, and ornamented also with needle-work according to the rank of the wearer. This shirt,” he adds, “was open before, and came as low as mid-thigh; the trunk being thus open was folded round the body, and made fast by a girdle round the loins. The bosom was cut round, leaving the neck and upper part of the shoulders bare.” This costume, sufficiently picturesque as well as comfortable, constituted the full dress of a native Irish gentleman; but his attire for ordinary occasions, was a short woollen jacket with flowing skirts, and a pair of long trousers that fitted close to the body, and were striped with a variety of gay colours, like the tartan *trews* of the Highland gentlemen of Scotland. Of the costume of the Irish ladies of condition we are unable to be so explicit, owing to the silence of the old English authors on this subject. The specimen, however, which we annex in the way of illustration, gives us little cause to regret the omission. Here, the head-dress



COSTUME OF AN IRISHMAN
OF RANK.¹



COSTUME OF AN IRISHWOMAN.
After Hollar.

is a cap of the simplest and most demure kind, allowing not a single tress or ringlet to escape from its envelopment; while the whole form, from the shoulders to the feet, is shrouded in an ample cloak, descending in stiff folds, and giving no token of ornament, except the fur, with which the cape and edges are lined. Her rank, indeed, is chiefly attested by the necklace and its pendant cross; but as for the other embellishments of her inner attire, if they really exist, these are so effectually concealed by the external covering, that

the fact of their existence can only be taken for granted.

In the cookery and diet of the Irish people of this period, among whom materials were so scanty and famine so frequent, we can scarcely expect much refinement. A meal was an uncertainty, and the stomachs that awaited it were in no mood for delay. Besides this, as agriculture was so limited among them, not only from the precariousness of its profits, but the contempt with which it was regarded as an occupation only fit for Englishmen,

a meal was almost wholly a flesh-feast, unqualified by the humanizing influences of vegetables and bread. The Bohemian baron, whose visit to the Earl of Tyrone we have already mentioned, found, during an eight days' journey in his progress, no bread, no, not so much as a cake of oatmeal, until he reached the table of the mighty satrap himself. This, however, was not to be wondered at, when we are informed of the patriotism of the earl, which was of such a fierce description, that he cursed any of his pedigree who should learn the English language, build houses, or sow corn. Even when a plentiful table was spread, its coarse dainties were served up on turned wooden platters, for even pewter was too costly a rarity; and when the luxury of a table itself was wanting, which often happened, a bundle of grass sufficed, that served the purposes of table, table-cloth, ewer, and napkin. Descending from these “good men's feasts”

¹ “This figure is from the effigy of Richard de Burgo, in the abbey of Athassel, county of Tipperary, and represents the earl clothed in his civil robes, and without any cap or covering on his head; the hair is divided on the forehead, and falls over the ears in short curls, whilst on the upper lip are seen moustachios. The dress consists of a loose robe girded around the waist, and falling to the ankles in straight folds. The shoulders are covered by a small cape or tippet, which is fastened on the breast by a circular brooch.”—*Archæological Journal*, vol. ii. p. 124.

to the Irish common diet and processes of cookery, we are informed by an author of the period (Morgan): "They scum the seething-pot with a handful of straw, and strain their milk taken from the cow through a like handful of straw, none of the cleanest, and so cleanse, or rather more defile the pot and milk. They devour great morsels of beef unsalted, and they eat commonly swine's flesh, seldom mutton; and all these pieces of flesh, as also the entrails of beasts unwashed, they seethe in a hollow tree, lapped in a raw cow's hide, and so set over the fire, and therewith swallow whole lumps of filthy butter. Yea (which is most contrary to nature) they will feed on horses dying of themselves, not only upon small want of flesh, but even for pleasure." To this account we may add a few notices from Campion, who informs us, that "in haste and hunger they would squeeze out the blood of raw flesh, and ask no more dressing thereto; therest boileth in their stomachs with aquavite, which they swill in after such a surfeit by quarts and pottles." He also mentions a still more loathsome and inhuman dish which was in use among the Irish. This was procured by bleeding their cattle, and letting the blood congeal, after which it was baked, larded with butter, and devoured in lumps. The milk of their cattle was also plentifully used at Irish meals, warmed or curdled, by the process of dropping a stone into it that had been heated in the fire for the purpose; and sometimes this simple posset was enriched by an admixture of beef-broth. Whatever vegetables they chanced

to use, were those that grew wild, such as the water-cress, and especially the shamrock: this last by its acid taste was particularly grateful to outlawed and starving fugitives, who snatched it "like beasts out of ditches, as they ran and were chased to and fro." Of the drinks used by the Irish, the chief was aquavite or whiskey, exclusively a Celtic beverage, which was common from a very early period both to Irishmen and Highlanders, and sometimes it was flavoured by the former with raisins, fennel-seed, or saffron. Sometimes sack found its way to the tables of the rich from Spain, and ale and beer from England, but these last in smaller quantities. It speaks much for the Arab-like character of the people, that although they denied themselves so much the luxury of bread, yet they carefully hoarded their scanty stores of oats for the exclusive sustenance of their horses.

Such was the state of Ireland at the close of the sixteenth and commencement of the seventeenth centuries. It is truly a sickening picture; and on considering it, we are naturally induced to wonder that so little improvement has been accomplished in the character and condition of the native Irish, from that period till the present day. Are we to attribute this political phenomenon to the Asiatic tenacity and indisposition to change, manifested by the whole Celtic race, aggravated in the case of Ireland by foreign domination and misrule? Such a conclusion the whole history of that unhappy land seems too well calculated to verify.

BOOK VII.

PERIOD FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES I. TO THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.—57 YEARS.

FROM A.D. 1603—1606.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

England.	Germany.	Portugal.	Denmark.
1603 JAMES I.	1612 MATTHIAS.	1640 JOHN IV.	1648 FREDERICK II.
1625 CHARLES I.	1619 FERDINAND II.	1656 ALFONSO VI.	
1649 COMMONWEALTH.	1637 FERDINAND III.		
	1658 LEOPOLD I.		
France.	Spain.	Sweden.	Popes.
1589 HENRY IV.		1604. CHARLES IX.	1605 LEO XI.
1610 LOUIS XIII.	1598 PHILIP III.	1611 GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.	1605 PAUL V.
1643 LOUIS XIV.	1621 PHILIP IV.	1632 CHRISTINA.	1621 GREGORY XV.
		1654 CHARLES X.	1623 URBAN VIII.
			1644 INNOCENT X.
			1655 ALEXANDER VII.

CHAPTER I.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1603—1606

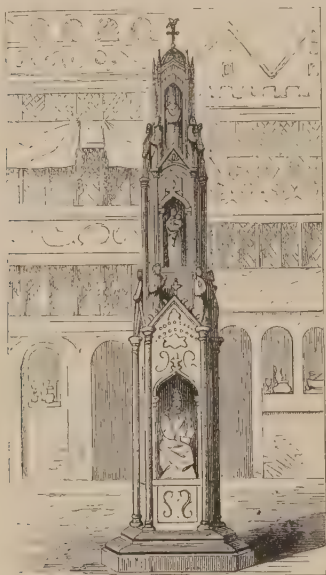
JAMES I.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1603—DEATH, A.D. 1625.

Tidings of Queen Elizabeth's death sent to James VI. of Scotland—He is proclaimed King of England, &c.—His journey to England—His arrival in London—Court paid to him by foreign states—Plots against him in London—Apprehension of the principal conspirators—Apprehension and trial of Sir Walter Raleigh—He and his associates respited—Petition of the Puritans for religious reform and a conference—The conference held at Hampton Court—James's conduct as a disputant—Flattery paid to him by the bishops and courtiers—Meeting of his first parliament—James's love of hunting—Disappointment of the Catholics at not receiving toleration—Conspirators of the Gunpowder Plot—Their purpose and proceedings—Detection of the plot—Apprehension of Fawkes—Flight of the conspirators—Their desperate resistance and death—Trial and execution of Fawkes—Trial and execution of others of the conspirators—Apprehension of Garnet, the Jesuit, and his associate, Hall—Their imprisonment in the Tower—Nefarious practices to make them confess their guilt—Their trial—They are executed—Arbitrary proceedings of the Star Chamber.

ELIZABETH had no sooner breathed her last, than Lady Scrope, a daughter of her relative, the late Lord Hunsdon, communicated the intelligence to her brother Sir Robert Carey, who had been on the watch; and who, anticipating Cecil and the other lords of the council, stole out of the palace at Richmond, where the queen had expired at three o'clock on the morning of Thursday, the 24th of March, and posted down to Scotland, in order to be the first to hail James Stuart as King of England. This tender relative arrived at Edinburgh on the night of Saturday the 26th, four days before Sir Charles Percy and Thomas Somerset, Esq., who were dispatched by the council; but it was agreed with James to keep the great matter a

secret, until the formal despatch from London should reach him. Sir Robert Carey had scarcely taken horse for the north when Cecil, Nottingham, Egerton, and others, met in secret debate at Richmond at an early hour, before the queen's death was known; and these lords "knowing above all things delays to be most dangerous," proceeded at once to London, and drew up a proclamation in the name "of the lords spiritual and temporal, united and assisted with the late queen's council, other principal gentlemen, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London, a multitude of other good subjects and commons of the realm." This proclamation bore thirty-six signatures, the three first being those of Robert Lee, lord-mayor of London, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lord-keeper Egerton; the three last, those of Secretary Sir Robert Cecil, Sir J. Fortescue, and Sir John Popham. It

was signed and ready about five hours after Elizabeth's decease; and then those who had signed it went out of the council-chamber at Whitehall, with Secretary Cecil at their head, who had taken the chief direction of the business, and who in the front of the palace read to the people the proclamation, which assured them that the queen's majesty was really dead, and that the right of succession was wholly in James, King of Scots, now King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. They then went to the High Cross in Cheapside,



THE HIGH CROSS, CHEAPSIDE.
From a painting lately at Cowdray, Sussex.

where Cecil again read the proclamation, and when he had done, "the multitude with one consent cried aloud—"God save King James!" for all parties, or rather the three great religious sects, High Churchmen, Puritans, and Papists, all promised themselves advantages from his accession. Cecil next caused three heralds and a trumpeter to proclaim the said tidings within the walls of the Tower, where the heart of many a state-prisoner leaped for joy, and where the Earl of Southampton, the friend of the unfortunate Essex, joined the rest in their signs of great gladness.¹ Of the other thirteen or fourteen conflicting claims to the succession which had been reckoned up at different times during Elizabeth's reign, not one appears to have been publicly mentioned, or even alluded to; and the right of James was allowed to pass unquestioned. Such had been the able management of Cecil—such

was the readiness of the nation to acknowledge the Scottish king, or their laudable anxiety to avoid a disputed succession and civil war.

There was one person, however, whose claim excited uneasiness in the cautious mind of Cecil—this was the Lady Arabella Stuart, daughter of the Earl of Lennox, younger brother of James's father, Darnley, and descended equally from the stock of Henry VII.² This young lady was by birth an Englishwoman, a circumstance which had been considered by some as making up for her defect of primogeniture, for James, though nearer, was a born Scotchman and alien. Cecil for some time had had his eye upon the Lady Arabella, and she was now safe in his keeping. Eight hundred dangerous or turbulent persons, indistinctly described as "vagabonds," were seized in two nights in London, and sent to serve on board the Dutch fleet. No other outward precautions were deemed necessary by the son of Burghley, who calmly waited the coming of James and his own great reward, without asking for any pledge for the privileges of parliament, the liberties of the people, or the reform of abuses which had grown with the growing prerogative of the crown. But these were things altogether overlooked, not only by Cecil and Nottingham, and those who acted with them, but also by the parties opposed to them, the most remarkable man among whom was Sir Walter Raleigh, who, like all the other courtiers or statesmen, looked entirely to his own interest or aggrandizement.

Between the independent, unyielding spirit of his clergy, the turbulent, intriguing habits of his nobles, and his own poverty, James had led rather a hard life in Scotland. He was eager to take possession of England, which he looked upon as the very Land of Promise; but so poor was he that he could not begin his journey until Cecil sent him down money. He asked for the crown jewels of England for the queen his wife; but the council did not think fit to comply with this request: and, on the 6th day of April, he set out for Berwick, without wife or jewels. On arriving at that ancient town he fired off, with his own hand, a great piece of ordnance, an unusual effort of courage on his part. On the same day he wrote to his "right trusty and right well-beloved cousins and councillors, the lords and others of his privy council at London," thanking them for the money which they had sent, telling them that he would hasten his journey as much

² James's claim, however, was not at all through his father, Lord Darnley, but through his mother, who, as the granddaughter of James IV. by his wife Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII., was, after Elizabeth, the next representative of that king. The Lady Arabella and her uncle Lord Darnley were descended from the same Margaret Tudor, but by her second marriage with Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox.

¹ *Stowe; Weldon; Osborne; Mémoires of Sir Robert Carey.*

JAMES I.

James I. of England and VI. of Scotland, the only son of Mary Queen of Scots and her husband Lord Darnley, was born at Edinburgh Castle on the 19th of June, 1566. His father having been murdered and his mother forced to abdicate, the child was crowned King of Scotland in the year following his birth, and afterwards educated by George Buchanan under the direction of the Earl of Mar. The Scottish nation at this time was governed by factions of the Confederate Lords, and on one occasion some of these nobles made the young king captive in Ruthven Castle, but another party succeeded in setting him at liberty. Meanwhile his mother was held prisoner by Elizabeth in England, and ultimately executed at Fotheringay Castle. The king protested against the crime, but he did not go to war with England, nor did his mother's fate seem to cause him much grief. Upon the death of Queen Elizabeth he was declared her successor, and ascended the English throne in 1603. At first James was popular with his subjects, but subsequently he incurred the displeasure of the English by ruling through his favourites, and in Scotland he was detested because he established Episcopacy. He had many defects, indeed, both as a man and a sovereign, combined with some excellencies as a wit and a scholar. He died in 1625 after a somewhat inglorious reign.



Drawn by J. L. Williams

Engraved by T. Brown

FROM CONTEMPORARY ENGRAVINGS BY PASS AND C. VISSCHER.

as conveniently he might—that he intended to tarry awhile at the city of York, and to make his entry therein in some such solemn manner as appertained to his dignity, and that, therefore, he should require that all such things as they in their wisdom thought meet should be sent down to York. The body of Elizabeth was still above ground, and it would have been regular in him to attend her funeral in person. He assured the lords that he could be well contented to do that, and all other honour he might, unto “the queen defunct;” and he referred it to their consideration, whether it would be more honour for her to have the funeral finished before he came, or to wait and have him present at it. Cecil and his friends knew what

all this meant, and hastened the funeral: there was no rejoicing successor present; but 1500 persons in deep mourning voluntarily followed the body of Elizabeth to Westminster Abbey. The king was a slow traveller. On the 13th of April, or seven days after, he had got no farther than Newcastle, whence he wrote another letter, commanding coins of different denominations to be struck in gold and silver. He gave minute directions as to arms, quarterings, and mottoes. By the 15th of April he had reached the house of Sir William Ingleby at Topcliff; and from that place he wrote a curious letter, to the lord-keeper, the lord-treasurer, the lord-admiral, the master of the horse, and the principal secretary for the time being. All his circumlocution and care could not conceal his ill-humour at their not coming to meet him, and their still delaying to send the crown jewels. It is said that James, in conversing with some of his English counsellors about his prerogative, exclaimed joyously, “Do I make the judges? Do I make the bishops? Then, God’s wounds! I make what likes me law and gospel!” Though he had hardly ever had the due and proper authority of a king in his own country, he had long indulged in a speculative absolutism, and, as far as his cowardice and indolence allowed him, he came fully prepared to rule the people of England as a despot. To enliven his journey he hunted along the road. He was a miserable horseman, but his courtiers invented for him a sort of “hunting

made easy;” yet, notwithstanding their system and his own great caution, his majesty got a fall off his horse, near Belvoir Castle. “But God be thanked,” adds Cecil, in relating the accident to the ambassador in France, “he hath no harm at all by it, and it is no more than may befall any other *great and extreme rider*, as he is, at least once every month.”¹ As he approached the English capital, hosts of courtiers and aspirants after places hurried to meet him and pay their homage. Among these the great Francis Bacon was not the last, who, in a letter to the Earl of Northumberland, has left us a curious record of his first impressions.²

Other persons who were not, as Bacon was, afraid of judging too boldly of James’s character and address, expressed astonishment, if not disgust, at the very unroyal person and behaviour of the new sovereign, whose legs were too weak to carry his body—whose tongue was too large for his mouth—whose eyes were goggle, rolling, and yet vacant—whose apparel was neglected and dirty—whose whole appearance and bearing was slovenly and ungainly; while his unmanly fears were betrayed by his wearing a thickly wadded dagger-proof doublet, and by many other ridiculous precautions. To such as



JAMES I.—From a portrait by Vandyke, after a miniature by Hilyard, 1617.

hungered after the honours of knighthood, he may have appeared in a more favourable light, for, as he went along, he profusely distributed these honours: in fact, he appears to have bestowed the honour of knighthood on nearly every person that came to him during this hey-day journey. At last, on the 3d of May, he reached Theobalds in Hertfordshire, the sumptuous seat of Secretary Cecil, where, as at other gentlemen’s houses at which he had stayed, he was astonished at the luxury, comparative elegance, and comfort he found. He was met by all the lords of the late queen’s council, who knelt down and did their homage, after which the Lord-keeper Egerton made a grave oration, in the name of all, signifying their assured love and allegiance. On the morrow he made twenty-eight more knights.

But it was not for these operations that Cecil

¹ Sir Henry Ellis’s Collection.

² *Scrinia Sacra*, a supplement to the *Cabala*.

had induced him to take Theobalds on his way; and during the four days which the king passed there, that wily statesman ingratiated himself with his new master, and remodelled a cabinet very much (though not entirely) to his own satisfaction. The chief objects of Cecil's present jealousy were the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Grey, Lord Cobham, and the versatile, intriguing, and ambitious Sir Walter Raleigh, who, very fortunately for Cecil, had given grounds of offence to the king before Elizabeth's demise. Northumberland, who employed the cogent advocacy and eloquent tongue of Bacon, was promised a share in the king's favour; but Cobham and Grey were cut off from promotion, and Raleigh, who aspired to the highest posts, was deprived of the subordinate ones which he had held.¹ Cecil was retained, together with his friends Nottingham, Henry and Thomas Howard, Buckhurst, Mountjoy, and Egerton, to whom James added four Scottish lords, and his secretary, Elphinstone, a nomination which instantly called forth jealousy and discontent.

On the 7th of May the king moved towards London, and was met at Stamford Hill by the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, in scarlet robes; and about six o'clock in the evening he arrived at the Charter-house, where he made some more knights. On the same day proclamation was made that all the monopolies granted by the late queen should be suspended till they had been examined by the king and council,² that all royal protections that hindered men's suits in law should cease, and that the oppressions done by saltpetre makers, purveyors, and cart-takers, for the use of the court, should be put down. These were valuable instalments if they had been held sacred; but a few days after, James, "being a prince above all others addicted to hunting," issued another proclamation, prohibiting all manner of persons whatsoever from killing deer, and all kinds of wild-fowl used for hunting and hawking, upon pain of the severest penalties.³

From the Charter-house James removed to the Tower, where he made more knights, and from the Tower he proceeded to Greenwich, where he

made more. By the time he had set foot in his palace of Whitehall, he had knighted 200 individuals of all kinds and colours, and before he had been three months in England he had lavished the honour on some 700;⁴ nor was he very chary even of the honour of the English peerage, which Elizabeth held at so high a price. He presently made four earls and nine barons, among whom was Cecil, who became Lord Cecil, afterwards Viscount Cranborne, and finally Earl of Salisbury. Several of the English promotions excited surprise and derision; but these feelings gave place to more angry passions when he elevated his Scottish followers to seats in the House of Lords. Before he had done he added sixty-two names to the list of the peerage.

Towards the end of June, James met his queen and his children (with the exception of Charles his second son, who had been left behind in Scotland) at Windsor Castle, where the young prince Henry was installed knight of the order of the Garter. On the 22d of July the court removed to Westminster, where the king, in his garden, dubbed knights all the judges, all the serjeants-at-law,⁵ all the doctors of civil law, all the gentlemen-ushers, and "many others of divers qualities." Splendid preparations had been made for the coronation of the king and queen with pageants and shows of triumph; but as the plague was raging in the city of London and the suburbs, the people were not permitted to go to Westminster to see the sight, but forbidden by proclamation, lest the infection should be further spread—for there died that week in London and the suburbs of all diseases 1103; of the plague 857. To increase the inauspicious aspect of things, the weather was darker and more rainy than had ever been known at such a season.⁶ On the 25th of July the coronation took place.

However weak might be the personal character of James, the power of the great nation he was called to govern was not to be despised by the contending states on the Continent. Almost immediately on his arrival, special ambassadors began to flock from all parts, to congratulate him on his accession, and to win him each to the sepa-

¹ He was allowed to retain the government of the island of Jersey, which had been given to him by Elizabeth.—Sir Henry Ellis' *Letters*.

² Lodge (*Illustrations*) gives a complete list of these monopolies. One of them gives Symon Farmer and John Crafford an exclusive right "to transport all manner of horns for twenty-one years." One gives Bryan Amerley the sole right of buying steel beyond seas, and of selling the same within this realm. One confines to Ede Schets the sole right of exporting ashes and old shoes for seven years. One gives Sir Walter Raleigh the faculty of dispensing licenses for keeping of taverns and retailing of wines throughout all England.

³ Stow; Roger Coke, *Detection of the Court and State of England*, &c.

⁴ Mr. Hallam tells us—"In the first part of his reign James had availed himself of an old feudal resource, calling on all who

held £40 a-year in chivalry (whether of the crown or not, as it seems) to receive knighthood or to pay a composition.—*Rymer*, xvi. 530. The object of this was, of course, to raise money from those who thought the honour troublesome and expensive, but such as chose to appear could not be refused; and this accounts for his having made many hundred knights in the first year of his reign.—*Harri's Life of James*, p. 69."—Hallam's *Const. Hist. Eng.* note at p. 332. From *The Glory of Generosity*, published in Elizabeth's reign, we learn that an act of parliament had been passed to protect those who held lands by scutage, from being compelled to become knights and taxed accordingly. No doubt this would make still more marked the greater honour of the knightly tenure; and probably a mixed feeling of loyalty and pride of rank led numbers of the gentry to crowd to the king and claim their undoubted privilege of being knighted.

⁵ Among those thus knighted was Francis Bacon. ⁶ *Stow*.

rate views and interests of his court. The first embassy that arrived was from the states of Holland, Zealand, and the United Provinces, which stood most in need of English assistance. But the suitors of Portia in the immortal drama scarcely arrived with more rapidity to woo the beautiful heiress, than did the rival diplomatists to win the good graces of James. James had no sympathy for the emancipated subjects of Spain, who had prevailed in their struggle for independence, in good part through the assistance lent to them by Elizabeth; and when over his cups he spoke of the Hollanders as rebels and traitors to their lawful sovereign. The Hollanders, moreover, had not been very grateful for aid which had been lent from selfish motives, and they were slow in paying the money they owed to England. The Archduke of Austria, on the other hand, showed a great disposition to liberality, and it appears pretty certain that his envoy D'Aremberg would have prevailed with James, had it not been for the address, the winning manners, and the gold of Rosny, the French ambassador, afterwards the great Duke of Sully, who distributed bribes among the needy courtiers, and, it is said, bribed the queen herself. James agreed to, and even ratified a treaty, in which he bound himself with Henry IV. to send secret assistance in money to the States, and, in case of Philip attacking France, to join in open hostilities. Rosny departed rejoicing; but it was soon found that King James had no money to spare, and that he was resolved to live in peace, even at the cost of the national honour. Pride prevented the Spanish court from suing directly for a peace, but Philip III. told some desperate English Catholic plotters that he wished to live in amity with James; and he soon sent over a regular ambassador to negotiate in his own name. Denmark, Poland, the Palatinate, some other German states, Tuscany, and Venice, had already despatched their envoys, and to all of them the king had said, "Peace at home and abroad!—above all things peace."¹

But he had already been made acquainted with a plot which he thought threatened not only to disturb peace at home, but also to deprive him of his throne and life. Sir Walter Raleigh, who was smarting with the pangs of disappointed ambition, and transported with jealousy of the prevailing influence of Cecil, was further enraged by the king's depriving him of his valuable patent of the monopoly of licensing taverns and retailing wines throughout all England, and by seeing his honourable post of captain of the guard bestowed upon one of the Scottish adventurers. In spite of his consummate abilities, he was a rash

politician; and our respect for his genius ought not to blind us to the fact that, in the pursuit of rank, power, and wealth, he could be a selfish, dangerous, and remorseless man. His political associate, Lord Cobham, who had joined with him and Cecil in ruining the Earl of Essex, was now equally disappointed and desperate. The Lord Grey of Wilton, who had partaken in their disgrace, partook also in their discontent and ill-will against Cecil; but he was inspired by higher, or less interested motives than Raleigh and Cobham. Each of these men had his partizans of inferior condition, and, up to a certain point, the disappointed Earl of Northumberland, whom James had amused with promises, "as a child with a rattle," went along with them, and seems to have been a party in intriguing with Rosny and with Beaumont, the resident ambassador of France, who had both been instructed to sow dissensions in the English cabinet, and to overthrow, if possible, the power of Cecil.² Here Northumberland stopped. The other three proceeded, at times in concert, at times separately, and with diverging views. They would all have been powerless and clientless, but for the unhappy disputes and heartburnings in matters of religion, and the disgust which many men felt at the king's being admitted without any pledge or assurance for the redress of grievances, and the better observance of the rights of parliament. The Puritans, who were still growing in consideration, wished for the establishment of a Presbyterian church, somewhat like that which had been set up by Knox and his associates in Scotland; the Catholics wished, for themselves, toleration, and *something more*; some minor and very weak sects would have been satisfied with simple toleration; but the High Church party—the only true Protestants by act of parliament—were determined to oppose all these wishes and claims, and to press for a uniformity of faith to be upheld by the whole power of the penal statutes. Before his coming to the crown of England, James had made large promises to the Catholics; but, on his arrival in London, he threw himself into the arms of the High Churchmen, who easily alarmed him as to the anti-monarchical influences of the court of Rome. He swore that he would fight to death against a toleration; and he sent some Irish deputies to the Tower for petitioning for it.⁴ The oppressed and impatient began to conspire several weeks before the coronation, and their plots, loosely bound together by their common discontent, were pretty certain to fall asunder of them-

² An expression of Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, in a letter to Mr. David Bruce.—Lord Hailes, *Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with James VI., King of Scotland.*

³ Despatches of Beaumont, as quoted by Carte.

⁴ Despatches of Beaumont, the French ambassador.

¹ Stow; Coke; Wilson; Lodge; the *Memoirs* attributed to Sully; Birch, *Negotiations*.

selves. It should appear that the Catholics, the most oppressed party, took the initiative; but the fact is not certain, and it is impossible to explain by what means they were brought to coalesce with the Puritans, who were more intolerant of their faith than the High Churchmen. Sir Griffin Markham, a Catholic of small property or influence, joined with two secular priests, Watson and Clarke, and with George Brooke, a brother of Lord Cobham's, and an able but unprincipled man.¹ The priest, Watson, had been with James in Scotland previous to Elizabeth's death to gain his favour for the Catholics; and he said afterwards to the council, that the king's broken promises and determination to allow of no toleration to his church had induced him to enter into the plot. He was for a time the chief mover in it: he drew up and administered a terrible oath of secrecy, and, together with Clarke, laboured and travelled incessantly to induce the Catholic gentry to join the cause. He was, however, remarkably unsuccessful; for, of the Catholic gentry, scarcely one of any weight or consequence joined the conspirators, except Anthony Copley, of the west of England. It was probably on this failure (he must have moved and acted rapidly), that Watson won over the chief leaders of the Puritans by concealing from them the greater part of his views. Lord Grey of Wilton was a Puritan, and, though a young man, the leader of his party, and he entered into the plot, and engaged to furnish 100 men well mounted. Lord Cobham, and perhaps Raleigh, were privy to this conspiracy; but it appears that they took no active part in it, being engaged in a separate plot of their own. Cecil says that Grey was drawn into the "priest's treason" in ignorance that so many Papists were engaged in the action, and that as soon as he had knowledge of their numbers, he sought to sever himself from them by dissuading the execution of their project till some future time. This project was, to seize the king's person, and to keep him in confinement (as the Scotch had done before them) till he changed his ministers, and granted a toleration, together with a free pardon, to all who had been concerned in the plot. Such was the constitution of the "Bye Plot," as it was called. The "Main," in which Raleigh and Cobham were engaged, was far more compact, but still weak and wild; and George Brooke, the brother-in-law, and suspected tool of Cecil, was engaged in it, as well as in the "Bye."

¹ Mr. Jardine (*Criminal Trials*) says, "It is difficult to ascertain what could be Brooke's motive for joining the conspiracy, as he was actuated neither by political nor religious considerations." Mr. Tytler (*Life of Raleigh*) thinks it extremely probable that Cecil, aware of the intrigues of the Catholic priests, engaged Brooke, who was his brother-in-law, to become a party to their discontents, that he might discover and betray their secrets. And Mr. Tytler quotes several contemporary documents which go to establish this conviction.

On the 24th of June, the day appointed by the "Bye" for seizing the king on his road to Windsor, Lord Grey and his 100 men were not at the place of meeting, and the priest Watson and his Catholic friends were too weak to attempt anything. On the 6th of July, Anthony Copley was arrested; and as he was timid, and ready to confess, and as Cecil knew already (if not through Brooke, through other parties), of the whole plot of the "Bye," Sir Griffin Markham, the priests Watson and Clarke, and the rest of Copley's confederates, were presently apprehended. Cecil, who appears to have been as well acquainted with the "Main" as with the "Bye," met Sir Walter Raleigh on the terrace at Windsor, and requested his attendance before the lords of the council, then secretly assembled in the castle. Raleigh obeyed the summons, and was instantly questioned touching his friend Cobham's private dealings with the *Count d'Aremberg*. At first he asserted that there could have been no unwarrantable or treasonable practices between Cobham and that ambassador; but on being further pressed, he said that La Rensy, D'Aremberg's servant, might better explain what passed than he could do. Sir Walter was allowed to depart a free man, and he forthwith wrote a letter to Cecil, recommending him to interrogate La Rensy. It is said that Raleigh then wrote to Cobham, warning him of his danger, and that this letter was intercepted by Cecil. Cobham was called before the council, where, by showing Raleigh's letter to himself, advising him to question D'Aremberg's servant, and by otherwise working on his temper, Cecil made Cobham believe that he had been basely betrayed by Raleigh, and then confess that he had been led into a conspiracy by his friend Sir Walter. Both were secured and committed to the Tower, where, on the 27th of July, two days after the king's coronation, Raleigh is said to have attempted his own life.²

On account of the plague, which made the king's ministers, judges, and lawyers, flee from place to place, and partly owing to the presence of D'Aremberg, who did not leave England till October, no judicial proceedings were instituted till the 15th of November, when the commoners implicated in the "Bye" were arraigned in Winchester Castle. "Brooke, Markham, Brookesby, Copley, and the two priests," says a narrative of the affair written at the time, "were condemned for practising the surprise of the king's person, the taking of the Tower, the deposing of counsellors, and proclaiming liberty of religion. They were all condemned upon their own confessions, which were set down under their own hands as declarations, and compiled with such labour and

² Cayley, *Life of Raleigh*; Howell, *State Trials*.

care, to make the matter they undertook seem very feasible, as if they had feared they should not say enough to hang themselves."¹ It had not been thought convenient to place the able Raleigh with these poor blunderers, or to try him for his privy to the "Bye." He was tried upon the "Main;" his trial "served for a whole act, and he played all the parts himself."

Raleigh's trial lasted from eight in the morning till eleven at night. The only evidence produced against him was the wavering and partly contradictory confession of Cobham, together with a letter written by Cobham the day before, in which he accused Raleigh as the first mover of the plot. The overt acts charged were, that, on the 9th of June, Sir Walter Raleigh had conferred with Lord Cobham about advancing Arabella Stuart to the crown of England; that it was then agreed between them that Lord Cobham should go to the King of Spain and the Archduke of Austria, in order to obtain from them 600,000 crowns for the purpose of supporting Arabella Stuart's title; that Arabella Stuart should write letters to the King of Spain, the archduke, and the Duke of Savoy, and undertake with them these three things:—Peace with Spain—toleration of the Popish religion in England—and to marry according to the King of Spain's will. The indictment further charged, that it was agreed that Cobham should return from the Continent by Jersey, and there meet Sir Walter Raleigh (who had been allowed to retain the government of that island) to consult further as to the best means of working out the plot, and as to the public men and others who were to be bribed and bought with the 600,000 crowns; that, on the same 9th of June, Lord Cobham communicated the plot to George Brooke, who assented to it; that, on the 12th of June, Cobham and Brooke said, "that there never would be a good world in England till the king and his cubs were taken away;" that Raleigh delivered to Cobham a book written against the king's title to the crown; that Cobham, at the instigation of Raleigh, persuaded Brooke to urge Arabella Stuart to write the letters aforesaid; that, on the 19th of June, Cobham wrote letters to the ambassador D'Aremberg for the advance of 600,000 crowns, and sent the letters by La Rensy; that D'Aremberg promised the money; and that then Cobham promised Raleigh that he would give him 8000 crowns of it, and Brooke 1000 crowns.

To this indictment, which indisputably included many absurdities, Sir Walter pleaded not guilty. The king's serjeant, Heale, opened the

points of the indictment: in the conclusion of his speech he said, with some simplicity, "as for the Lady Arabella, she hath no more title to the crown than I have; and, before God, I utterly renounce any." Raleigh smiled. The great Coke, as attorney-general, then took up the case with excessive heat and bitterness. He began by describing the horrible intentions of the "Bye," among which he mentioned, *that the traitors had intended to make proclamation against monopolies*. "I pray you, gentlemen of the jury," said Raleigh, "remember I am not charged with the 'Bye,' which was the treason of the priests." "You are not," said Coke; "but it will be seen that all these treasons, though they consisted of several parts, closed in together, like Samson's foxes, which were joined in their tails though their heads were separated." After a deal of pedantry, and some punning, Coke, still connecting the prisoner with the "Bye," Raleigh asked what was the treason of the priests to him. "I will then come close to you," said Coke; "I will prove you to be the most notorious traitor that ever came to the bar: you are indeed upon the 'Main,' but you have followed them of the 'Bye' in imitation." He proceeded with increasing violence, charging Raleigh with things not in the indictment, calling him "a damnable atheist"—"a spider of hell"—"the most vile and execrable of traitors!" In some parts of his remarkable defence Raleigh rose to a rare eloquence. "I was not so bare of sense," said he, "but I saw that if ever this state was strong and able to defend itself, it was now. The kingdom of Scotland united, whence we were wont to fear all our troubles; Ireland quieted, where our forces were wont to be divided. . . . I was not such a madman as to make myself in this time, a Robin Hood, a Wat Tyler, or a Jack Cade. I knew, also, the state of the Spanish king well—his weakness, and poorness, and humbleness, at this time. I knew that six times we had repulsed his forces, thrice in Ireland, thrice at sea, and once at Cadiz, on his own coast. Thrice had I served against him myself at sea, wherein for my country's sake I had expended, of my own properties, £4000. I knew that where before-time he was wont to have forty great sails at the least in his ports, now he hath not past six or seven; and, for sending to his Indies, he was driven to hire strange vessels, a thing contrary to the institutions of his proud ancestors, who straitly forbid, in case of any necessity, that the Kings of Spain should make their case known to strangers. I knew that of £25,000,000 he had from his Indies, he had scarce any left; nay, I knew his poorness at this time to be such, that the Jesuits, his imps, were fain to beg at the church doors; his pride so abated as, notwith-

¹ Letter from Sir Dudley Carleton to Mr. John Chamberlain (in *Hardwicke State Papers*), dated November 27, 1603. See also *Howell's State Trials*.

standing his former high terms, he was glad to congratulate the king, my master, on his accession, and now cometh creeping unto him for peace."

Coke said that the Lord Cobham was "a good and honourable gentleman till overtaken by this wretch." Raleigh said that Cobham was "a poor, silly, base, dishonourable soul!" He demanded that he and his accuser should be brought face to face: he appealed to the statutes of Edward VI., which required two witnesses for the condemning a man to death on a charge of treason; and to the law of God, or the Jewish law, which made that number of witnesses necessary to prove any capital charge. "If," he said, "you proceed to condemn me by bare inferences, upon a paper accusation, you try me by the Spanish inquisition." At the end of another most eloquent speech, he exclaimed, "My lords, let Cobham be sent for; I know he is in this very house! I beseech you let him be confronted with me! Let him be here openly charged upon his soul—upon his allegiance to the king—and if he will then maintain his accusation to my face, I will confess myself guilty!" To his prayer for producing Cobham in court, the crown lawyers paid no attention whatever, persisting in their denunciations and abuse with astounding volubility. But there was not a man less likely to submit easily to the common process of "being talked to death by lawyers;" he could talk with the best of them, and he fought them all, hard and firm, to the last. "I *will* have the last word for the king!" said Coke. "Nay, I will have the last word for my life!" replied the prisoner. In the end, the jury returned a reluctant verdict of guilty. The frightful sentence, with all its revolting details, was then pronounced. Sir Walter after this used no words to the court openly, but desired to speak privately with the Earl of Suffolk, the Earl of Devonshire, the Lord Henry Howard, and my Lord Cecil, whom he entreated to be suitors in his behalf to his majesty, that, in regard of the places of honour he had held, his death might be honourable and not ignominious. The lords promised to do their best for him: the court rose, and the undaunted prisoner was carried up again to the castle. Raleigh's conduct gained for him the admiration of his bitterest enemies, and, with the exception of the court cabal, which dreaded his wondrous wit and abilities more than ever, there was scarcely a man in the kingdom but would have become a petitioner for his pardon.

The fair and accomplished Lady Arabella, whose name was repeatedly mentioned in the evidence against Raleigh, and who was soon to be far more hapless and helpless than the prisoner at the bar, was present at the trial. Cecil

said that she, the king's near kinswoman, was innocent of all these things; only she received a letter from my Lord Cobham to prepare her, which she laughed at, and immediately sent it to the king. And the lord-admiral (Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, formerly Lord Howard of Effingham), who was with the Lady Arabella in a gallery, stood up and said, that the lady, there present, protested, upon her salvation, that she never dealt in any of these things.¹ It is, indeed, generally admitted that she never entertained a hope or a wish of establishing her claim to the throne, and that she was perfectly innocent of any project or plot. The Lords Cobham and Grey were arraigned separately before a commission consisting of eleven earls and nineteen barons.² "Cobham," says an eye-witness "led the way on Friday. . . . Never was seen so poor and abject a spirit. He heard his indictment with much fear and trembling, and would sometimes interrupt it, by forswearing what he thought to be wrongly inserted."³ He denied having had any design to set up the Lady Arabella. He was all submission and meekness to his judges—all violence against his companions in misfortune. He laid the whole blame of what had been done amiss upon Raleigh, exclaiming bitterly against him. He inveighed still more bitterly against his own brother, George Brooke, terming him a corrupt and most wicked wretch, a murderer, a very viper. He accused young Harvey, the son of the lieutenant of the Tower, of having carried letters between him and Raleigh during their confinement. "Having thus accused all his friends and so little excused himself, the peers were not long in deliberation what to judge; and, after sentence of condemnation given, he begged a great while for life and favour, alleging his confession as a meritorious act."⁴ To obtain favour, he represented that the king's father was his god-father, and that his own father had suffered imprisonment for the king's mother.⁵ The Puritan lord was far more manly. "Grey, quite in another key, began with great spirit and alacrity, spake a long and eloquent speech. . . . He held them the whole day, from eight in the morning till eight at night; but the evidence was too perspicuous." They had condemned the coward without hesitation, but they hesitated long ere they would give their verdict against this brave young man."⁶ When the lords

¹ Lodge, *Illustrations*.

² "The Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Mar, and many Scottish lords stood as spectators; and of our ladies, the greatest part, as the Lady Nottingham, the Lady Suffolk, and the Lady Arabella, who heard herself much spoken of these days."—*Sir Dudley Carleton*.

³ *Sir Dudley Carleton*.

⁴ *Ibid*.

⁵ Michael Hiekes, in Lodge's *Illustrations*.

⁶ *Sir Dudley Carleton*. All reports of the trial agree in praising the courage and eloquence of Grey of Wilton. Some notes

had given their verdict, and he was asked why sentence of death should not be pronounced, these were his only words:—"I have nothing to say;"—here he paused long;—"and yet a word of Tacitus comes in my mind—*Non eadem omnibus decora*: the house of the Wiltons hath spent many lives in their prince's service, and Grey cannot beg his. God send the king a long and prosperous reign, and to your lordships all honour!"¹ The only favour he asked was that he might be attended by a divine of his own persuasion. "It was determined" (to use the unfeeling language of a contemporary) "that the priests should lead the dance;" and, on the 29th of November, Watson and Clarke were executed at Winchester. They "were very bloodily handled." On the 5th of December Cobham's brother, George Brooke, who had been "persuaded to die well" by the Bishop of Chichester, sent from the court for that purpose, was brought to the scaffold also at Winchester; but he was merely beheaded like a gentleman, and was pitied by the people. His last



CHAPEL AND PART OF THE WALLS OF WINCHESTER CASTLE.
Grose's Antiquities.

words, with other circumstances, go to confirm the suspicion that Brooke had been first employed and then abandoned by Cecil, to whom (as Clarendon has said of him) "it was as necessary there should be treasons as it was for the state to prevent them." By the king's orders the Bishop of Chichester went from the bleeding body of Brooke to his brother, the Lord Cobham; and, at the same time, the Bishop of Winchester was sent to Raleigh; "both by express order from the king; as well to prepare them for their ends, as to bring them to liberal confessions. . . . The Bishop of Chichester had soon done what he came for, finding in Cobham a readiness to die well; with purpose at his death to affirm as much as he had said against Raleigh: but the other bishop had more to do with his charge; for though, for his conscience, he found him (Sir

Walter) well settled, and resolved to die a Christian and a good Protestant, touching the point of confession he found him so strait-laced, that he would yield to no part of Cobham's accusation."² Lord Grey, who was also told to prepare for death, was left alone with his Puritan preacher, without being comforted or troubled by any bishop of the king's sending. Markham was told he should likewise die; but he was so assured by secret messages from some friends at court that he would not believe it. The lords of the council, or some of them, advised the king, as he was in the beginning of his reign, to show examples of mercy as well as of severity; "but some others, led by their private spleen and passions, drew as hard the other way; and Patrick Galloway, in his sermon, preached so hotly against remissness and moderation of justice, in the head of justice, as if it were one of the seven deadly sins." James let the lords know that it became not them to be petitioners for mercy; but he told Galloway, or those who,

taking the fanatic cue, pressed for immediate execution, that he would go no whit the faster for their driving.³ He was revelling in the delights of a maze and mystery, the clearing up of which, he fancied, would impress his new subjects with a wonderful notion of his dexterity and genius. Men knew not what to think; but from the care he seemed to take to have the law hold its course, and the executions hastened, the friends and relatives of the prisoners concluded that there could be no hope of mercy. He signed the death-warrants of Markham, Grey, and Cobham, on Wednesday; and on

Friday, at about ten o'clock, Markham was brought to the scaffold, and allowed to take a last farewell of his friends, and to prepare himself for the block. But, when the victim had suffered all that was most painful in death, one John Gibb, a Scotch groom of the bedchamber, secretly withdrew the sheriff for a while; whereupon the execution was stayed, and Markham left upon the scaffold to his own wretched thoughts. The sheriff, returning at last, told him, that as he was so badly prepared he should have two hours' respite to make his peace with Heaven; and so led him from the scaffold without giving him any more comfort, and locked him up by himself. The Lord Grey, whose turn was next, was led to the scaffold by a troop of young noblemen, and was supported on both sides by two of his best friends. He had such gaiety and cheer in his countenance that he looked like a young bridegroom. In front of the block he fell upon

of his speech are still to be seen in the State Paper Office. Mr. Jardine says, "It is an excellent speech, and replete with good sense and high feeling."—*Criminal Trials*.

¹ Ibid.

² Sir Dudley Carleton.

³ Ibid.

his knees, and prayed with the fervency and zeal of a religious spirit for more than half an hour, when, as he was ending, and was expecting the signal to stretch his neck under the axe, the sheriff suddenly told him he had received commands from the king to change the order of the execution, and that the Lord Cobham was to go before him. And thereupon Grey was likewise removed from the scaffold and locked up apart. While the people were lost in amazement, the third prisoner was led up to the block. "The Lord Cobham, who was now to play his part, and who, by his former actions, promised nothing but *matière pour rire*, did much cozen the world; for he came to the scaffold with good assurance and contempt of death. . . . Some few words he used, to express his sorrow for his offence to the king, and crave pardon of him and the world; for Sir Walter Raleigh he took it, upon the hope of his soul's resurrection, that what he had said of him was true." He would have taken a farewell of the world, when he was stayed by the sheriff, and told that there was something else to be done—that he was to be confronted with some other of the prisoners, naming no one. And thereupon Grey and Markham were brought back separately to the scaffold, each believing that his companions were already executed; and they looked strange and wildly one upon the other, "like men beheaded and met again in the other world." Now all the actors being together on the stage (as use is at the end of a play), the sheriff made a short speech unto them, by way of interrogatory, of the heinousness of their offences, the justness of their trials, their lawful condemnation, and due execution there to be performed; to all which they assented; then, said the sheriff, see the mercy of your prince, who of himself hath sent hither the countermand, and given you your lives. There was then no need to beg a *plaudite* of the audience, for it was given with such hues and cries that it went from the castle into the town, and there began afresh." Raleigh, who had a window in his prison opening upon the castle green of Winchester, the scene of these strange doings, was hard put to it to beat out the meaning of the stratagem. His turn was to have come on the Monday following; but the king gave him pardon of life with the rest, and ordered him to be sent with Grey and Cobham to the Tower of London, there to remain during his royal pleasure.¹ The sapient James congratulated himself on the effect produced by his wonderful sagacity. Many persons

had disbelieved Cobham's confession; some had even doubted whether there had been any serious plot at all, beyond a design on Raleigh's part to get money from the court of Spain, for promoting a favourable treaty of peace; but now they had heard Cobham repeat his confession in sight of the axe;² and though, in the case of state prisoners, many dying speeches had been notoriously false, men were still disposed to give great weight and credit to such orations and depositions.

The king took possession of the estates of the conspirators, but for some time refused to give away any of their lands to his covetous courtiers. Lord Cobham, after some few years, was rather suffered to stray out of his prison in the Tower than released in form; a beggar, and an object of contempt, he found an asylum in a miserable house in the Minories, belonging to one who had formerly been his servant, and upon whose charity he meanly threw himself. There, in a wretched loft, accessible by means of a ladder, he died in 1619, the year after the bloody execution of Raleigh. The Lord Grey was more closely looked to; and he died a prisoner in the Tower in 1614. Raleigh remained in the same fortress till the month of March, 1615, when we shall meet him again, daring and enterprising as ever. Markham, Brooksby, and Copley, were banished the kingdom.³

In declaring that he would allow of no toleration, James pledged himself to become a persecutor; and there were men about him disposed to urge him to a rigid enforcement of the penal statutes, both against Catholics and Puritans. The former, knowing their weakness, were silent; but the Puritans soon drew up what they called their "millenary petition,"⁴ wherein they called for reformation of certain ceremonies and abuses in the church, and for a conference. The latter was the sort of thing that James, who deemed himself the most learned and perfect of controversialists, loved above all others. He had, besides, a long-standing debt to square with the Puritans, who had not merely been a main cause of his unhappy mother's defamation and ruin—this he might have overlooked—but had also set his authority at nought, contradicted him and pestered him from his cradle till his departure for England, and had made him drain the cup of humiliation to its very dregs. He had been obliged to fall in with their views of church government, and to conform to their creed. In the

¹ Sir Dudley Carleton, *Letters to Mr. John Chamberlain in Hardwicke State Papers*. The editor of this important work says—"There are in the Salisbury Collection several letters from these prisoners during their confinement, which probably would throw light on their respective cases, if they were published."

² Cecil said that the king's object was to see how far Cobham, at his death, would make good his accusations of Raleigh.

³ Howell, *State Trials*; Jardine, *Criminal Trials*; Weldon; Wilson; Stow; *Hardwicke State Papers*; Cayley, *Life of Raleigh*; Oldys.

⁴ In allusion to its having nearly 1000 signatures of clergymen attached to it. The exact number was 800.

general assembly at Edinburgh, in 1590, "he stood up with his bonnet off, and his hands lifted up to heaven, and said he praised God that he was born in the time of the light of the gospel, and in such a place, as to be king of such a church, the sincerest (purest) kirk in the world."¹ From the year 1596, however, James had gone upon a directly opposite tack in ecclesiastical matters. In 1598 he had completely changed the constitution of the Scottish church, by appointing certain of the clergy to hold seats in parliament. The whole course of his policy as to ecclesiastical matters, from this time forward, tended to transform the Scottish establishment from a Presbyterian to an Episcopalian church. In 1599 he wrote and published for the instruction of his son Prince Henry, his *Basilicon Doron*, a master-piece of pedantry, a model of abuse, against the Puritans and the whole church polity of Scotland! Nothing, he said, could be more monstrous than parity or equality in the church; nothing more derogatory to the kingly dignity than the independence of preachers.²

These were the real sentiments of James; but the English bishops had neither perfect confidence in his steadiness of purpose, nor full acquaintance with his feelings, and for a while he kept them in an uncomfortable state of suspense. Like the chief personages in the tragi-comedy at Winchester, Markham, Cobham, and Grey, who did not know but that they were to be beheaded, the bishops, almost to the last moment, did not know but that their system would be overthrown. On the 14th of January, 1604, James held his first field-day in his privy chamber at Hampton Court. On the one side were arrayed nearly twenty bishops and high dignitaries of the Established church, the lords of the privy council, and sundry courtiers, all determined to applaud to the skies the royal wisdom and learning: on the other side were only four reforming preachers—Doctors Reynolds and Sparks, professors of divinity at Oxford; and Knewstubs and Chatterton of Cambridge: the king sat high above them all "proudly eminent," as moderator. On the first day the learned doctors did not enter upon the real controversy, but, after a day's rest, they met again on the 16th, when the Puritans proceeded roundly to business, beginning by demanding, among other things, that the Book of Common Prayer should be revised; that the cup and surplice, the sign of the cross in baptism, baptism by women, confirmation, the use of the

ring in marriage, the reading of the Apocrypha, the bowing at the name of Jesus, should all be set aside; that non-residence and pluralities in the church should not be suffered, nor the commendams held by the bishops; that unnecessary excommunications should cease, as also the obligation of subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles. The bishops chose to make their chief stand upon the ceremonies, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Articles; and London and Winchester, assisted by some of the deans, spoke vehemently and at great length. Then, without listening to the four Puritans, James himself took up the argument, and combated for the Anglican orthodoxy, in a mixed strain of pedantry, solemnity, levity, and buffoonery. He talked of baptism, public and private, of confirmation, of marriage, of excommunication, and absolution. But, as it has been remarked, it would be endless to relate all he said, for he loved speaking, and was in his element whilst disputing. In the heat of his argument he treated St. Jerome very disrespectfully, for saying that bishops were not by Divine ordination, closing his speech with this short aphorism:—"No bishop, no king." When he was tired, Dr. Reynolds was allowed to talk a little. The doctor stated his objections to the Apocrypha, which was ordered to be read by the Book of Common Prayer, and particularly to the book of Ecclesiasticus. James called for a Bible, expounded a chapter of Ecclesiasticus in his own way, and then turning to his applauding lords, said, "What trow ye make these men so angry with Ecclesiasticus? By my soul, I think Ecclesiasticus was a bishop, or they would never use him so." The bishops smiled decorously—the courtiers grinned. In answer to a question started by the abashed and browbeaten Puritans

how far an ordinance of the church could bind without impeaching Christian liberty? he said "he would not argue that point, but answer therein as kings are wont to do in parliament, *le roy s'avisera*, adding withal, that the query smelled very rankly of Anabaptism." And then he told a story about Mr. John Black, a Scottish preacher, who had impudently told him that matters of ceremony in the church ought to be left in Christian liberty to every man. "But," added James, "I will none of that; I will have one doctrine and one discipline—one religion in substance and in ceremony." "If," he said, "you aim at a Scottish presbytery, it agreeth with monarchy as God with the devil." Reynolds was esteemed one of the acutest logicians and most learned divines then in the kingdom, but James treated him in this manner:—"Well, doctor, have you anything more to say?" The doctor, who had been constantly interrupted and insulted, replied, "No, please your majesty." Then

¹ Calderwood, *History of the Church of Scotland*.

² King James's *Works*. He afterwards said to his English bishops and courtiers—"I will tell you. I have lived among this sort of men (Puritans or Presbyterians) ever since I was ten years old; but I may say of myself, as *Christ said of himself*, though I lived among them, yet, since I had ability to judge, I was never of them."

the king told him, that if he and his fellows had disputed thus lamely in a college, and he, the king, been moderator, he would have had them fetched up and flogged for dunces; that, if this was all they could say for themselves, he would have them conform, or hurry them out of the land, or else do worse.

On the morrow of this glorious day James rested from his labours. On the morning of the 18th he again assembled the bishops, and deans, and lords of the council; but the dissenting divines were not admitted till a late hour, and then not to renew the disputation, but only to implore that conformity should not be enforced till after a certain interval. James granted their request, dismissed them, and gloried in the victory he had obtained. The bishops and courtly ministers had not waited for the *finale* to shower down their plaudits. Bancroft, Bishop of London, throwing himself on his knees in a paroxysm of gratitude and adoration, had protested during one of the acts, "that his heart melted with joy, and made haste to acknowledge unto Almighty God the singular mercy in giving them such a king, as, since Christ's time, the like had not been." Whitgift, the primate, without falling upon his knees, exclaimed, that undoubtedly his majesty spake by the special assistance of God's Spirit. And that the laity might not be left all behind, the Lord-chancellor Ellesmere said, that the king and the priest had never been so wonderfully united in the same person!¹ This was pretty well! but not the most grateful of bishops, nor the most servile of courtiers, could praise James more than James praised himself. "I peppered them soundly," said he; "they fled me from argument to argument like schoolboys." And he soon after wrote a most conceited letter to one Blake, boasting of his own superior logic and learning. In his wisdom, however, and of his own prerogative, without consulting either the bishops or parliament, he thought proper to make a few slight alterations in the Book of Common Prayer and the church service; but this step irritated or afflicted the High Churchmen, without reconciling any of their opponents to their discipline. Shortly after the conference he put forth a proclamation commanding all ecclesiastical and civil officers strictly to enforce conformity, and admonishing all men not to expect nor attempt any further alteration in the church.²

But the king loved hunting as much as he loved polemics, and a proclamation was devised, that

none should come to him on hunting days—which days of sport occupied one half of James's year! He had already enjoined the bishops to proceed against all their clergy who did not conform and observe his orders. Whitgift died—some said of mortification at the king's interference—and Bancroft, who succeeded him in the primacy, wanted no royal spur to urge him on in the paths of persecution and severity. Three hundred clergymen were driven from their livings to poverty—some to wander in foreign countries, some to suffer with their wives and children absolute want at home. Ten leading men of those who had presented the millenary petition were arrested; the judges declared, in the Star Chamber, that theirs was an offence fineable at discretion, and very near to treason and felony; and they were all committed to prison. Spies, such as had been trained to the work in hunting down Papists and private masses, found their way to prayer-meetings and secret conventicles; and the jails of the kingdom soon began to be crowded with unlicensed preachers.

It was scarcely to be expected, notwithstanding their great loss of spirit, that James would face an English parliament so bravely as he did a few intimidated preachers. The pestilence was for many months a sufficient reason for not calling one; and his first parliament was not assembled till the 19th of March, 1604, or until he had been nearly a year on the throne. There were probably few people in England, or anywhere else, that had taken the pains to read his pedantic writings; but those who had done so must have known that he had expressed the greatest contempt for all parliaments. In his discourse "On the True Law of Free Monarchies, or the Reciproque and Mutual Duty betwixt a free King and his Natural Subjects," which had been printed in Scotland some years before, he had stated in the broadest terms, that the duty of a king was to command—that of a subject to obey in all things; that kings reigned by Divine right, and were raised by the Almighty above all law; that a sovereign might daily make statutes and ordinances, and inflict such punishments as he thought meet, without any advice of parliament or estates. Even in his proclamation for calling together this, his first parliament, he studiously put forth his lofty notions about the prerogative, and schooled his subjects as to the representatives whom they were to choose. But, in spite of king and proclamation, this parliament swarmed with

¹ Bancroft had been on his knees before, to beseech his majesty "to stop the mouth of a schismatic."

² "The king talked much Latin, and disputed with Dr. Reynolds at Hampton; but he rather used upbraidings than arguments, and told the petitioners that they wanted to strip Christ again; and bid them away with their snivelling. . . . The

bishops seemed much pleased, and said his majesty spake by the power of inspiration. I wis not what they mean; but the spirit was rather foul-mouthed."—Harrington, *Nugæ Ant.*

³ Fuller, *Church Hist.*; Howell, *State Trials*; Barlow (Bishop of Chichester), in *Phoenix Britannicus*; Rymer; Winwood; Hearne, *Titus Livius*; Neale, *Hist. Puritans*.

Puritans, who had naturally more courage and confidence than their four baited preachers at Hampton Court. Indeed, the commons met him on their threshold with a debate about privilege; and, in the course of the session, he was vexed by other demonstrations.¹ The commons instituted an inquiry into monopolies, which, in spite of James's proclamation, seem to have flourished as much as, or more than ever. They also attacked the monstrous abuses of purveyance, and the incidents of feudal tenure, by which, among other things, the king became guardian to wards, and received the proceeds of their estates till they came of age, without accounting for the money. The commons asserted that, notwithstanding the six and thirty statutes which had been made to check the evil, the practice of purveyance was enforced by the Board of Green Cloth, who punished and imprisoned on their own warrant; that the royal purveyors did what they list in the country, seizing carts, carriages, horses, and provisions; felling trees without the owners' consent, and exacting labour from the people, which they paid for very badly, or not at all. On the subject of wardships, they were equally cogent, and the disgust at this lucrative tyranny was increased by the popular belief that Cecil derived a good part of his enormous income from this particular branch of the prerogative. This grievance, with others, was referred to a committee, in which the rising Francis Bacon played a conspicuous part, trying to unite the opposite characters of a patriot and courtier, a reformer and sycophant. Speaking before the king in council, he said that the king's was the voice of God in man—the good spirit of God in the mouth of man. But in the House of Commons he could speak boldly of the abuses of government and the sufferings of the people. The lords refused to go with the commons, and, in the end, and by their advice, the matter was dropped as premature, and somewhat unseasonable in the king's first parliament. None of the other proposed reforms were carried, or even pushed; but as the court did not seem inclined to yield anything, the commons resolved not to be over generous with the people's money. They passed the usual bill, granting tonnage and

poundage for the king's life, and there they stopped, without hinting at any further supplies. Having also a fearful eye to a relapse into Popery, they urgently pressed for execution of the penal statutes against Catholics. As the bishops, into whose arms James had thrown himself, united with the Puritans in these demands, no opposition was encountered, and the rivalry of the two divisions of Protestants increased the severity of the existing laws. On the 7th of July the parliament was prorogued.

Meanwhile the new king spent most of his time in hunting, his love of field-sports increasing with his means of gratifying it. Whitehall, London, the scenes of business and ceremony, were all deserted for Royston and Newmarket. The affairs of the state might wait, but James would not lose his sport. Men first wondered, and then began to complain and satirize. Except the Earl of Worcester, none of the council—no, not a clerk of the council nor privy signet—was with his majesty the while. A little later, Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, in writing to Cecil, then Lord Cranborne, against Papist and recusants, took the liberty to offer some advice about the king's long absences. "I confess," says the prelate, "that I am not to deal in state matters, yet, as one that honoureth and loveth his most excellent majesty with all my heart, I wish less wasting of the treasure of the realm, and more moderation in the lawful exercise of hunting, both that poor men's corn may be less spoiled and other his majesty's subjects more spared."² But sport was not to be interrupted, and so his majesty went from Royston to Newmarket to hunt there, and then from Newmarket to hunt at Thetford. During these ambulatory proceedings the Puritan ministers, whom the new primate, Bancroft (quaintly described as "a man of a rough temper and a stout foot-ball player,"³) had been active in expelling from their livings in the church, gave James some disturbance by waiting upon him to present petitions, and their party caused him further trouble by writing and printing certain letters. Against the authors of these papers, and against others who had ventured to remonstrate, James let loose Cecil, whom he was accustomed to call his "little beagle." Upon quitting the sports of the field his serious attention was devoted to solve the problem, whether a man (one Richard Had-dock) could preach good sermons and speak exceeding good Hebrew and Greek in his sleep, being, when awake, no divine, and ignorant of both those learned languages.

The Catholics, who had expected toleration, or an approach to it, were enraged at the increased severity of the laws directed against them; and

¹ At their first meeting, the commons, who were fully aware of James's high pretensions, took care to tell him, by the mouth of their speaker, that he could not be a lawgiver by himself—"that new laws could not be instituted, nor imperfect laws reformed, nor inconvenient laws abrogated, by any other power than that of the high court of parliament—that is, by the agreement of the commons, the accord of the lords, and the assent of the sovereign." And at the end of the session they told him—"Your majesty would be misinformed if any man should deliver that the Kings of England have any absolute power in themselves either to alter religion, or make any laws concerning the same, otherwise than as in temporal causes, by consent of parliament."

² Lodge, *Illustrations*.

³ Coke, *Detection*.

some of them were absolutely maddened by the persecutions they suffered, and by the heavy fines they were constantly called upon to pay. Among the sufferers there was one capable of the most daring deeds. This was Robert Catesby, a soldier of fortune, and gentleman of an ancient family and good estate. He had engaged in the rash business of the Earl of Essex, who had promised *liberty of conscience*; he had intrigued with the court of France, and with the Spanish court; but, at last, seeing no hopes of assistance from those quarters, he conceived the project of destroying, at one blow, king, lords, and commons. Horrible and desperate as was the plot, he soon found a few spirits as furious as his own to join in it. The first person to whom he opened his design was Thomas Winter, a gentleman of Worcestershire. This man was, at first, overcome with horror, and, though Catesby removed his repugnance by drawing the most frightful picture of the sufferings of their co-religionists, he would not agree to the mighty murder till they had solicited the mediation of the King of Spain, who was then negotiating with James. Winter passed over to the Netherlands, where he soon learned from the Spanish ambassador that his court could not get a clause of toleration inserted in the English treaty. At this moment, when he had made up his mind to co-operate with Catesby, he accidentally encountered, in the town of Ostend, another soldier of fortune, an old fellow-traveller and associate. This was Guy, or Guido, Fawkes, whom (knowing him to be the most daring of men) he carried over to England. Fawkes did not come for pay. It has been customary to represent him as a low, mercenary ruffian, but it appears, on the contrary, that he was a pure fanatic, and as much a gentleman as the others. Before Winter and Fawkes had been many days with Catesby in London, they were joined by two other conspirators, Thomas Percy, a distant relation and steward to the Earl of Northumberland, and John Wright, Percy's brother-in-law, who was reputed the best swordsman in all England. Percy, during Elizabeth's time, had visited Edinburgh, where James, to secure what influence he could command, had promised "to tolerate mass in a corner." He was now furious at the king's broken promises. They all met at Catesby's lodgings. "Well, gentlemen," cried Percy, "shall we always talk and never do?" Catesby said that, before opening the particulars of his scheme, they must all take a solemn oath of secrecy. The condition was accepted by all, and, a few days afterwards, they met at a lonely house, in the fields, beyond St. Clement's Inn. "You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the sacrament you now propose to receive, never to disclose directly or indirectly,

by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to keep secret, nor desist from the execution thereof until the rest shall give you leave." Such was the form of the oath which was taken, on their knees, by Catesby, Percy, Thomas Winter, John Wright, and Fawkes; and immediately after they had taken the oath, Catesby explained that his purpose was to blow up the Parliament House with gunpowder the next time the King should go to the House of Lords. He then led them all to an upper room in the same lone house, where they heard mass, and received the sacrament from Father Gerard, a Jesuit missionary, who, it is said, was not admitted into the horrid secret. Percy's zeal was unabated, and an office he held about the court (he was a gentleman pensioner) gave him facilities which the others did not possess. Their first object was to secure a house adjoining the parliament building. As Percy, by his office, was obliged to live during a part of the year near to Whitehall, there would appear nothing strange in his taking a lodging in that quarter. After some search they found a house held by one Ferris, as tenant to Whinneard, the keeper of the king's wardrobe, which seemed adapted to their purpose. This Percy hired in his own name, by a written agreement with Ferris.¹ When they took possession they again swore to be faithful and secret. The back of the house, or an out-building, leaned against the very wall of the Parliament House. Here they resolved to commence operations by cutting away the wall in order to make a mine through it. It was an arduous task to gentlemen unaccustomed to manual labour; and before they could well begin, they learned that the king had prorogued parliament to the 7th of February, and upon this news they agreed to separate, and, after visiting their friends in the country, to meet again in November. In the interval they hired another house, situated on the Lambeth side of the river. Here they cautiously deposited wood, gunpowder, and other combustibles. The custody of the house at Lambeth was committed to Robert Kay, a Catholic gentleman in indigent circumstances, who took the oath and entered into the plot. When the chief conspirators met again in the capital, they found themselves debarred of the use of their house at Westminster, for the court had thought fit to accommodate therein the commissioners that were engaged on James's premature scheme for a union between England and Scotland.

While they were waiting impatiently for quiet possession of the premises, several circumstances occurred that were calculated to keep their ruthless purpose alive. At the assizes held in Lanca-

¹ The original agreement, dated May 24, 1604, may be seen in the State Paper Office.

shire in the preceding summer, six seminary priests and Jesuits were tried, condemned, and executed, under the statute of the 27th of Elizabeth, for remaining within the realm. Mr. Pound, a Catholic gentleman of an advanced age, then living in Lancashire, who had suffered in Elizabeth's time, presented a petition to the king complaining generally of the persecution, and in particular of the recent proceedings. He was immediately seized and carried before the privy council, and, after an examination, committed to the tender mercies of the Star Chamber. In that tribunal, on the 29th of November, the poor old gentleman, unaided and alone, was assailed by Coke the attorney-general, Chief-justice Popham, Chancellor Egerton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, Cecil, and several other judges and members of the privy council. Among them they sentenced Mr. Pound to be imprisoned in the Fleet during the king's pleasure, to stand in the pillory both at Lancaster and Westminster, and to pay a fine of £1000: nay, they were near doing worse, for an infamous proposition to nail the old man to the pillory, and cut off his ears, was negatived by a majority of only one or two. After this iniquitous sentence there was an increased activity in hunting for priests and levying fines on the recusants; and yet the zealots cried that this was not enough, and that the sword of the law ought to be sharpened at the next meeting of parliament.

At last, on a dark December night, Catesby and his confederates entered the house at Westminster, and commenced operations, having previously laid in a store of hard eggs, dried meats, pasties, and such provisions as would keep, in order to avoid suspicion by going or sending abroad for food. They presently found that the wall to be penetrated was of tremendous thickness, and that more hands would be required to do the work. Kay was therefore brought over from the house at Lambeth, and the party was further reinforced by the enlisting of Christopher Wright, a younger brother of John Wright, who was already in the plot. Now, in all, they were seven. "All which seven," said Fawkes on his examination, "were gentlemen of name and blood; and not any was employed in or about this action (no, not so much as in digging and mining) that was not a gentleman. And while the others wrought I stood as sentinel to descry any man that came near; and when any man came near to the place, upon warning given by me, they ceased until they had again notice from me to proceed; and we seven lay in the house, and had shot and powder, and we all resolved to die in that place before we yielded or were taken." They lightened, or, it may be, sometimes burdened, their heavy toil with discussions of

future plans. Horses and armour were to be collected in Warwickshire. They resolved if possible to save all members of the two houses that were Catholics, but they could not agree as to the safest mode of doing this. The notion of applying to the Catholics abroad and the pope was discarded as useless and unsafe. They were working hard to cut their way through the stubborn wall, when Fawkes brought intelligence that the king, who had no great desire to meet that body again, had further prorogued parliament from the 7th of February to the 3d of October. Hereupon they agreed to separate till after the Christmas holidays.

In the month of January, Catesby, being at Oxford, admitted two other conspirators. One of these was John Grant, an accomplished but moody gentleman of Warwickshire, who possessed at Norbrook, between the towns of Warwick and Stratford-on-Avon, a large and strong mansion-house, walled round and moated, which seemed the best possible place for the reception of horses and ammunition. Lamentation and grief had been carried within those walls in Elizabeth's time, and Grant's melancholy disposition took its rise from the persecution he had endured. The other was Robert Winter, the eldest brother of Thomas Winter, who was already engaged, and one of whose sisters was wife to Grant of Norbrook. Shortly after, Catesby, suspecting that his servant Thomas Bates had an inkling of the plot, thought it prudent to make him a full accomplice, and bind him by the oath of secrecy. About the beginning of February they all met in the house at Westminster, and resumed their painful toils. Their ears were acutely sensible to the least sound, their hearts susceptible of supernatural dread. They heard, or fancied they heard, the tolling of a bell deep in the earth under the Parliament House, and the noise was stopped by aspersions of holy water. But, one morning, while working in their mine, they heard a loud rumbling noise nearly over their heads. There was a pause—a fear that they had been discovered; but Fawkes soon brought intelligence that it was nothing but one Bright who was selling off his stock of coals, intending to remove his business from a cellar under the Parliament House to some other place. This opportunity seemed miraculous: the cellar was immediately below the House of Lords; the wall of separation was not yet cut through, and doubts were entertained whether they should be able to complete the work without discovery. Percy hired the cellar of the dealer in coals: the mine was abandoned, and they began to remove thirty-six barrels of gunpowder from the house at Lambeth on the opposite bank of the river. They threw large stones

and bars of iron among the powder to make the breach the greater, and they carefully covered over the whole with fagots and billets of wood. All this was completed by the month of May, when they once more separated. Fawkes was



CELLAR UNDER THE HOUSE OF LORDS, CALLED GUY FAWKES' CELLAR.—From a drawing by J. T. Smith.

despatched into Spanish Flanders to win over Sir William Stanley and Captain Owen, who held military commands there, and who were supposed capable of collecting a good number of men, either English Catholics or foreigners. Fawkes returned in August, having succeeded no further than to obtain a promise from Owen that he would communicate with Stanley, who was at that time absent in Spain. In September, Sir Edmund Baynham, a gentleman of an ancient family in Gloucestershire, was admitted into the whole, or part of the plot, and despatched to Rome, not to reveal the project, but to endeavour to gain the favour of the Vatican when the blow should be struck. The rest remained in anxious expectation of the day—it was near at hand—when the king still further prorogued the parliament from the 3d of October to the 5th of November. The conspirators thought that they were suspected. Thomas Winter undertook to go into the house on the day on which prorogation was to be made, and observe the countenances and behaviour of the lords-commissioners. He found all tranquil: the commissioners were walking about and conversing in the House of Lords,

just over the thirty-six barrels of gunpowder: he returned and told his companions that their secret was safe. About Michaelmas it was agreed to admit three more Catholic gentlemen, who were known to have a command of ready money, into the plot. The first of these was Sir Everard Digby, of Drystoke, in Rutlandshire, an enthusiastic young man, and a bosom friend of Catesby. Digby had immense estates, a young wife, and two infant children; but, after some struggle with his domestic feelings and conscience, he yielded to Catesby, promised to furnish £1500 for furthering the plot, and to collect his Catholic friends on Dunsmore Heath in Warwickshire, by the 5th of November, as if for a hunting party. The second was Ambrose Rookwood, of Coldham Hall, Suffolk, the head of a very ancient and opulent family. Like Digby, he had long been the bosom friend of Catesby; and his romantic attachment to that chief conspirator seems to have been a more leading passion than his religious fanaticism. He had a magnificent stud of horses, which made his accession very desirable. Like most of the others, he at first shuddered at the prospect of so much slaughter, but his scruples were quieted by Catesby; and, to be near the general rendezvous at Dunsmore, he removed with his family to Clopton, near Stratford-on-Avon. He had suffered fines and persecutions, but he was still wealthy, and, until entering the gunpowder treason, a peaceful, happy man. The third accession was in Francis Tresham, eldest son and heir of Sir Thomas Tresham, who had recently succeeded his father in a large estate in Northamptonshire. Sir Thomas had felt the vengeance of the penal laws: in his own words, he had undergone "full twenty years of restless adversity and deep disgrace, only for testimony of his conscience." His son Francis had been engaged very actively with the Earl of Essex, and was only saved from the block by his father's bribing a *great lady* and some people about the court with several thousand pounds: yet, after that narrow escape, Francis Tresham had had his hand in several plots. It appears, however, that he did not enjoy the confidence of the desperate men with whom he had been engaged, and that he passed for a fickle, mean-spirited man: but he was Catesby's near relation, and he had money, whereof (after taking the oath) he engaged to furnish £2000. But, from the moment Tresham was admitted, Catesby became a prey to misgivings and alarms.

As the great day—the 5th of November—approached, the conspirators had several secret consultations at White Webbs, a house near Enfield Chase, then a wild, solitary place.¹ Here it

¹ There was another lone house which they frequented, at Erith, on the right bank of the Thames, a little below Woolwich.

was resolved that Fawkes should fire the mine by means of a slow-burning match, which would allow him time to escape before the explosion of the gunpowder (there was a ship, hired with Tresham's money, lying in the Thames, and in this Guido was to embark and to proceed to Flanders); that, after the catastrophe, the Princess Elizabeth, in case of their losing the Prince of Wales and Prince Charles, was to be immediately proclaimed queen, and a regent appointed during her minority. But now they felt the difficulty there would be in warning and saving their friends, and most of them had dear friends and relations in parliament. In the upper house, for example, the Lords Stourton and Mounteagle, both Catholics, had married sisters of Francis Tresham, and Tresham was exceeding earnest that they should have some warning given them, in order to keep away from parliament. Percy also was eager to save his relative the Earl of Northumberland; and Kay, or Keyes, the decayed gentleman who had had charge of the house at Lambeth, was equally anxious to save his friend and patron, Lord Mordaunt, who had given food and shelter to his wife and children. There were others whose fate excited the liveliest interest; and all of them were desirous of warning the youthful Earl of Arundel. But Catesby undertook to prove to them that most of the Catholics would be absent, seeing that their presence would be useless, as they could not prevent the passing of new penal laws against their religion. "But," said Catesby, "with all that, rather than the project should not take effect, if they were as dear unto me as mine own son, they also must be blown up."

A day or two after, Tresham suddenly and unexpectedly came upon Catesby, Thomas Winter, and Fawkes, at Enfield Chase, and once more required that warning should be given directly to his brother-in-law Mounteagle. Catesby and his two determined comrades hesitated; and then, it is said that Tresham told them that, as he could not furnish the money he had promised for some time to come, it would be much better for them to defer the execution of the plot till the closing of parliament, and pass the interval safely in Flanders. Catesby, Thomas Winter, and Fawkes remained fixed to their purpose. Here the dark story becomes doubly dark and doubtful; but it should seem that Tresham went away and warned *more persons* than Lord Mounteagle. There is also ground for believing that Sir Everard Digby and some others of the conspirators put their particular friends on their guard, though they may have adopted a different method, and one not likely to reveal the secret. The Lord Mounteagle had a mansion at Hoxton which he seldom visited; but, on the 26th of October, ten days be-

fore the intended meeting of parliament, he most unexpectedly ordered a supper to be prepared in that house. As he was sitting at table, about seven o'clock in the evening, his page presented to him a letter, which he said he had just received from a tall man, who had departed, and whose features he could not recognize in the dark. His lordship, still sitting at table, opened the letter, and, seeing that it had neither date nor signature, he tossed it to a gentleman in his service, desiring him to read it aloud. The gentleman read:—

"my lord out of the love i beare to some of your frends i have a caer of your preservacion therefor i would advyse youe as youe tender your lyf to devyse some excuse to shift of your attendance at this parleament for god & man hath concurred to punish the wickednes of this tyme & thinke not slightlye of this advertisment but retyere youre self into youre contrie wheare youe maye expect the event in safti for thowghe there be no apparence of anni stir yet i saye they shall receyve a terrible blowe this parleament & yet they shall not seie who hurts them this councel is not to be contemned because it maye do youe good and can do youe no harme for the dangere is passed as soon as youe have burnt the letter and i hope god will give youe the grace to make good use of it to whose holy protection i commend youe."

The authorship of this letter has been attributed to several persons, to women as well as to men, but it seems to us all but certain that it was really written by, or under the dictation of Tresham. Lord Mounteagle, who, notwithstanding his religion, was on good terms with the court and council (he had recently received an important favour from the king), carried the letter the same evening to Whitehall, and showed it to Cecil and several of the ministers. The king was away "hunting the fearful hare at Royston," and Cecil resolved that nothing should be done until his return. On the following morning Mounteagle's gentleman, who had read the letter at the supper-table, warned Thomas Winter that it had been delivered to Cecil. Winter carried this alarming intelligence to Catesby, who instantly suspected the indiscretion or treachery of Tresham. This suspicion was the stronger, from the circumstance that Tresham had absented himself for several days, having caused it to be given out that he had gone into Northamptonshire. Nothing, however, occurred to show that government had caught the clue: and, on the 30th of October, Tresham not only returned to town, but attended the summons of Catesby and Winter. The three conspirators met on that same day in Enfield Chase. Catesby and Winter directly charged Tresham with having written the letter

to Mounteagle; and, while they accused him and he defended himself, they fixed their searching eyes on his countenance. It was clear and firm; his voice faltered not: he swore the most solemn oaths that he was ignorant of the letter; and they let him go. If he had betrayed any signs of fear or confusion, their desperate minds were made up to stab him to the heart where he stood. They then returned to London, and sent Fawkes, who knew nothing of the letter, to see if all was right in the cellar. He presently reported that the barrels of powder and the other things were just as they had been left. Then Catesby and Winter told him of the letter, and excused themselves for having placed him in such danger without a warning. Fawkes coolly said that he should have gone just as readily if he had known all, and he undertook to return to the cellar once every day till the 5th of November. By certain marks which he had put behind the door, he was quite sure that no one could enter without his knowledge.

On the 31st of October James arrived from Royston, and on the next day Cecil put the letter into his hands, informing him of the curious circumstances of its delivery. According to the story generally received, it was James's wonderful sagacity and penetration that first discovered the meaning of the mysterious epistle, but it is proved beyond a doubt that both Cecil and Suffolk, the lord-chamberlain, had read the riddle several days before, and had communicated it to several lords of the council before the subject was mentioned to the king.¹ But as this was an opportunity of flattering James on the qualities in which he most prided himself, the courtly ministers proclaimed to the public that all the merit of the discovery was his. Coke, upon the trial of the conspirators, declared that his majesty had made it through a Divine illumination. It appears to have been the advice of Cecil that nothing should be done to interrupt "the devilish practice," till the night before the king went to the house. On Sunday, the 3d of November, the conspirators were warned by Lord Mounteagle's gentleman that the king had seen the letter and made great account of it. Upon this Thomas Winter sought another interview with Tresham, and they met that same evening in Lincoln's-Inn Walk. Tresham spoke like a man beside himself; and said that, to his certain knowledge, they were all lost men, unless they saved themselves by instant flight. But these infatuated men would not flee, nor did Tresham himself either flee or seek concealment. Catesby, Winter, and all the rest, were now convinced that Tresham was in communication with Mounteagle, and perhaps with

Cecil. Percy insisted that they ought to see what the following day—the last day of anxiety and doubt—would bring forth, before they thought of other measures. Their vessel still lay in the Thames ready to slip its cable at a moment's notice. It was, however, resolved that Catesby and John Wright should ride off, on the following afternoon, to join Sir Everard Digby, at Dunchurch. That very night, in spite of all their suspicions, Fawkes, with undaunted courage, went to keep watch in the cellar.

On Monday afternoon Suffolk, the lord-chamberlain, whose duty it was to see that all arrangements for the meeting of parliament were properly made, went down to the house accompanied by Lord Mounteagle. After passing some time in the Parliament Chamber, they descended to the vaults and cellars, pretending that some of the king's stuffs were missing. They threw open the door of the powder-cellar, and there they saw standing in a corner "a very tall and desperate fellow." It was Guido Fawkes, whose wonderful nerves were proof even to this trial. The chamberlain, with affected carelessness, asked him who he was? He said that he was servant to



DOOR IN GUY FAWKES' CELLAR.—Archæologia.

Mr. Percy, and looking after his master's coals. "Your master," said the courtier, "has laid in a good stock of fuel;" and, without adding anything else, he and Mounteagle left the cellar. When they were gone their way Fawkes hurried to acquaint Percy with their visit, and then returned to the cellar, resolute to the last, hoping against hope! At about two o'clock in the morning (it was now the 5th of November) Fawkes undid the door of the cellar, and came forth

¹ See letter of the Earl of Salisbury (Cecil) to Sir Charles Cornwallis, in Winwood's *Memorials*.

booted and spurred, to look about him. At that instant, and before he could move back, he was seized and pinioned by a party of soldiers under the command of Sir Thomas Knevet, a magistrate of Westminster. If the desperado had only had time to light a match they would all have been blown into the air together. When they had bound him hand and foot, they searched his person and found a watch (which was not common then), some touchwood and tinder, and some slow matches. Within the cellar and behind the door was found a dark lantern with a light burning in it. The prisoner was carried to Whitehall, and there, in the royal bed-chamber, he was interrogated by the king and council, who seem to have been afraid of him, bound and helpless as he was, for his voice was still bold, his countenance unchanged, and he returned with scorn and defiance their inquisitive glances. His name, he said, was John Johnson—his condition that of a servant to Mr. Thomas Percy. He boldly avowed his purpose, and said he was sorry it was not done. When pressed to disclose who were his accomplices, he replied that he could not resolve to accuse any. The king asked him how he could have the heart to destroy his children and so many innocent souls that must have suffered? "Dangerous diseases," said Fawkes, "require desperate remedies." One of the Scottish courtiers inquired why he had collected so many barrels of gunpowder? "One of my objects," said the conspirator, "was to blow Scotchmen back into Scotland." In the morning of the 6th of November he was removed to the Tower, James sending instructions with him that he was to be put through all the grades of torture in order to elicit confession.¹ For three or four days he would confess nothing (it appears that he was not severely tortured till the 10th); but his accomplices declared themselves by flying and taking up arms—that is, all of them except Tresham, who remained in London at his usual place of abode, showed himself openly in the street, and even went to the council to offer his services in apprehending the rebels. Catesby and John Wright had departed for Dunchurch the preceding evening; Percy and Christopher Wright waited till they learned Fawkes' arrest; and Rookwood and Keyes, who were little known in London, determined to remain to see what would follow. In the morning when they went abroad they found that all was known, and that horror and amazement were expressed in every countenance. Keyes then left London: but Rookwood, who had placed relays of his fine horses all the way to Dunchurch, lingered to the last moment,

in the hope of collecting more intelligence. It was near the hour of noon when he took horse; but, once mounted, he rode with desperate haste. He soon put the hill of Highgate between him and the capital: he spurred across Finchley Common, where he overtook Keyes, who kept him company as far as Turvey in Bedfordshire. From that point Rookwood galloped on to Brickhill, where he overtook Catesby and John Wright. Soon afterwards they came up with Percy and Christopher Wright, and then all five rode together with headlong speed, some of them throwing their cloaks into the hedge to ride the lighter, till they came to Ashby St. Legers, in Northamptonshire, at six o'clock in the evening. The distance from London was eighty miles, which Rookwood had ridden in little more than six hours. If they had chosen to ride on to some sea-port they might certainly have escaped with their lives; but they had no such design. Some of the hunting party, with whom was Winter, a principal conspirator, had taken up their quarters for the night in the house of Lady Catesby, at Ashby St. Legers, and were sitting down to supper when Rookwood, Percy, and the others from London, entered the apartment, covered with dirt, and half dead with fatigue. Their story was soon told; and then the whole party, taking with them all the arms they could find, mounted and rode off to Dunchurch. There they found Sir Everard Digby surrounded by many guests, Catholic gentlemen invited to hunt on Dunsmore, but fully aware that the meeting had reference to some avenging blow to be struck in London, though only a few of them had been admitted into the whole of the secret. But these guests presently perceived that the main plotters had miscarried, and so, without standing on the order of their going, they stole away in the course of the night; and when day dawned, Digby, Catesby, Percy, Rookwood, and the rest, were left alone, with a few servants and retainers. Catesby knew the number of Catholics living in Wales and the adjoining counties, and he suggested that if they made a rapid march in that direction they might raise a formidable insurrection. They got again to their horses, rode through Warwick, where they seized some cavalry horses, leaving their own tired steeds in their place, and then went to Grant's house at Norbrook, where they were joined by a few servants, and procured some arms. They then rode across Warwickshire and Worcestershire, to a house belonging to Stephen Littleton, called Holbeach, on the borders of Staffordshire, where they arrived on Thursday night, the 7th of November. On their way they had called upon the Catholics to arm and follow them; "but not one man," said Sir Everard Digby, "came to take our part, though we had expected so many."

¹ "The gentler tortures are to be first used unto him, *et sic per gradus ad ima tendatur*, and so God speed you in your good work."—Instructions, Nov. 6, in the State Paper Office.

By this time the conspirators were closely followed by Sir Richard Walsh, sheriff of Worcester, attended by many gentlemen of the country and the whole *posse comitatus*. Although the road was open towards Wales, they resolved to stand at bay, and defend themselves in the house of Holbeach. If their people had remained firm, they might possibly have repulsed the tumultuary assault of the sheriff, but these serving-men stole away during the night. Early on the following morning Stephen Littleton, who had been admitted into the whole plot, got out of the house, and fled through fear; and Sir Everard Digby went off, in order, as he said, to bring up succour. Sir Everard had scarcely got out of the house when some damp gunpowder which they were drying before a fire ignited and blew up with a tremendous explosion. Catesby was burned and blackened and nearly killed, and two or three of the others were seriously injured. They now began to fear that God disapproved of their project; and Rookwood and others, "perceiving God to be against them, prayed before the picture of our Lady, and confessed that the act was so bloody as they desired God to forgive them." Robert Winter, filled with horror and affright, stole out of the house, and came up with Stephen Littleton in a wood hard by, and shortly after his evasion Catesby's servant, Thomas Bates, escaped in the same manner. About the hour of noon Sir Richard Walsh surrounded the mansion, and summoned the rebels to lay down their arms. A successful resistance was now hopeless; but, preferring to die where they stood, to suffering the horrid death prescribed by the laws, they refused to surrender, and defied their numerous assailants. Upon this, the sheriff ordered one part of his company to set fire to the house, and another to make an attack on the gates of the court-yard. The conspirators, with nothing but their swords in their hands, presented themselves as marks to be shot at. Thomas Winter was presently hit in the right arm and disabled. "Stand by me, Tom," cried Catesby, "and we will die together." And presently, as they were standing back to back, they were both shot through the body with two bullets from one musket. Catesby crawled into the house upon his hands and knees, and, seizing an image of the Virgin which stood in the vestibule, clasped it to his bosom, and expired. Two other merciful shots despatched the two brothers, John and Christopher Wright, and another wounded Percy so badly that he died the next day. Rookwood, who had been severely hurt in the morning, by the explosion of the powder, was wounded in the body with a pike, and had his arm broken by a bullet. At a rush he was made prisoner, and the other men, wounded and disarmed, were seized within the

house. Sir Everard Digby was overtaken near Dudley by the hue-and-cry, and made fast. Stephen Littleton and Robert Winter were betrayed several days after by a servant of Mrs. Littleton of Hagley, in whose house they had been secreted. Thomas Bates, Catesby's servant, was arrested in Staffordshire; Keyes in Warwickshire. They were all carried up to London, and lodged in the Tower. Tresham, who had never left London, and who appears to have been confident of his own safety, was arrested and committed to the Tower on the 12th of November, or four days after the death or seizure of his associates at Holbeach.

Guido Fawkes, in the meanwhile, had been repeatedly examined, not only by lords-commissioners named by the king, but also by the Lord Chief-justice Popham, Sir Edward Coke, and Sir William Wood, the lieutenant of the Tower. No promises, no threats, could shake his firmness, or disturb his self-possession. When urged with the argument that his denial of the names of his companions was useless, because by their flight they had been sufficiently discovered, he said, "If that be so, it would be superfluous for me to declare them, seeing by that circumstance they have named themselves." He confessed freely to all his own doing, said he was ready to die, and rather wished ten thousand deaths than to accuse Percy or any other. But he was told that Percy and several of his confederates were apprehended, and he was racked apparently beyond the limits of mortal endurance. On the 8th of November, before any violent torture was applied, he signed his name to a deposition with a bold, firm hand; but two days after, his signature to a fuller statement, in which he names his accomplices, is in a faint and trembling hand, jagged and incomplete, bearing every appearance of being written in bodily agony. The Christian name (Guido) alone is completed, and after it there is a scrawl as if the pen had fallen from his hand.¹ This single

Guido fawkes

Guido

AUTOGRAPHS OF GUIDO FAWKES BEFORE AND AFTER TORTURE.

incident tells a tale of horror. But it appears that Fawkes never put the government in possession of a single secret with which they were not previously acquainted, and that he would, under no excruciating pain, impeach the Jesuits, some of whom were suspected, from the begin-

¹ Jardine, *Criminal Trials*.

THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

When James I. ascended the English throne, he led the Catholics to believe that the severe laws against Popery would be mitigated in their administration, but instead of this they were put in force with increased rigour. Incensed by this treachery, a small band of Catholic gentlemen determined to take vengeance upon the King and the Houses of Parliament by an explosion of gunpowder. A reckless man called Robert Catesby conceived the plot, and he was joined by some six others, among whom was Guy Fawkes, a brave soldier who had served in the Spanish army. These desperate conspirators secured a cellar below the House of Lords, and piled it up with gunpowder in casks, covering these with wood faggots. The plot was discovered, however, on the 5th November, 1605, a few days before the assembling of Parliament, and Guy Fawkes was arrested in the cellar. *Brought before the King in his bed-chamber at Whitehall he answered all questions with fearless scorn.* Subsequently he was put upon the rack in the Tower, made confession of his own share in the plot, and was hanged on 31st January, 1606.



THE GUNPOWDER PLOT

JAY FAWKES INTERROGATED BY JAMES I. AND HIS COUNCIL IN THE KING'S BED-CHAMBER, W. 1605.

FROM A DRAWING BY J. M. RALEY IN POSSESSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

ning, of being implicated in the plot. Thus his examiners were barbarous to no purpose. Bates, the servant of Catesby, was less able to go through the ordeal: he confessed whatever was wished, and was the first to implicate the Jesuits. Nor was Tresham much more firm than Bates; for, though he did not implicate the priests in the gunpowder treason, he confessed that Father Garnet and Father Greenway were both privy and party to a traitorous correspondence carried on about a year before the death of Elizabeth with the court of Spain by Catesby and others. Soon after his committal to the Tower, this wretched man, who appears to have been overreached by the government he saved, was attacked by an agonizing disease. In his extremity of weakness he was allowed the assistance of a confidential servant and the society of his wife. On the 22d of December, at the close approach of death, he dictated to his servant a statement in which he most solemnly retracted all that he had confessed about Garnet and Greenway. This paper he signed, and made his man-servant and a female servant of the Tower put their hands to it as witnesses. In the course of the night he gave this statement to his wife, charging her to deliver it with her own hands to Cecil;¹ and he expired about two o'clock on the following morning. Catholic writers have ascribed his death to foul play at the hands of government. This suspicion seems rather groundless, but there are reasons for believing that some state secrets respecting the discovery of the plot were buried in the grave of the miserable man.

On the 15th of January, 1606, a royal proclamation was issued against Garnet, Greenway, and Gerard, all three English Jesuits who had been lurking in the country for years. The trial of the surviving chief conspirators commenced on the 27th of January, having been delayed nearly two months, mainly in order to bring in the priests, and to get possession of the persons of Baldwin, a Jesuit, Owen, and Sir William Stanley, then residing in the Flemish dominions of the Spaniards, who refused to give them up. The prisoners, Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, Ambrose Rookwood, John Grant, Guido Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, with the single exception of Digby, who confessed the indictment, pleaded not guilty; not, as they observed, because they denied a full participation in the powder plot, but because the

indictment contained many things to which they were strangers. The evidence produced consisted entirely of the written depositions of the prisoners and of a servant of Sir Everard Digby. No witness was orally examined. There was nothing developed on the trial to connect the conspiracy with many English Catholics beyond the actual plotters. Indeed, the Papists in general regarded the whole affair with horror, and Sir Everard Digby pathetically lamented that the project, for which he had sacrificed everything he had in the world, was disapproved by Catholics and priests, and that the act which brought him to his death was considered by them to be a great sin. In general the principal conspirators again denied that either Garnet or any other Jesuit was aware of the project of the powder, though several allowed that they had frequent conference both with Garnet and Greenway. In extenuation, they pleaded the sufferings they and their families and friends had undergone—the violated promises of the king, who before his accession had assured them of toleration—their despair of any relief from the established government—their dread of still harsher persecution—and their natural desire to re-establish what they considered the only true church of Christ. They were all condemned to die the usual death of traitors, and sentence was executed to the letter—for this was not an occasion on which the government was likely to omit an iota of the torturing and bloody law. Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, John Grant, and Thomas Bates suffered on the 30th of January: Thomas Winter, Rookwood, Keyes, and Guido Fawkes—"the Devil of the Vault"—on the next day: they all died courageously, repenting of their intention, but professing an unaltered attachment to the Roman church. The scene chosen for their exit was the west end of St. Paul's churchyard.

Before Fawkes and the other conspirators were led to the scaffold, the Jesuit Garnet was on his way to the Tower, having been discovered hid in a secret chamber at Hendlip, near Worcester, the seat of Thomas Abington, who had married the sister of Lord Mounteagle.² The other two Jesuits, Gerard and Greenway, after many adventures, effected their escape to the Continent. Garnet, who at some former period had been well known to Cecil, was treated in the Tower with comparative leniency; and, from an expression of regret used by a dignitary of the Protestant church, who afterwards became a bishop, we may presume that he was never laid upon the rack. But his companion Hall, or Oldcorn, another Jesuit,

¹ Tresham declared that he made the confession respecting Garnet "only to avoid ill usage" (that is, torture), and that he had not "seen Garnet for sixteen years before, nor never had letter nor message from him." Father Garnet himself, his friend Mrs. Anne Vaux, and other witnesses, subsequently agreed in declaring that Garnet had been with Tresham continually in various places until within a few days of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot.

² The finding of Garnet and his friend Hall, or Oldcorn, in the curious old mansion-house, is one of the most romantic incidents we are acquainted with. Mr. Jardine has given the full account.—See *Criminal Trials*.

who was found in the same hiding-place at Hendlip, Garnet's confidential servant Owen, and another servant called Chambers, appear to have been tortured without mercy, as also without effect, for no one of them would confess anything of importance against Garnet or any other Jesuit

were all carried to the council, as were also the answers to them; but so cautious was the Jesuit, that there was nothing in this correspondence to weigh against him. Failing in this experiment, the lieutenant of the Tower removed Hall, or Oldcorn, to a cell next to that of his friend Gar-

net, and they were both informed by the keeper, who recommended extreme caution and secrecy, that, by opening a concealed door, they might easily converse together. The temptation was irresistible, and both the Jesuits fell into the trap. Edward Forset, a man of some learning, and a magistrate, and Locherson, a secretary of Cecil's, who had tried his ears before at eaves-dropping, were placed in such a position between the two cells that they could overhear nearly every word the prisoners uttered; and as they conversed they took notes of all that was said. Their main



HENDLIP HOUSE, as it stood in 1800.—From a print by Ross

or priest. Owen, after undergoing the minor torments, in order to escape the rack, with which he was threatened on the next examination, tore open his bowels with a blunt knife, which he had obtained by a stratagem, and died true to his master. Whatever was the extent of Garnet's guilt, or of the moral obliquity which he derived from the crafty order to which he belonged, he was indisputably a man of extraordinary learning and ability: he baffled all the court lawyers and cunningest statesmen in twenty successive examinations. They could never get an advantage over him, nor drive him into a contradiction or an admission unfavourable to his case.¹ But in the congenial atmosphere of the Tower, a certain craft had attained to the highest perfection; and there has scarcely been a device fancied by romance writers, but was put into actual operation within those horrible walls. Some of the most revolting practices of the Inquisition may be traced in this English state prison. Garnet's keeper of a sudden pretended to be his friend—to venerate him as a martyr; and he offered, at his own great hazard, to convey any letters the prisoner might choose to write to his friends. Garnet intrusted to him several letters, which

subject was how they should arrange their defence. Garnet said that he must needs confess that he had been at White-Webbs, in Enfield Chase, with the conspirators, but that he would maintain that he had not been there since Bartholomew-tide. "And in truth," said he, "I am well persuaded that I shall wind myself out of this matter." On the following day the conversation was renewed, the eaves-droppers being at their post as before. Garnet said several things which went to connect him with the conspirators; and he told Hall that, at the next visitation of the commissioners, they must both "expect either to go to the rack, or to pass quietly with the rest." He also added that he had heard that one James, or Johnson, *had been upon the rack for three hours.* In the third conversation, Hall, or Oldcorn, related how he had been examined, and what he had said. Garnet said, "If they examine me any more, I will urge them to bring proofs against me, for they speak of three or four witnesses." In a fourth conversation there dropped nothing of any consequence. But the commissioners thought that they had already enough to drive the matter home. Garnet had hitherto denied all acquaintance with the first stages of the plot: he and Oldcorn were now charged with their own words; and at first they boldly denied having uttered them. Oldcorn, however, confessed to their truth *on the rack.* Still Garnet held out; and, when showed Oldcorn's examination, he said that his friend might accuse himself falsely, but

¹ Coke, in his speech on Garnet's trial, said he was one having "many excellent gifts and endowments of nature: by birth a gentleman, by education a scholar, by art learned, and a good linguist." The whole of this English Jesuit's history is interesting. At one time he gained his livelihood in London by correcting the press for Tottel, the celebrated printer.

that he would not accuse himself. According to the Catholic account, he was then led to the rack, and made sundry admissions to escape torture; but, according to government documents, which, we need hardly say, are in many essentials open to doubt, he began to confess from his inward conviction that it would be of no use to persist in denying a fact, avowed by Oldcorn, and supported by Forset and Locherson. After much subtilizing and equivocating, he was driven to admit that, when Fawkes went over to Flanders, he had given him a recommendatory letter to his brother Jesuit Baldwin; and, finally, that the design of blowing up the Parliament House with gunpowder had been revealed to him, as far back as the month of July of the preceding year, by Greenway, who had received it in confession from Catesby, and, as he believed, from Thomas Winter also. But he added that he had earnestly endeavoured to dissuade Catesby, and desired Greenway to do the same. He further stated that Catesby had at one time propounded a question to him, in general terms, as to the lawfulness of a design meant to promote the Catholic religion, in the execution of which it would be necessary to destroy a few Catholic friends together with a great many heretical enemies. And he said that, in ignorance of what Catesby's design really was, he had replied that, "in case the object was clearly good, and could be effected by no other means, it might be lawful among many innocents to destroy some innocents." Oldcorn, who was no longer of any use, was now sent down to Worcester, with Mr. Abington, the owner of the house at Hendlip, and a priest named Strange, to be tried by a special commission. Abington, whose sole offence appears to have been the concealment of the two Jesuits, received the king's pardon, through his brother-in-law, Lord Mounteagle; Oldcorn and Strange, together with several other persons, were executed.

On the third of March "Henry Garnet, superior to the Jesuits in England," was put upon his trial for high treason, before a special commission in Guildhall. Coke had again a grand opportunity for display, and he spoke for some hours. When the Jesuit replied, he was not permitted so much space. Coke interrupted him continually; the commissioners on the bench interrupted him; and James, who seems to have felt a respect for his powers of argument and eloquence, declared that the Jesuit had not fair play allowed him. Garnet pleaded that he had done his best to prevent the execution of the powder treason; and that he could not, by the laws of his church, reveal any secret which had been received under the sacred seal of confession. He carried himself very gravely and temperately,

and half charmed that immense audience; but, upon the evidence of the depositions obtained in the Tower, and the oaths of Forset and Locherson, a verdict of guilty was returned, and the lord chief-justice pronounced the sentence of hanging, drawing, and quartering. During the whole trial they extracted nothing from the Jesuit: they had expected great discoveries, but they made none.¹ Instead, therefore, of being hurried to execution, Garnet was kept six weeks in prison, during which the greatest efforts were made to wring further avowals from him, and to lead him to a declaration of the principles of the society to which he belonged. In the first purpose they entirely failed, but in the second they partially succeeded; and if the declarations concerning equivocation were fairly obtained, and if he expressed his real feelings, the Jesuit certainly entertained "opinions as inconsistent with all good government as they were contrary to sound morality."² It happened, however, rather unfortunately, that King James, and his ministers, and their predecessors, had made opinions nearly allied to those of the Jesuit, the fixed rules of, at least, their political conduct. Garnet was executed on the 3d of May, and Cecil got the order of the Garter as a reward for his exertions in the detection of the plot, and his "constant dealing in matters of religion." Several other Catholics were put to death in Warwickshire and the adjoining counties; some for being personally concerned, some for harbouring priests and proclaimed traitors. There were other victims of a more elevated rank, but not one of these was punished capitally. The Earl of Northumberland, the kinsman of the traitor Percy, was seized on the first discovery of the plot, and committed to the care of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and, after the capture of the conspirators at Holbeach, the three Catholic lords, Stourton, Mordaunt, and Montague, were arrested, upon the ground that they all meant to be absent from parliament, and therefore must have known of the gunpowder treason. No one of them was ever put upon a fair trial, but the Star Chamber arbitrarily condemned them to heavy fines, and to imprisonment during the king's pleasure. The Earl of Northumberland was removed to the Tower, and closely examined many times. He demanded a public trial; but in the month of June they brought him up to the Star Chamber, and there accused him of having sought to be the head of the Papists, and a "promoter of toleration;" of having admitted Percy, a Catholic, to be a gentleman pensioner, without exacting from him the proper oaths; and of having preferred

¹ "I was assured there was nothing that was not known before by the confessions of those that were executed."—*Letter of Sir Allan Percy to Sir Dudley Carleton.*

² Jardine.

the safety of his money to the safety of the king. It is said that James and his ministers believed that Northumberland was the person to whom the conspirators had intended to offer the regency or protectorship; but no mention was made of

this in the Star Chamber. The earl was sentenced to pay a fine of £30,000, to be deprived of all his offices, and to be imprisoned in the Tower for life. Such was the closing scene of the most terrible of English conspiracies.¹

CHAPTER II.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1606—1613.

JAMES I.

Meeting of parliament—Severity of the penal statutes against Papists increased—Visit of the King of Denmark to England—Failure of James's proposal of union between England and Scotland—Remonstrances of the House of Commons in behalf of their privileges—James's usual mode of life—His attachment to favourites—History of Robert Carr—He becomes chief favourite—Connection of James with Dutch politics—James's prodigality and want of money—Application to parliament for supplies—The application refused—Bold remonstrances of the commons against the king's arbitrary proceedings—James obliged to part with certain feudal privileges—Growing jealousy of the commons—Death of Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury—He is succeeded by Dr. Abbot—Death of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury—Account of Lady Arabella Stuart—Jealousy entertained of her royal descent—Her private marriage—Her imprisonment in the Tower—She is apprehended in attempting to escape—Her melancholy end—James betakes himself to polemical authorship—His controversy with Vorstius—He burns two heretics—Assassination of Henry IV. of France—Robert Carr James's favourite, obtains the chief direction of affairs—Character of Prince Henry, son of James—His studies and great endowments—His last illness and early death—Marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James, to the Count Palatine—Progress of Robert Carr, now Viscount Rochester—His intrigue with the Countess of Essex—Sir Thomas Overbury opposes their design of marriage—They cause him to be imprisoned in the Tower—He is secretly poisoned—Carr marries the Countess of Essex—He is created Earl of Somerset.



HE parliament, which was to have been blown into the air on the 5th of November, met for the despatch of business on the 21st of January, 1606. The penal statutes had made a few madmen, and, as if the dominant party wished to make more, they immediately called for an increase of severity. James tried to moderate the fierceness of the commons, by which attempt he put his own orthodoxy in question; and, as he had chosen this unlucky moment for opening a matrimonial negotiation for his son, Prince Henry, with the most Catholic court of Spain, the Puritans began to murmur that he was little better than a Papist himself. Laws the most irritating, oppressive, and cruel, against the whole body of Catholics, were carried through both houses by overwhelming majorities; and James, more from fear than from any other motive, assented to them. A few of these laws will give a notion of the spirit that was abroad. No Catholic recusant was to appear at court, to live in London, or within ten miles of London, or to remove on any occasion more than five miles from his home, without especial license, signed by four magistrates. No recusant was to practise in surgery, physic, or law; to act as judge, clerk, or officer, in any court or corporation, or perform the office of ad-

ministrator, executor, or guardian. In all cases of marriage where the ceremony was performed by a Catholic priest, the husband, being a Catholic, could have no claim on the property of the wife, nor the wife, if a Catholic, on that of the husband. A new oath of allegiance was devised, in which was a formal renunciation of the temporal power of the pope, and of his right of interfering in the civil affairs of England. Such Catholics as would take this oath were liable *only* to the penalties enumerated; but such as refused the oath were to be imprisoned for life, and to forfeit their personal property and the rents of their lands. It was expected that most of the Papists would take this oath, which did not trench on any religious dogma; but it was loaded with offensive epithets, and though some of the leaders of the Catholic clergy in England decided in its favour, the Jesuits condemned it, and the pope, Paul V., forbade it in a breve, which Blackwall, the archpriest, had the

¹ Jardine, *Criminal Trials*. The second volume of this work—a highly valuable illustration of English history and English law—is devoted entirely to the Gunpowder Plot, and contains, not only everything valuable that has been published on the subject, but numerous extracts from original and unpublished MSS. in the State Paper Office, Crown Office, and other repositories. The little volume is admirably complete as a contribution to history, and is, at the same time, as exciting and amusing as a romance.

courage to publish to his congregation, though he himself would have recommended the taking of the oath. Blackwall, who was seventy years old, was soon lodged in a prison, where he remained till his death, which happened six or seven years after. Drury, another priest, was hanged, drawn, and quartered. James fondly thought that he could decide the question of the oath with his theological pen; and, with some assistance from his divines, he brought out a tract entitled, *An Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*. Parsons, the celebrated Jesuit, and Cardinal Bellarmino, who, according to no favourable judge,¹ "had the best pen of his time for controversy," replied to the *Apology*. James rejoined by publishing what he called *A Monitory Preface*. To Parsons, he said, the fittest answer would be a rope. Bellarmino, who had appeared under a feigned name, was not more gently treated.

James was by this time in great distress for money. The commons seemed disposed to vote a liberal subsidy, but the bill lay a good while on their table, and at last they came to a decision that it should not pass till they had prepared their list of grievances. The king, who abhorred the word grievance, had to digest, as he could, sixteen long articles; but he evaded the question of redress, and the commons kept aloof from the subsidy. Cecil and the other ministers made half-promises in their master's name; the House of Lords was wondrously loyal and liberal, but it was not until the month of May that the commons voted three subsidies and six fifteenths. While the money question was pending, a report was spread that the king, who was away hunting, was assassinated at Oaking, in Berkshire, together with his three favourites, Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery, Sir John Ramsay, and Sir James Hay. There was a great consternation, both in the Parliament House and in the city, with great weeping and lamentation of old and young, rich and poor, maids and wives, who again expected an English St. Bartholomew's. But about three o'clock in the afternoon James arrived safe and sound at Whitehall, and was heartily greeted by the people. It has been supposed that Cecil—perhaps the king himself—was no stranger to the origin of this *bruit*, which is supposed to have quickened the generosity of the commons. Having got the subsidies, James prorogued parliament on the 27th of May to the 18th of November.

In the month of July, James received a visit from his brother-in-law, Christian IV., King of Denmark; and in the round of costly feasts, hunts, and entertainments, which he gave on this occasion, he forgot the commons, Garnet, the Gunpowder Plot, and all the state matters

whatsoever. A satirical letter-writer of the time observes that the parliament had voted the subsidies very seasonably, so that the court was able to show off to advantage, and to entertain the royal Dane with shows, sights, and banquetings, from morn till eve.² We possess too many corroborative accounts of these entertainments to doubt that they were gross and indecorous. At a feast given by Cecil at Theobalds, the two mighty princes, James and Christian, got so drunk that his English majesty was carried to bed in the arms of his courtiers, and his Danish majesty mistook his bed-chamber, and offered the last of insults to the Countess of Nottingham, the handsome and spirited wife of the Lord High-admiral of England. But at the same great entertainment, James's subjects, ladies as well as gentlemen of the highest rank, gave proof that they were capable of following the example of their sovereign. "Men," says an eye-witness, "who had been shy of good liquor before, now wallowed in beastly delights; the ladies abandoned their sobriety, and were seen to roll about in intoxication."³

The royal Dane, who stayed nearly a month, was scarcely gone when there arrived another expensive guest, in the person of Prince Vaudemont, one of James's kinsmen of the house of Guise, who brought an immense retinue with him. This led to fresh festivities and hunts, during which James could find no time to attend to business, though he now and then could steal a day or two to give to the orthodox clergy, who were intent on proving, by Scripture and history, the royal supremacy, and the grand fact, that in all ages the authority of kings governed and ruled the church—doctrines most unpalatable to the Presbyterians of Scotland, and tending to disgust them with the project of the union which James had so much at heart. At last Vaudemont departed, and on the appointed day, in the month of November, the parliament met again. The commons had voted their money, and now the king returned his answer to their grievances, the greater part of which referred to grants, made to particular persons, of the nature of monopolies. These grants, for the most part, James defended with arguments; but in some cases he remitted them to the consideration of the courts of law. In the former session James had caused to be introduced and debated his scheme of a perfect union between England and Scotland: the subject was now again taken up with great earnestness, and Bacon was prepared with a great and states-

¹ Bayle, *Dict.*

² Sir John Harrington. "I will now in good sooth declare to you, who will not blab, that the gunpowder fright is got out of all our heads, and we are going on hereabouts as if the devil was contriving every man should blow up himself, by wild riot, excess, and devastation of time and temperance."—Letter in *Nugæ Antiquæ*.

³ Harrington, *Nugæ Ant.*

manlike speech in support of the measure. But the two countries were in no respects prepared; the antipathies, prejudices, and hostilities of centuries were not to be cured in three short years; and many recent circumstances and indications had tended greatly to indispose men's minds, on either side the Tweed, to the grand political experiment. James had so openly and coarsely announced his creed of prerogative that alarms were excited, and people were averse to any measure that might increase his sovereign power. We have already mentioned his determined predilection for Episcopacy; and it was generally understood that the state union would be accompanied by a church union, the Scots being made to conform to the Anglican establishment, which they regarded, and which James himself had at one time professed to regard, as something little short of Papistry. The king, moreover, had dwelt continually upon the great superiority of the laws of England, which the Scots had no inclination to adopt. Nor is it ever easy to change the laws and institutions of a people except by absolute conquest. The Scots were justly proud of their hardly contested and preserved independence; they regarded with indignation and horror everything which seemed to fix the badge of submission or inferiority upon them. The English, on the other side, scarcely less proud, were avowedly averse to admitting the Scots to a footing of equality; and the king's indiscretion, at the commencement of his reign, in lavishing English money, posts, and titles, upon some Scottish favourites, had raised a popular clamour that the country was to be overrun and devoured by their poor and hungry neighbours. At different stages of the debates several members of the commons gave full expression to the most angry and contemptuous feeling against James's countrymen. Sir Christopher Pigot, member for Buckinghamshire, expressed his astonishment and horror at the notion of a union between a rich and fertile country like England, and a land like Scotland, poor, barren, and disgraced by nature—between rich, frank, and honest men, and a proud, beggarly, and traitorous race. The whole Scottish nation hotly resented these gross insults, and threatened to take up arms to avenge them. James, in an agony of alarm, rebuked Cecil for allowing such expressions to pass unnoticed; and he declared to his council that the insult touched him as a Scot. Next he rebuked and threatened the commons, who thereupon expelled Pigot, and even committed him to the Tower. In the session of 1604 the English and Scotch commissioners had agreed to the entire abrogation of all hostile laws between the two kingdoms, to the abolition of Border courts and customs, and to a free intercourse of trade throughout the

king's dominions. James had also, very soon after his accession, both on coins and in proclamations, assumed the title of King of Great Britain; and here, in prudence, he ought to have stopped, and left the rest to the salutary operation of time and peaceful intercourse. But he drove on to his end, and was greatly enraged with the commons when they rejected his proposition for the naturalization of the *ante-nati*, or Scots born before his accession to the English throne. A decision, however, soon after obtained in the courts of law, extended the rights of naturalization to all Scots who were *post-nati*, or born after the king's accession; so that in the course of a few years the mass of the Scots would become natural subjects of the English crown. The commons did not venture to call in question this right of the *post-nati*, though it was evident that they did not admit it with very good will. When urged to go farther they invented all kinds of difficulties and delays, which called forth another harsh schooling from the king. In his speech to the two houses, which had the haughtiness but not the dignity of Elizabeth, he threatened to abandon London, and fix his residence at York or Berwick; and he alluded with bitterness to certain discourses which had been made in the commons' house.¹

The commons, who had already learned that James could bark better than he could bite, would not take this castigation in silence. They made known to him, through the speaker, their earnest desire that he would listen to no private reports of their doings, but take his information of the house's meaning from themselves; that he would be pleased to allow such members as he had blamed to clear themselves in his hearing; and that he would, by some gracious message, let them know that they might deliver their opinions in their places without restraint or fear. On the very next day he civilly replied, through the speaker, that he wished to preserve their privileges, especially that of liberty of speech.² And yet, a very few days after this message, he was interfering again, and commenting on their speeches, telling them that they were too much given to the discussion of matters above their comprehension. Nay, when they moved the reading of a petition, which contained strong remonstrances against ecclesiastical abuses, and in favour of the deprived and persecuted Puritan preachers, the speaker, according to orders received, told the house that his majesty reserved these matters to himself, and would not be pressed thereon. Some members cried out that this was an infringement of their liberties; but the speaker told them (and truly enough) that there were many precedents

¹ Commons' Journals; *Parl. Hist.*; *Ambassades de la Boderie*.

² Journals.

—that the late queen had often restrained the house from meddling in politics of divers kinds. A motion was then made for the appointment of a committee to search for precedents. But here James sent down a second message, telling the house that, though the petition contained matter whereof they could not properly take cognizance, yet, if they thought good to have it read, he was not against the reading. The commons were mollified, and the petition was at last “with general liking agreed to sleep.”

On the 4th of July, 1607, James prorogued the parliament till the month of November of the same year, but, in effect, it did not meet again till February, 1610. While it was still sitting, in the month of May, 1607, lawless assemblages of men, women, and children were suddenly observed in Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, and Leicestershire. The king was greatly alarmed, and at first thought that it must be an organized insurrection, got up either by the Papists or by the Puritans, who were equally dissatisfied with his government. But it was nothing of the sort, but rather resembled the agricultural riots about inclosures which happened in the time of Edward VI., and it was soon and easily put down.

Meanwhile James continued his life of indolence and ease, hunting a good part of the year, and lying in bed the greater part of the day when he was not so pleasantly engaged. He even went so far as to say that he would rather return to Scotland than be chained for ever to the council-table. It was rarely that his subjects could get access to him in his retreats. When they did, his address and demeanour, and appointments, clashed strangely with the notion of a most royal and heaven-descended prince, the image, as he called himself, of the Godhead. He was dressed all over in colours green as the grass, with a little feather in his cap, and a horn instead of a sword by his side.¹ His queen, Anne of Denmark, was as fond of dancing and masks, fine dresses, and costly entertainments, as he was of hunting; nor had she, on the whole, much more personal dignity than her husband. She was dissipated, thoughtless, extravagant, and had her favourites. But it was the monstrous favouritism of James that withdrew the eyes of all from his other follies and the follies of the queen. When he first entered England, the man he most delighted to honour and enrich was Sir John Ramsay, who had stabbed the Earl of Gowrie at the time of the alleged conspiracy, for which he had been promoted by James to be Viscount Haddington. As soon as they were fairly settled in the land of promise, he received leases of crown-lands, gifts, and pensions. Haddington had recently been £10,000 deep in the merchants’

books; but this debt was presently paid off, and the Scottish viscount was well matched, being married, by the king’s desire, to the daughter of the great Earl of Sussex. Towards the end of James’s reign he was created an English peer, with the title of Earl of Holderness. Next to Haddington, the prime favourite was Sir James Hay, another Scotchman, whom we have already mentioned, and who was soon created Lord Hay, and subsequently Viscount Doncaster and Earl of Carlisle. Places, honours, gifts, were showered upon this Scottish Heliogabalus, who, in the course of his very jovial life, “spent above £400,000, which, upon a strict computation, he received from the crown, leaving not a house nor acre of land to be remembered by.”² But nearly all the Scottish favourites, like Carlisle, and their master, the king, spent their money as fast as they could get it; being rapacious, but certainly not avaricious. Nor had they long the field to themselves; for James presently chose to himself minions of English birth, to whom he gave far more than he ever bestowed on the Scots. The first of these favourites was Sir Philip Herbert, brother of the Earl of Pembroke, who was presently created Earl of Montgomery, found in a rich wife, and loaded with gifts. “The Earl of Montgomery,” says Clarendon, “being a young man scarce of age at the entrance of King James, had the good fortune, by the comeliness of his person, his skill and indefatigable industry in hunting, to be the first who drew the king’s eyes towards him with affection. . . . Before the end of the first or second year he was made gentleman of the king’s bedchamber and Earl of Montgomery. . . . He pretended to no other qualifications than to understand horses and dogs very well; which his master loved him the better for, being at his first coming into England very jealous of those who had the reputation of great parts.” The Viscount Haddington, the Scottish favourite, became jealous of Montgomery, and struck the English favourite with his whip on a public race-course at Croydon; an insult which the English took up as offered not merely to the spiritless minion, who had not courage to resent it, but to the whole nation; “so far as Mr. John Pinchback, though a maimed man, having but the perfect use of two fingers, rode about with his dagger in his hand, crying, ‘Let us break our fast with them here and dine with the rest at London.’ But Herbert, not offering to strike again, there was nothing spilt but the reputation of a gentleman.”³ This coward’s mother, the high-minded sister of Sir Philip Sidney, tore her hair when she heard of her son’s dishonour. James took the matter into his own hands, sent Haddington to the Tower

¹ Osborn.² Clarendon, *History of the Great Rebellion*.³ Osborn.

for a short time, and then reconciled the parties. He had a deal of work of the like kind—for the Scottish and English courtiers quarrelled incessantly, and sometimes fought to the death.

When Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery, saw himself supplanted in the king's strange favour by a new comer, he betrayed no resentment, but clung to the new minion as to a bosom friend—a line of conduct which quite charmed the king, and which secured to Herbert a continuance of the royal liberality and good-will. This new favourite, who over-topped all his predecessors, and first put the monstrous folly or vice of James in its full and disgusting light, was Robert Carr, or Ker, of the Border family of Fernyherst, which had suffered severely in the cause of the king's mother. It is said that, when a mere child, Robert Carr had been page to James. In his youth he went over to France, according to the custom of Scottish gentlemen, and there acquired many courtly graces and accomplishments. He was poor, even beyond the bounds of Scottish poverty, but "straight-limbed, well-favoured, strong-shouldered, and smooth-faced, with some sort of cunning and show of modesty;"¹ and he had been taught that personal beauty, gay dress, and manners, would make him a fortune at court. He had recently returned from the Continent, and the gloss was not off his French-cut doublet when he appeared, in the month of July, 1606, as page or esquire to the Lord Dingwall, in a grand tilting-match at Westminster. In the course of the chivalrous entertainment he had to present his lord's shield to the king. In doing this his horse fell with him, or threw him, close to James's feet. His leg was broken, but his fortune was made. The king, struck with his beauty, and tenderly moved by his accident, ordered him to be instantly carried into Master Rider's house at Charing Cross, sent his own surgeon to attend him, and, as soon as the tilting was over—"having little desire to behold the triumph, but much to have it ended"—he flew to visit him, and wait upon him in person; and after, by his daily visiting and mourning over him, taking all care for his speedy recovery, he made the day-break of his glory appear.² Carr, at this time, was scarcely of age, and as James soon found out that the more scholastic part of his education had been sadly neglected, he undertook to teach him Latin himself, and gave him a lesson every morning.³ And soon he began to give court places and rich presents—things which Carr coveted more than all

the Latinity of James's preceptor, Buchanan, or of Cicero and Horace. On Christmas Eve, 1607, the new favourite was knighted, and sworn gentleman of the bedchamber, which place kept him constantly about the king, who took no care to conceal his nauseous affection from the court, leaning on his arm, pinching his cheek, smoothing his ruffled garment, and looking in his face even when directing his discourse to others. Soon everybody who had to ask a favour, to press a suit, or to demand simple justice, found that the surest road to success was through the good graces and protection of Sir Robert Carr. It was at first feared that Carr, as a Scot, would especially favour his own countrymen; but this was not the case, probably because the English lords and ladies could pay him best. "He even appeared to be endeavouring to forget his native country, and his father's house, having none of note about him but English. But, above all, was Sir Thomas Overbury his Pythias."⁴ This close friendship, which ended in the murder of Overbury, commenced with Carr's first appearance at court; and it became the custom to bribe and flatter Sir Thomas, on account of the influence he had with his friend. Cecil and Suffolk, who were rivals, tried hard which should engross him and make him their monopoly. All this seems to have inflated Overbury, who was otherwise moderate and cunning, and a man of excellent parts and accomplishments. But it was not until after the death of Cecil, in 1612, that the minion was allowed to take his flight to the pinnacle of honour, and to become a sort of dictator both in court and kingdom.

A.D. 1608, 1609. All the rest of Europe might despise the personal character and the timid policy of the English monarch; but there was one infant republic obliged, by circumstances which he had not made, to look to James with anxiety and awe. This was the government of Holland and the United Provinces, some of the keys to which he held in the cautionary towns of Flushing, Brill, and Rammekeens. At one moment there was a report that James was in treaty with Philip III. for the sale of those places which the Dutch had not been able or willing to redeem with money; and after concluding his treaty of peace with Spain, by which he bound himself to be neutral, he had permitted troops to be levied in England for the service of the Spaniards and the Archduke Albert, who yet flattered himself with hopes of reducing the free States. In the end, the arch-

¹ *Nuge Ant.*

² "Lord!" exclaims Sir Anthony Weldon, "how the great men flocked then to see him, and to offer to his shrine in such abundance, that the king was forced to lay a restraint, lest it might retard his recovery by spending his spirits. And to facilitate the cure, care was taken for a choice diet for himself

and chirurgeons with his attendants, and no sooner recovered but a proclaimed favourite."

³ "I think some one should teach him English too; for, as he is a Scottish lad, he hath much need of better language."—*Letter of Lord Thomas Howard to Sir John Harrington. Nuge Ant.*

⁴ Weldon.

duke either made or listened to an overture to negotiate separately with the Dutch, upon the basis of their independence, without communication with James, who would fain have held himself as arbitrator, or with any other party. When a truce was agreed upon with the archduke, the Dutch, in the month of April, 1607, informed the King of France that they had opened negotiations for a definitive peace with Spain, and invited their ally, Henry, to participate with them in the treaty. Three months after, the States condescended to give, in a formal manner, the same intelligence and the same invitation to the King of England. The vanity of James must have been hurt, but he acceded with alacrity, and joined himself with Henry IV., as mediator and guarantee. On the 29th of March, 1609, a truce was concluded for twelve years between Spain and the new republic—a truce equivalent to a peace. By this treaty the brave and persevering Hollanders, after a forty years' war, obtained from their tyrannical masters entire independence, liberty to trade to the Indies, and the closing of the Scheldt. James got for himself the acknowledgment of a debt of £818,000, as the sum total of what was due to the English crown; and the promise of the States to discharge this debt by annual instalments of £60,000 each. In the meanwhile, and until liquidation, James was to retain possession of Flushing, Brill, and Rammekeens.¹

The grand merit—perhaps the greatest of Elizabeth's government—was its strict order and economy. This, as we have remarked before, enabled her to maintain her high notions of prerogative, which were, however, on most public occasions, coloured over with kind and popular language, and varnished with dignity and grace.² But James was extravagant beyond all precedent, and he allowed the queen and his children, or the corrupt and greedy courtiers about them, to squander great sums. He was always in want of money. In the third year of his reign he could neither pay his servants, nor decently supply his own table. The treasurer, Lord Dorset, was stopped in the streets by the servants of the household, who wanted their wages, and the purveyors refused further supplies till they should be settled with. Upon the death of the Earl of Dorset, in 1608, the Earl of Salisbury (Cecil) succeeded to the post of treasurer, still retaining his secretaryship of state. The Earl of Northampton, who became lord privy-seal about the same time, had considerable authority or influ-

ence with the king; but Cecil might be regarded now as prime minister, or sole acting minister of England. He found the treasury empty, but fortunately a portion of the subsidies had not yet been paid in and spent. This money was something to stand by, and his fertile mind devised other means of raising supplies without consent of parliament. Monopolies more oppressive than any that had preceded them were established and bartered; a right of fishery off the coasts of England and Scotland was sold to the Dutch; a feudal aid of twenty shillings on each knight's fee was levied by an old law, and duties were imposed upon the import and export of goods by the prerogative alone, without any reference even to the sanction of parliament. In the latter course Dorset had begun before him, by laying an import duty on Corinth raisins, or currants, by letters-patent. Bates, a Turkey merchant, resisted payment. He was proceeded against in the Court of Exchequer, where the barons decided for the crown, and laid down a right of taxation in the king without parliament, which was highly satisfactory to James and his ministers. With this precedent before him, Cecil went boldly to work, and imposed duties upon various kinds of goods by orders under the great seal. But all these sources of revenue were not sufficient to supply James's expenditure, and he was driven by his necessities to call together again his parliament, which had been prorogued some thirty months.

A.D. 1610. The houses began their session on the 14th of February, when Cecil represented to the lords, instead of causing it to be represented to the commons, that the king's necessities were such as to call for an immediate supply. Neither time nor anything else was gained by this irregular mode of proceeding, and the minister was brought to a dead pause by the murmurs of the commons, who took up the question of taxation and duty-making. Several of the members had sifted the legal authorities, and had arrived at the conclusion that the decision of the barons of the exchequer in the case of Bates was illegal. Hakewill and Yelverton made two elaborate speeches to this effect, and they were lamely answered by Bacon and Sir John Davis, who sustained the cause of prerogative. The opposition became resolute and clamorous. James intimated, by a message, that they must not talk upon such subjects; but it appears that they talked louder than ever. He then called both houses before him at Whitehall, and delivered to them a long lecture, which was at once blasphemous and ridiculous. "Kings," said this unroyal specimen, "are justly called gods, for that they exercise a manner or resemblance of Divine power upon earth; for, if you will con-

¹ Rymer; Birch, *Negotiations*; *Stow*.

² "Your queen (Elizabeth) did talk of her subjects' love and affection, and, in good truth, she aimed well; our king talketh of his subjects' fear and subjection, and herein I think he doth well too, as long as it holdeth good."—Lord T. Howard to Harrington. *Nugæ Ant.*

sider the attributes of God, you shall see how they agree in the person of a king. God hath power to create or destroy—to make or unmake—at his pleasure; to give life or send death; to judge all, and to be judged nor accountable to none; to raise low things and to make high things low at his pleasure; and to God both soul and body are due. And the like power have kings: they make and unmake their subjects; they have power of raising and casting down, of life and of death—judges over all their subjects, and in all causes, and yet accountable to none but God only. They have power to exalt low things and abase high things, and make of their subjects like men of chess—a pawn to take a bishop or a knight; and to cry up or down any of their subjects as they do their money. And to the king is due both the affection of the soul and the service of the body of his subjects.”¹ In the end he told them that it was sedition in subjects to dispute what a king might do in the plenitude of his power—that kings were before laws, and that all laws were granted by them as matter of favour to the people. But, notwithstanding this parallelizing of himself with the divinity, the commons would not allow that he had any right to lay duties upon currants or broad-cloth without their consent, and they presented a strong remonstrance against his inhibitions. They claimed “as an ancient general and undoubted right of parliament, freely to debate all matters which do properly concern the subject.” They did not take upon themselves to review the judgment given by the Court of Exchequer, but they desired to know the reasons whereon that judgment was grounded, “especially as it was generally apprehended that the reasons of that judgment extended much farther, even to the utter ruin of the ancient liberty of this kingdom, and of the subjects’ rights of property in their lands and goods.”² They told him that the kings of this realm, with the assent of parliament, make laws and taxes, and impose duties upon goods and merchandise, but not otherwise: that his majesty’s most humble commons, following the example of their ancestors, and finding that his majesty, without advice or consent of parliament, had lately, in time of peace, set both greater impositions, and far more in number, than any of his ancestors had ever done in times of war, with all humility presumed to petition that all impositions set without assent of parliament should be quite abolished and taken away, and that his majesty, in imitation of his noble progenitors, would be pleased that a law be made during this session of parliament, declaring that all impositions or duties set, or to be set upon his people, their

goods or merchandise, save only by common consent or parliament, are, and ever shall be void.³ This was gall and wormwood to James; but the commons did more than petition; they passed a bill taking away impositions. This, however, was rejected by the lords, who were not disposed to do anything to check the march of absolutism; and the bench of bishops were always ready to find texts in Scripture for the support of the prerogative. The whole High Church party had by this time gone far into the Divine right, and had adopted the theory that the king’s power was of God, and that of the parliament only of man.

On coming into the office of lord-treasurer, Cecil had found that the king’s debts amounted to £1,300,000, while his ordinary expenditure was calculated to exceed his revenue by £81,000 at least. He had reduced the debt by about two-thirds; but he saw it accumulating afresh. He roundly proposed a perpetual yearly revenue to be granted, once for all, by parliament; and, as the price of this vote, he promised in the king’s name that every grievance should be redressed and other modes of raising money abandoned. The commons instantly brought forward a host of grievances; the minister and courtiers wished them to vote the money first and complain afterwards; but they stuck to their grievances. One of the most important of these was the ecclesiastical High Commission Court, a most arbitrary tribunal, which fined and imprisoned—passed sentence without appeal—constantly interfered with men’s domestic concerns and their civil rights—and in its ordinary procedure despised the rules and precautions of the common law. Another glaring abuse was the king’s attempting to do everything by his own proclamation. James, indeed, might have been called the king of proclamations. The commons told him that it was the indubitable right of the people of this kingdom not to be made subject to any punishment that shall extend to their lives, lands, bodies, or goods, other than such as are ordained by the common law of this land, or the statutes made by their common consent in parliament. They then complained that it had been attempted to make royal proclamations take the place of law; that proclamations had been of late years much more frequent than they had ever been before, extending to liberty, property, inheritances, and livelihoods of men; some of them tending to alter the law; some made shortly after a session of parliament for matter rejected in the same session; some ordering punishments to be inflicted before lawful trial and conviction; some referring the punishment of offenders to courts of arbitrary discretion; some to support oppressive monopolies, &c. “By reason whereof,” continued the

¹ King James’s *Works*; Winwood’s *Memorials*; *Journals*.

² *Journals*.

³ Somers’ *Tracts*.

commons, "there is a general fear conceived and spread amongst your majesty's people, that proclamations will, by degrees, grow up and increase to the strength and nature of laws, whereby not only that ancient happiness and freedom will be much blemished (if not quite taken away), which their ancestors have so long enjoyed; but the same may also (in process of time) bring a new form of arbitrary government upon the realm: and this their fear is the more increased by occasion of certain books lately published, which ascribe a greater power to proclamations than heretofore had been conceived to belong unto them; as also by the care taken to reduce all the proclamations made since your majesty's reign into one volume, and to print them in such form as acts of parliament formerly have been, and still are used to be, which seemeth to imply a purpose to give them more reputation and more establishment than heretofore they have had.' The commons, after giving a list of James's arbitrary proclamations, proceeded to complain of the delay of the courts of law in granting writs of prohibition and *habeas corpus*, and of the jurisdiction of the council of Wales over the four bordering shires of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, and Salop, which it was pretended were included within their authority as marches of Wales. Their other chief grievances were, the Duke of Lennox's patent for searching and sealing new drapery, monopolies of wine, licenses and taxes recently set upon all public-houses, and a tax or duty upon sea-coal.

The lofty, the firm and moderate tone of this petition of grievances ought to have warned James that the spirit of the commons was undergoing a great change, and that whatever had been their timidity and servility under the house of Tudor, they would now aim at occupying their elevated and proper position in the constitution. But James, though alarmed and in dreadful want of their money, clung fast to his prerogative, and thought to satisfy them with civil words and paltry concessions. With regard to the Court of High Commission, which probably indisposed the minds of a greater number of his subjects than any other single cause, he vouchsafed to promise that they should never exceed what the law warranted. The royal licenses to public-houses he generously agreed to revoke. But the commons, who maintained that he had no right to lay it on, would not vote him a perpetual revenue in exchange for this tax upon victuallers, and there was a pause exceedingly distressing to the needy king.

There remained certain parts of his royal prerogative which the commons had hardly ven-

tured to dispute; but as the minister spoke of "retribution" for "contribution," they came under discussion. These were the matters of wardship, tenure by knight service, and the old grievance of purveyance. The commons got the lords to discuss the several subjects with them in committees of conference, and Cecil showed a willingness to bargain for the surrender of these feudal sources of revenue in exchange for a fixed annual sum. But it was soon found that James, though willing to give up wardship and purveyance, was exceedingly reluctant to part with tenure by knight service. Still, however, the commons thought the concessions he was willing to make well worth the purchasing. It remained to fix the price. James asked £300,000 per annum as a full composition for abolishing the right of wardship, and for taking away all purveyance, with some other concessions.² This was thought too dear, and, after a good deal of haggling, the king reduced it to £220,000 per annum. The commons, under the threat of a dissolution, bade up to £200,000, and the court gladly closed with them at that price. But parliament had to guard itself against the prerogative, which had been held up as beyond the control of statute; and they had also to devise by what means the £200,000 per annum should be levied. They were resolved to be slow and cautious; their session had been already prolonged to the middle of July, and it was therefore agreed that they should vote something to meet the king's immediate exigencies, and resume the subject after prorogation. All that the commons voted was an aid of one subsidy and one tenth; upon which they were prorogued to the month of October. When they met again, James was astonished and irritated to find that the commons were in a less complying humour than before. He wanted to concede less than he had promised: they insisted upon having more than they had bargained for. During the recess they had reflected seriously on the growing extravagance of the king and the rapacity of his courtiers. They suspected that the king would not keep his part of the bargain; they saw that no redress was to be expected as to the tyranny of the ecclesiastical courts—that illegal customs were still exacted at the out-ports—that proclamations were to have the force of acts of parliament. In this frame of mind (and there was a large party that had brooded with horror or disgust over James's blasphemous boastings) they declared their reluctance to voting the £200,000 per annum without a better assurance of an equivalent in substantial reforms. James summoned them to a conference; and about thirty members

¹ Somers' *Tracts*; *Carte*.

² Among these was the odious right of interference in the marriages of infants and widows.

waited upon his majesty at Whitehall. The king desired them to make a direct answer to some questions which he should put to them. The first was, Whether they thought he was really in want of money, as his treasurer and chancellor of the exchequer had informed them? "Where to, when Sir Francis Bacon had begun to answer in a more extravagant style than his majesty did delight to hear, he picked out Sir Henry Neville, commanding him to answer, according to his conscience. Thereupon Sir Henry Neville did directly answer, that he thought his majesty was in want. 'Then,' said the king, 'tell me whether it belongeth to you, that are my subjects, to relieve me or not.' 'To this,' quoth Sir Harry, 'I must answer with a distinction: where your majesty's expense groweth by the commonwealth, we are bound to maintain it; otherwise not.' And so, continuing his speech, he gave a note, that in this one parliament they had already given four subsidies and seven fifteenths, which is more than ever was given by any parliament, at any time, upon any occasion; and yet, withal, they had no relief of their grievances. Then was his majesty instant to have him declare what their grievances were. 'To all their grievances,' said Sir Harry, 'I am not privy, but of those that have come to my knowledge I will make recital.' And so began to say that, in matter of justice, they could not have an equal proceeding (aiming, perhaps, at his majesty's prerogative, *nullum tempus occurrit regi*;) and then, falling upon the jurisdiction of the marches of Wales, Sir Herbert Croft took the word out of his mouth; otherwise it was thought Sir Harry, being charged upon his conscience, would have delivered his judgment upon all, in what respect soever it might be taken."¹

James now prorogued the parliament for nine weeks, a time which, by his orders, was employed by the court party in "dealing every one with his friends and acquaintance in the house, to work them to some better reason."² But the commons would not be so wrought upon; they were resolute not to replenish "the royal cistern" without a guarantee; and this made the king determine that they should not meet again to question his prerogative without filling his exchequer.³ "He dissolved the parliament by proclamation."⁴

The dissolution took place on the 9th of February, 1611, not a single act having been passed in the late session. In the preceding month of November, while the king was smarting under his disappointments and reviling all parliaments, the primate Bancroft departed this life, as much applauded by the High Church party as he was

condemned by the Puritans and all classes of Dissenters. The orthodox Clarendon afterwards declared that "his death was never enough to be lamented"—that he "understood the Church excellently, and had almost rescued it out of the hands of the Calvinian party, and very much subdued the unruly spirit of the non-conformists by and after the conference at *Hampton Court*."⁵ During the stormy debates of these last sessions, Bancroft had done his best to defend his Church from the reformers, and to encourage the king in his prerogative course. To the surprise of most people who were unacquainted with certain services, both secret and public, which he had rendered to the king in a recent visit to Scotland, Doctor George Abbot, only eighteen months a bishop, was now promoted to the primacy. Abbot, instead of being a High Churchman, like Bancroft, was strongly imbued with Presbyterian or Calvinistic principles, and disposed, not merely to tolerate, but to patronize the Puritan preachers. In the words of Clarendon, who takes the least favourable view of his character, and who is disposed to attribute the growth of Puritanism and disaffection to his conduct as head of the Anglican church under James, Abbot "considered Christian religion no otherwise than as it abhorred and reviled Popery, and valued those men most who did that the most furiously. For the strict observation of the discipline of the Church, or the conformity to the articles or canons established, he made little inquiry and took less care; and having himself made a very little progress in the ancient and solid study of divinity, he adhered only to the doctrine of Calvin, and for his sake did not think so ill of that discipline as he ought to have done."⁶ In this way the Church became divided against itself; but the intolerance of Churchmen in general continued much the same, or, if there were a difference, it was seen in an increased hostility to Papists, arising out of the more ardent zeal of the Calvinists.

Perhaps they have somewhat overrated the delicate sensitiveness of his mind, or overlooked the diseased, crazy state of his body⁷ (and he was sixty-two or sixty-three years old when he died); but historians have pretty generally attributed the death of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, to the mortifications he experienced in this parliament, and to the pecuniary embarrassments of the government which were consequent on the firmness of the commons. Though his own coffers were well filled, the treasury was empty, and he probably entertained no very sanguine hope

⁵ *History of the Great Rebellion and Civil Wars.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ He was deformed in his person, and had always been of a weakly constitution.

¹ Winwood, *Memorials*.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Wilson, *Life and Reign of James I.*

of replenishing it by the sale of crown lands and the raising of loans in the different counties by sending privy seals, which latter exercise of the prerogative was put in force with a trembling hand, lest "that sacred seal should be refused by the desperate hardness of the prejudiced people." Whatever was the cause, the minister fell into a languid, hopeless state, and retired from business to drink the waters at Bath. He derived no benefit from the healing springs, and, on the 24th of May, 1612, he died, worn out and wretched, at Marlborough, on his way back to the court. Tedious sufferings had obliterated the charms of rank and honours, princely mansions, and wide estates, an enormous wealth, and a policy and ambition which had triumphed over many a formidable rival. In his last moments he said to Sir Walter Cope, "Ease and pleasure quake to hear of death; but my life, full of cares and miseries, desireth to be dissolved." His death was certainly not less welcome to the great mass of the nation; but, in the worse that followed, people affectionately remembered the bad rule of this remarkable son of a most remarkable father. Though heartless and perfidious, Cecil had abilities of the highest order; and though subservient and ready to erect James into an absolute monarch rather than lose favour and office by thwarting that prince's vehement inclinations, he had a sense of national dignity, and a system of foreign policy which would have saved England from degradation. The ministers who succeeded him had all his baseness and villainy with none of his genius.

Before Cecil found peace in his grave, the fate of an interesting victim, whose adventures furnish one of the most touching episodes in our history, had been sealed by a barbarous hand. The Lady Arabella Stuart, whose descent was a crime never to be forgiven, had been kept chiefly about court ever since the trial of Raleigh and Cobham. In the disorderly and tasteless revelry of the court she had continued to cultivate a taste for elegant literature, not wholly neglecting the study of divinity, which James seems to have made fashionable with both sexes, and nearly all classes of his subjects. It was her avowed preference of a single life that somewhat disarmed the dangerous jealousy of Elizabeth, though even in that queen's reign her condition was a very unhappy one. James, at one time, when he had neither wife nor children of his own, asked the hand of the Lady Arabella for his favourite Esme Stuart, Duke of Lennox, who was the lady's cousin. Elizabeth not only forbade this marriage, but she also imprisoned Arabella, using very sharp and insulting language against James for his having dared to propose such a match. On the death of Elizabeth, one of Cecil's first

cares was, as we have seen, to secure the person of the lady; and when James was safely seated on the throne, having now children, he seems to have settled in his own mind that she should never be allowed to marry. In the following year a great ambassador came from the King of Poland, whose chief errand was to demand her in marriage for his master; and at the very same moment there were indirect proposals made for Count Maurice, who claimed to be Duke of Gueldres. "But," says the courtly reporter of the latter news, "my Lady Arabella spends her time in lecture, reading, hearing of service, and preaching. . . . She will not hear of marriage."¹ The pension James allowed her for her support was very irregularly paid; and it should appear that she was frequently reduced to very great distress for want of money. She was also exposed to the persecutions of her aunt, the Countess of Shrewsbury, a violent and vulgar woman, who appears to have been placed over her as a sort of duenna. James thought it business worthy of him to settle these womanly quarrels; and, in 1608, he did something more generous, for he gave Arabella a cupboard of plate worth more than £200 for a New Year's gift, and 1000 marks to pay her debts, besides some yearly addition to her maintenance.² Shortly after this, at some court festival, she renewed her acquaintance, which had begun in childhood, with William Seymour, son of Lord Beauchamp and grandson of the Earl of Hereford. If there had not been a tender affection before (and it is probable that there had been, and of an old standing), it now sprung up rapid and uncontrollable. In February, 1610, an arrangement of marriage between them was detected. James was alarmed in the extreme. The two lovers were summoned before the privy council. There, Seymour was reprimanded for daring to ally himself with the royal blood, and they were both forbidden, on their allegiance, to contract marriage without the king's permission. To escape the penalty of imprisonment, they promised obedience; but, in the following month of July, it was discovered that they were privately married. Instantly James issued his mandate, and Arabella was committed to the custody of Sir Thomas Parry, at Lambeth; her husband to the Tower. This, their first confinement, was not rigorous; the lady was allowed to walk in a garden, and Seymour, who probably purchased the indulgence from his keepers, met her there, and in her own chamber. She also got letters conveyed to the queen, who interfered in her favour. But one morning she received the dismal news that she must remove forthwith to Durham. She refused to quit her chamber; but the officers carried her

¹ Lodge, *Illustrations*.² *Ibid.*

in her bed to the water-side, forced her, shrieking, into a boat, and rowed her up the river. Her agitation and distress of mind brought on a fever, and, by the time she reached Barnet, a physician declared that her life would be in danger if she were forced to travel farther. The doctor waited upon the king with this intelligence. James observed, very sapiently, that it was enough to make any sound man sick to be carried in a bed in the manner she was. But his resolution was fixed that she should proceed to Durham, if he were king. But he soon relaxed his severity, and granted her permission to remain for a month at Highgate for the recovery of her health. At Highgate she was lodged in a gentleman's house and closely watched; yet on the very day (the 3d of June, 1611) that the Bishop of Durham, whose guest or prisoner she was to be, proceeded northward to prepare her lodging, she effected her escape, being assisted by two friends, who were in correspondence with her husband in the Tower. "Disguising herself by drawing a great pair of French-fashioned hose over her petticoats, putting on a man's doublet, a man-like peruke, with long locks over her hair, a black hat, black cloak, russet boots with red tops, and a rapier by her side, she walked forth, between three and four of the clock, with Markham. After they had gone a-foot a mile and a half to a sorry inn, where Crompton attended with horses, she grew very sick and faint, so as the ostler that held the stirrup said, that the gentleman would hardly hold out to London; yet, being set on a good gelding, astride, in an unwonted fashion, the stirring of the horse brought blood enough into her face; and so she rid on towards Blackwall." There she found boats and attendants, who rowed her down the river to Gravesend, where a French bark lay at hand, ready to receive her. She expected to find her husband on board; but though Seymour had stolen out of the Tower in the disguise of a physician, he had not yet reached the vessel. After waiting for a short time, the French captain,

who knew the seriousness of the adventure, became alarmed, and, in spite of the entreaties of the lady, he hoisted all sail and put to sea. When Seymour reached the spot, he found his wife was gone; but he got on board a collier, the captain of which agreed to land him on the coast of Flanders for £40. Meanwhile the intelligence of Arabella's escape from Highgate had reached the palace. There, in an instant, all was alarm, hurry, and confusion, as if a new Gunpowder Plot had been discovered. Couriers were despatched in all directions, with orders to haste for their lives. Ships and boats were hurried down the Thames as if a new Armada were in the Channel. The alarm became the greater when, on despatching a messenger to the lieutenant of the Tower, it was learned that *his* prisoner also had escaped. Seymour got safe to shore, and was *not* sent back; the poor Lady Arabella was less fortunate, being overtaken by a "pink royal," when about midway across the Channel. The Frenchman stood a sharp but short action; and when he lowered his flag she was seized, carried back to the Thames, and then shut up in the Tower. Her heart was breaking, yet she said she cared not for captivity if her husband was safe. The advocacy of the queen, her own eloquent appeals, were all thrown away on James; she never recovered her liberty, and grief and despair made a wreck of her brilliant intellect. She died within the walls of the Tower, and in a pitiable state of insanity, on the 27th of September, 1615.¹

James, who is described as dividing his time between his inkstand, his bottle, and his hunting, again took up the pen of controversy in 1611. As he was out "in pursuit of hares," a book written by the Dutch divine, Conrad Vorstius, treating of the nature and attributes of the Divinity, was brought to him. He instantly left off hunting, and began reading - and with so critical an eye, that within an hour he detected and postilled a long list of what he called damnable heresies.² With not less activity he wrote to Winwood, his ambassador in the Low

¹ Lodge, *Illustrations*; Sir Henry Ellis, *Original Letters*; Wilson; Aikin, *Court of King James*, &c.; Winwood, *Memorials*.

² Sir John Harrington, in a letter to Sir Amyas Pawlet, in describing an interview with which he had been honoured by the king, gives an admirable idea of James's many odd qualities.

"My lovinge Cosene; It behoveth me now to recite my journal, respectinge my gracious command of my sovereigne prince to come to his closet; which matter as you so well and urgentlie desyer to heare of, I shall, in such wise as suiteth mine best abilitie, relate unto you, & is as followeth. When I came to the presence-chamber, and had gotten good place to see the lordlie attendants and bowed my knee to the prince; I was ordered by a speyal messenger, and that in secrete sorte, to waite a while in an outwards chamber, whence, in near an houre waitinge, the same knave ledde me up a passage & so to a smale roomie where was good order of paper, ink & pens, put on a boarde for the prince's use. Soon upon this, the prince his highness did enter, and in much goodie humour askede if I was cozen to Lord Harrington of Exton? I humble replided

his majestie did me some honour in enquiringe my kin to one whome he had so late honoured & made a barone, and more-over did adde, Wee were bothe branches of the same tree. Then he enquirede much of lernynge, and shewed me his vane in such sorte as made me remember my examiner at Cambridge aforetime. He soughte muche to knowe my advances in philosophie, and uttered profounde sentences of Aristotle and such lyke wryters, which I had never readde, and which some are bold enough to saye, others do not understand: but this I must passe by. The prince did nowe presse my readinge to him part of a canto in Ariosto; prayseed my utterance, & said he had been informed of manie as to my lernynge, in the time of the queene. He asked me what I thoughte pure wit was made of; and whom it did best become? Whether a kynge should not be the best clerke in his owne cuntry; and if this lande did not entertayne goodie opinion of his lernynge and good wisdom? His majestie did much presse for my opinion touchinge the power of Satane on matter of witchcraft, & askede me with much gravitie, if I did trulie understande why the devil did work more with

Countries, commanding him to accuse Vorstius, before the States, of heresy and infidelity, and to signify to the States his utter detestation of those crimes, and of all by whom they were tolerated. The Hollanders, who had recently elected this heresiarch to the professorship of divinity at Leyden, vacant by the death of Arminius, were not inclined to give ear to this remonstrance from a foreign prince, and they intimated as much in a respectful tone. Thereupon James, "plying his inkstand again," sent them an admonition in his own hand-writing. Assuming the tone of a Protestant pope, having authority in spirituals over other countries than his own, he bade them remember that the King of England was the Defender of the Faith, and that it would be in his competency, in union with other foreign churches, to "extinguish and remand to hell these abominable heresies." He told them that this wretched Vorstius deserved to be burned alive, as much as any heretic that had ever suffered. To all this the Hollanders returned a very cool and a very evasive answer. Then James entered a public protest against the heresies of Vorstius, and informed the States that they must either give up their divinity professor, or forfeit the friendship of the King of England. Archbishop Abbot applauded the king, and urged him to adopt violent measures; and Winwood, the ambassador, who was equally zealous, thundered threats in the ears of the Dutch: but still the States refused to displace Vorstius till he should be heard in his own defence. James put forth a short work, in French, of his own composition, entitled, *A Declaration against Vorstius*.¹ But, after all, he would have been defeated in this warfare, if the Hollanders had not been divided as to what was orthodoxy and what heterodoxy. A powerful sect and party, called the Gomarists,² hated Vorstius as much as James, and Abbot and Winwood, hated him, and, in the end, the divinity professor was expelled from Leyden to wander about in poverty

and obscurity. During six or seven years he was obliged to conceal himself from his intolerant opponents in Tergau; and at the end of that period he was driven out of Holland, the synod of Dort having given a definitive judgment against him, and the States having sentenced him to perpetual banishment. At this said synod, which was held in 1619, the deputies from the clergy of England and Scotland were the principal promoters of the proscription of Vorstius, which was followed by the barbarous exile of 700 families who entertained his tenets. During two years the expelled professor disappeared from the world, being obliged to hide himself in very secret places; for there were many men who imagined that it would be doing a good deed to murder him. At last, the Duke of Holstein offered him and the exiled families a secure asylum. He arrived at this haven of rest in the month of June, 1622, but he soon quitted it for a surer and more lasting one—dying in the month of September of the same year. James was prouder of this victory than he would have been of winning battles like Crecy and Azincourt. Unfortunately the controversy sharpened his temper; and, as if to give the Dutch an example, he relighted the fires of Smithfield, being the last English sovereign to sign the writ *de hæretico comburendo*. Bartholomew Legate, who is described as an obstinate Arian heretic, was apprehended and examined by the king and some of the bishops, and then committed to Newgate. After lying a considerable time in prison he was tried before the Consistory Court, which passed sentence upon him, as contumacious and obdurate, and delivered him over to the secular arm, to be burned; and he was burned accordingly in Smithfield, on the 18th of March, 1612. On the 11th of April following, which was Easter Eve, Edward Wightman, convicted of heresy of a very multiform character, was burned at Lichfield.³ A third victim was ready for the flames; but it was found, notwithstanding

anciente women than others? I did not refraine from a sourke jeste and even saide (notwithstanding to whom it was said) that we were taught hereof in Scripture, where it is told that 'the devil walketh in dry places.' His majestie moreover was pleased to say much, and favouredly, of my good report for merth and good conceits; to which I did covertlie answer, as not willinge a subject should be wiser than his prince, nor even appear so. More serious discourse did next ensue, wherein I wanted room to continue, and sometime roomes to escape; for the queen his mother was not forgotten, nor Davison nether. His highness told me her death was visible in Scotland before it did really happen, being, as he said, spoken of in secrete by those whose power of sight presented to them a bloodie heade dancing in the aire. He then did remarke muche on this gifte, and saide he had soughte out of certain bookes a sure waie to attaine knowledge of future changes. Hereat he named many books which I did not knowe, nor by whom written; but advised me not to consult some authors which would lead me to evil consultations. I tolde his majestie the power Satan had, I much fearede, damaged my bodilie frame; but I had not farther will

to courtie his friendships, for my soules hurte. We next discoursed somewhat on religion, when at length he said, Now, sir, you have seen my wisdom in some sorte, & I have pried into yours. I praye you do me justice in your report; and in good season I will not fail to add to your understanding in such pointes as I may find you lacke amendemente. I made courtesie hereat, & withdrew down the passage & out at the gate, amidst the manie varlet and lordlie servantes which stoode arounde. . . I did forget to tell that his majestie muche askede concerning my opinion of the new weede tobacco, and said, It woud, by its use, infuse ill qualities on the braine, & that no learnede men ought to taste it, and wished it forbidden.—Sir James Nichol's *Progresses of James*, vol. i. p. 491.

¹ It was printed and dispersed over the Continent in French, Latin, Dutch, and English.

² After Gomarus, professor at Leyden, the chief opponent of Arminius in the dispute about the decrees of God and the efficacy of grace.

³ It should seem that Legate was what is now called a Unitarian, and that Wightman was crazed; for, in addition to his

ing the overflowing bigotry of many classes, that the mass of the nation could no longer look upon such executions with any other feelings than those of horror and disgust. The lawyers began to question whether the proceedings were strictly legal, and the bishops to doubt whether they were useful to their church. "The king accordingly preferred that heretics hereafter should silently and privately waste themselves away in prison."¹ In other words, men were exposed to a slower and more cruel martyrdom; but there was no more burning in England.

Some time before these events Henry IV. of France had fallen beneath the knife of an assassin. On the 14th of May, 1610, as he was on his way to the arsenal, he was stabbed in a street of Paris, by Francis Ravallac, a young fanatic friar of the order of the Jacobins.² An opinion prevailed, or is said to have prevailed, among the French populace, that the king, who had allied himself with Protestants and heretics, was going to wage war against the pope; and attempts were made at the time, and long afterwards, to connect the regicide with the court of Rome, with the court of Spain, with the Jesuits; but the murderer, even on the rack, maintained that he had had no accomplices or instigators whatever, and that he had been carried to do the deed only by an instinct or impulse, which he could neither control nor explain. The truth appears to be, that the monk was mad, and unconnected with any party, either religious or political: but this did not save him from a horrible death, nor prevent James from persecuting more sharply the English Catholics. In all this, however, James had the full consent of his parliament, which was then sitting, and which would readily have carried him to greater extremities. In Scotland, perhaps, more than in England, people were convinced that Henry had fallen a sacrifice to the pope and the Jesuits, and that an attempt would be made on the sacred person of James. The Scottish privy council addressed a long letter to their most "gracious and dread sovereign," beseeching him (most unnecessarily) to have a care of himself, and recommending him to call up a body-guard of native Scots, that might attend him in all his huntings and games.

By the death of Henry IV. the crown of France fell to his son, Louis XIII.—a weak boy, who never became a man in intellect or strength of character. During his minority the post of regent was occupied by his mother, Mary de' Medici, who soon undid the good which her husband

had done to the French people, without reforming the morals of the court. It was her general system to pursue a course of politics directly contrary to that of Henry, who had been a most unfaithful husband; but, notwithstanding this system, she adhered to the Protestant league, and sent 10,000 men to join 4000 English who had landed on the Continent, under the command of Sir Edward Cecil. These allies joined the Dutch and Germans under the commands of the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Anhalt. The Austrians were presently driven out of Juliers, of which they had taken forcible possession on the death of the Protestant prince, John, Duke of Cleves, Juliers, and Berg; and as the emperor was not in a condition to renew the struggle, and as James and Mary de' Medici were most anxious for peace, the tranquillity of Europe was not very seriously disturbed.

While these events were passing abroad and at home, Robert Carr, the handsome Scotchman, was eclipsing every competitor in the English court. He was created Viscount Rochester in the month of March, 1611; was made a member of the privy council in April, 1612; and he received also from his lavish master the order of the Garter. Upon the death of the Earl of Salisbury (Cecil) he became lord-chamberlain, that post being given up to him by the Earl of Suffolk, who succeeded Cecil as lord-treasurer. And as the post of secretary remained vacant for a considerable time, the favourite did the duties of that office by means of Sir Thomas Overbury, whose abilities and experience made up in part for his own deficiencies. Carr, Viscount Rochester, became in effect prime minister of England as much as Cecil had been, though nominally he held no ministerial situation; and his power and his influence were not decreased when the king nominated Sir Ralph Winwood and Sir Thomas Lake to be joint secretaries of state; for these men were not high and mighty enough to oppose the wishes of the favourite. But Sir Thomas Overbury, who on several accounts was distasteful to the king, became an object of his jealousy and hatred when James saw the entire confidence and affection which his minion reposed in him.

Prince Henry, the heir to the crown, had now entered his eighteenth year, and had been for some time the idol of the people. If his character is fairly described by his contemporaries, he was entitled to this admiration; but we cannot but remember the universal practice of contrasting the heir-apparent with the actual occupant of the throne; and this prince's untimely end may very well have produced some of that exaggeration which arises out of tenderness and hopeless regret. In person, in manners, and in

denying the Trinity, he said that *he* was the Holy Spirit promised in Scripture.

¹ Fuller.

² Three times before this fatal blow of Ravallac, the life of Henry IV. had been attempted by assassins: by Pierre Barriere, in 1598—by Pierre Otin, in 1597—and by Jean de l'Isle, a maniac, in 1605.

character, he differed most widely from his father. He was comely, well-made, graceful, frank, brave, and active. Henry V. and Edward the Black Prince were proposed to him as models; and it was the example of those warlike princes that he determined to follow. Though not absolutely averse to learning, spending two or three hours a-day in his study, he loved arms better than books. He employed a great part of his time in martial exercises, in handling the pike, throwing the bar, shooting with the bow, vaulting, and

trasted with his parent. James could never be quiet in church time, having always an eagerness to be preaching himself: Henry was a most attentive hearer of sermons, and, instead of disputing with them, was wont to reward the preachers—no uncertain road to popularity. James was a most profane swearer, Henry swore not at all; and he had boxes kept at his three houses—at St. James's, Richmond, and Nonsuch—to receive the fines on profane swearing which he ordered to be strictly levied among his attendants. The money thus collected was given to the poor. . . . "His court was more frequented than the king's, and by another sort of men; so the king was heard to say, Will he bury me alive?" And the High Church favourites taxed him with being a patriot and a friend to the Puritans. To the last-named class, indeed, he appeared as a ruler promised in the prophecies of Scripture—as one that would complete the reformation of the church of Christ.

"Henry the Eighth pulled down the abbeys and cells,
But Henry the Ninth shall pull down bishops and bells,"

was a rhyme common in the mouths of the people, among whom the spirit of dissent gained strength in proportion to the efforts made to force them to conformity. Yet, when the usual age for marrying princes arrived, his father, who was less particular about any other point than about a high alliance, wished to marry Henry to a Catholic wife—a match which would have cost him the favour of the Puritans. A negotiation with Spain for the hand of the eldest infanta was carried on for years; and when it grew languid or hopeless, James listened to an overture from Mary de' Medici, the Queen-regent of France, who was anxious for a marriage between Prince Henry and Madame Christine, second daughter of France. At the same time James was tempted by an offer of a daughter of the Duke of Florence, with millions of crowns for her dowry; and shortly after an ambassador-extraordinary arrived from Savoy, to solicit the hand of James's daughter Elizabeth for the heir of that dukedom, and to offer that of his sister to Prince Henry. This double commission led to no results, though James was willing to bestow his daughter on the Catholic Savoyard. To his father Henry was all submission, protesting his readiness to marry whomsoever he might choose for him;¹ but to



PRINCE HENRY, Son of James I.—From Drayton's Polyolbion.

riding. He was a particular lover of horses, and what belonged to them, but not fond of hunting like his father; and, when he engaged in it, it was rather for the pleasure of galloping his gallant steeds than for any which the dogs afforded him. He studied fortification, and at a very early age turned his attention to ships and sea matters. Sir Walter Raleigh, the brave and the scientific soldier and sailor, who was still languishing in the Tower, became an object of his enthusiastic admiration; and he was often heard to say that no other king but his father would keep such a bird in such a cage. All this was when he was a mere child. It is remarked by an old writer, that he was too soon a man to be long-lived. As he grew up he practised tilting, charging on horseback, and firing artillery. He caused new pieces of ordnance to be cast, with which he learned to shoot at a mark. In other particulars Prince Henry was strikingly con-

¹ Burnet, however, says, "He was so zealous a Protestant, that, when his father was entertaining propositions of marrying him to Popish princesses—once to the archduchess, and at another time to a daughter of Savoy, he, in a letter that he wrote to the king on the 12th of that October in which he died (the original of which Sir William Cook showed me), desired that, if his father married him that way, it might be with the youngest person of the two, of whose conversion he might have

other persons he held a different language: and the Puritans, who most admired him and most feared or hated the Papists, seem to have comforted themselves with the conviction that he would never marry a Catholic wife.¹

A match, which was perfectly to the taste of the people, though not to that of her mother, was at length proposed for the Princess Elizabeth; and on the 16th of October, 1612, Frederick V., the Count Palatine, the bridegroom elect, who had the good wishes of all zealous Protestants, arrived in England to receive his young bride. In the midst of the festive preparations for this marriage, Prince Henry, who appears to have outgrown his strength, and to have greatly neglected the care of his health, was seized with a dangerous illness at Richmond, where he was preparing his house for the reception of the Palatine. Recovering a little, and hoping to conquer the disease by the vigour of his spirit, he rode up to London to welcome his intended brother-in-law at Whitehall. On the 24th of October, notwithstanding the weak state of his body and the coldness of the season, he played a great match of tennis with the Count Henry of Nassau, in his shirt. That night he complained exceedingly of lassitude and a pain in his head. The following morning, being Sunday, though faint and drowsy, he would rise and go to the chapel. From the sermon in his own house the prince went to Whitehall, where he heard another with the king. After this he dined with his majesty, and ate with a seemingly good appetite, but his countenance was sadly pale, and his eye hollow and ghastly. After dinner his courage and resolution, in combating with and dissembling his disorder, gave way to the force of it, and he was obliged to take a hasty leave and return to St. James's. There he grew daily worse. His head frequently wandered, but on the night of the 2d of November his delirium increased alarmingly: he called for his clothes, for his armour and sword, saying he must be gone. On Thursday, the 5th of November, the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, the king was informed that there was no hope. Upon this, James, who had visited him several times at St. James's, being "unwilling and unable to stay so near the gates of sorrow, removed to Theobalds in Hertfordshire, to wait there the event." Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury, attended the prince, told him of his danger, and took his confession of faith. In the course of that day the prince repeatedly called out "David! David!" meaning Sir David Murray, his confidential friend and servant; but when

Murray stood by his bed-side, he always answered with a sigh, "I would say something, but I cannot utter it." During that night he made many efforts to speak on some secret matter which seemed to press heavily on his heart, but he could not be understood by reason of the rattling in his throat. Sir David Murray, however, contrived to understand his earnest wish that a number of letters in a certain cabinet in his closet should be burned. It is said that these letters were burned accordingly. On the following morning his attendants thought him dead, and raised such a cry of grief that it was heard by the people in the streets, who echoed the loud lamentation. The prince recovered from his faint, and in the afternoon took two cordials or nostrums, one of which was prepared and sent by the captive Raleigh. But the sufferer was now past cure and help, and he expired at eight o'clock that night, being Friday, the 6th of November, 1612. He was eighteen years, eight months, and seventeen days old. The people had not been made aware of his danger till almost the last moment: their grief at his loss was unbounded; and all classes were deeply affected by the early death of the spirited youth. He was the more regretted because his only surviving brother, Prince Charles, was a sickly and retiring boy, and had not had the fortune to acquire popularity. In a short time dark rumours were raised that Prince Henry had been poisoned by the favourite Rochester, with whom he could never agree; and these horrid suspicions did not stop till they had included his own father as an accomplice. The whole notion was absurd; the youth died of the effects of a putrid fever on a debilitated constitution.² But though James was innocent of the poisoning, he showed a brutal indifference to the fate of his son. Only three days after the event he made Rochester write to Sir Thomas Edmonds, his ambassador at Paris, to recommence, in the name of Prince Charles, the matrimonial treaty which he had begun for his brother. In a very few days more he prohibited all persons from approaching him in mourning; and though he thought fit to delay the marriage, he affianced his daughter Elizabeth to the Palatine in December, kept his Christmas with the usual festivities, and solemnized the nuptials on St. Valentine's Day with an expense and magnificence hitherto unknown in England. Long before their calamities fell upon the Palgrave and his bride—indeed, before they were well out of England—the court was hampered and vexed by pecuniary embarrassments. James had exacted the old feudal aid for the marriage of his daughter, as he had done before for the

hope, and that any liberty she might be allowed for her religion might be in the privatest manner possible."—*Own Times*, i. 11.

¹ A singular reason for preferring a young wife to an old one.

² Birch, *Life of Prince Henry*; *Nugæ Ant.*; Wilson; Weldon.

² Birch, *Life*; *Aulicus Coquinarie*; Somers' *Tracts*; Bacon's *Works*

knighting of his eldest son; but the sum thus obtained (it was only about £20,000) went but a very short way towards paying for the dowry, the entertainment of the bridegroom with his numerous retinue, and the marriage feast. Lord Harrington, who accompanied the bride to the Rhine, claimed, on his return from the journey, £30,000. The king, having no money to give him, conferred on him a grant for the *coining of base farthings in brass*.

A.D. 1613. The two noble Howards, the Earl of Suffolk and the Earl of Northampton,¹ seeing that there was no possibility of checking the mighty rise of Rochester, sought to bind him to their family, and so share the better in the good things which the king continued to lavish on the favourite. Suffolk had a daughter, the most beautiful, the most witty, and the most fascinating young woman in the English court. This Lady Frances Howard had been married at the age of thirteen to the Earl of Essex, only a year older than herself, the son of the unfortunate earl who had perished on the scaffold in Elizabeth's time. James had promoted this ill-omened match out of a pretended regard to Essex's father. As the parties were so young, the bride was sent home to her mother, a weak and vain, if not a vicious woman; the bridegroom was sent to the university, whence he went on his travels to the Continent. At the end of four years they went to live together, as one of them supposed, as man and wife; but if Essex rejoiced in the loveliness of his bride, and the universal admiration she attracted, his joy was soon overcast, for he found her cold, contemptuous, and altogether averse to him. In effect, his countess was already enamoured of Rochester and his splendid fortunes. Prince Henry, it is said, had disputed her love with the handsome favourite, but in vain. Sir Thomas Overbury had assisted Rochester in writing his passionate love-letters, and had even managed sundry stolen interviews between the lovers, in which what remained of the innocence of the young countess had been made a wreck; but though Overbury's lax morality did not prevent him from rendering such services as these, his policy was strongly opposed to his friend committing himself further. He well knew the odium which Rochester would bring upon himself by proclaiming his love and contracting an adulterine marriage with the countess; and, wishing to retain his own ascendancy over the favourite, the fountain of riches and honour, he was averse to the influence which the noble Howards would obtain by the union. As the favourite was indebted to him "more than to any soul living,

both for his fortune, understanding, and reputation," he spoke his mind freely and boldly, objecting the "baseness of the woman," the dishonour of such a marriage, and declaring that, if Rochester persisted, he would raise an insuperable obstacle to the divorce from Essex, which was to precede any open talk about the new marriage. The favourite seemed to yield to the strong remonstrances of his friend and counselor. Overbury, though familiar with the intrigues of a court and the worst vices of human nature, foresaw no mischief to himself: he continued to derive profit and credit from his close connection with the favourite; and on the morning of the 21st of April, 1613, he boasted to a friend of his good fortune and brilliant prospects. That very evening he was committed to the Tower. Rochester, in his infatuation, had told all that he had said to his beautiful and revengeful mistress. In her first fury she offered £1000 to Sir John Wood to take his life in a duel. But there was a too apparent risk and uncertainty in this course; and her friends (her uncle, the Earl of Northampton, was among these advisers) suggested a wiser expedient—which was, to send Overbury on an embassy to the Great Duke of Russia. If he accepted this mission he would be out of the way before the question of the divorce came on; if he took the appointment in the light of a harsh exile, and refused it, it would be easy to irritate the king against him as an undutiful subject. When the mission to Russia was first mentioned to him, Sir Thomas seemed not unwilling to undertake it. But then, it is said, his friend Rochester told him how much he relied upon his integrity and talent for business—how much he should lose by his absence; and, in the end, implored him to refuse the unpromising embassy, undertaking to reconcile him soon with the king, if his majesty should testify any displeasure. By this time nothing but Sir Thomas's immediate death would satisfy the malignant countess, and Rochester had become as a pipe upon which she played her stops as she chose. As soon as Overbury had refused the mission which was offered to him by the lord-chancellor and the Earl of Pembroke, the favourite represented to the king that Sir Thomas was not only grown insolent and intolerable to himself, but audacious and disobedient to his sacred majesty. James, who already hated Overbury, readily agreed with his minion and the rest of his council that Overbury was guilty of contempt of the royal authority. A warrant was brought up and signed, and Sir Thomas was sent to his dungeon. The countess's uncle Northampton, and her lover Rochester, had prepared the business so that Sir William Wade was removed from the lieutenancy of the Tower, and

¹ Suffolk was the son, Northampton the brother, of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, executed in 1572.

Sir Jervis Elvis, or Elwes, a person wholly dependent upon them, put in his place. By their order Elwes confined Overbury a close prisoner, so that his own father was not suffered to visit him, nor were any of his servants admitted within the walls of the Tower.

A few days after these strange practices, the Countess of Essex, backed by her father, the Earl of Suffolk, who signed the petition with her, sued for a divorce from her husband upon the ground of the marriage being null by reason of physical incapacity. Forthwith James appointed, under the great seal, a commission of delegates to try this delicate cause. The delegates named by his majesty were Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Lichfield and Coventry, and Rochester; with Sir Julius Cæsar, Sir John Parry, Sir Daniel Dunne, Sir John Bennet, Francis James, and Thomas Edwards, doctors of the civil law. The Earl of Essex, who had suffered enough already from the beautiful demon, made no resistance, but seems to have gone gladly into measures which would free him from such a wife. It has been mildly said that "all the judicial forms usual on such occasions were carefully observed;"¹ but it cannot be denied that the course of the disgraceful investigation was biassed by interferences and influences of a most unusual and irregular character. Abbot, the primate, who in all this foul business acted like a man of honour and conscience, objected strongly to the divorce; but James took up the pen, and answered the archbishop in the double capacity of absolute king and special pleader. He told Abbot, roundly, that it became him "to have a kind of implicit faith" in his royal judgment, because he was known to have "some skill in divinity," and because, as he hoped, no honest man could doubt the uprightness of his conscience. "And," continued James, "the best thankfulness that you, that are so far my creature, can use towards me, is to reverence and follow my judgment, and not to contradict it, except where you may demonstrate unto me that I am mistaken or wrong informed."² The king was never backward in writing or delivering this kind of schooling, or in seconding his minions through right or wrong; but it is believed that his zeal was quickened on the present occasion by the opportune gift of £25,000 in gold, which Rochester made to him out of his savings. The primate, however, would not sacrifice his conscience, and three out of five of the doctors of the civil law took part with him. The bishops were less scrupulous, for, with the ex-

ception of London, they all voted as the king wished; and on the 25th of September a divorce was pronounced by a majority of seven to five. The day before the sentence of divorce was pronounced, Sir Thomas Overbury died in his dungeon. His body was hastily and secretly buried in a pit dug within the walls of the Tower, and care was taken to circulate a report that he had died of an infectious and loathsome disease. But from the first it was generally whispered that he had been poisoned. On the 4th of November, in order that the Countess of Essex should not lose rank by marrying his favourite, James created Rochester Earl of Somerset. The marriage ceremony was performed on the 26th of December, in the royal chapel at Whitehall, in the presence of the king and queen, Prince Charles, and a great confluence of the bishops and temporal nobility. The countess appeared in the costume of a virgin bride, with her hair hanging in loose curls down to her waist. James Montague, Bishop of Bath and Wells, the king's favourite bishop, and afterwards the editor of his works, united the hands of the guilty pair, and pronounced the nuptial benediction; and Dr. Mountaign, dean of Westminster, preached the marriage sermon. At night there was a gallant mask got up by the lords of the court. "The glorious days were seconded with as glorious nights, where masks and dancings had a continued motion; the king naturally affecting such high-flying pastimes and banquetings as might wrap up his spirit, and keep it from descending towards earthly things."³ Other masks followed, each rivalling its predecessor in splendour. In every way this shameful marriage, which insulted and shocked the moral feelings of the people, was celebrated with far more pomp and parade than that of the king's own daughter. The Puritans, who were wont to declaim against all such shows and sports, found in these doings an inexhaustible subject for invective. The countess, the favourite, the bishops, the king himself, all came in for their share of opprobrium; and the people generally, whether Puritans, Churchmen, or Papists, regarded the triumph of profligacy with disgust, horror, and wrath. And all this time James kept trumpeting louder and louder that he was a heaven-made king, and that the duty of his subjects was a passive obedience in all things to his absolute and infallible will. But the pinching of pecuniary embarrassment must have reminded him continually that he was of the earth, earthy; and the course of life he led was fatal to any great reverence on the part of his subjects.

¹ Lingard. ² King's Letter to Archbishop Abbot.—*State Trials*

³ Wilson.

CHAPTER III.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1614—1618.

JAMES I.

Continuing prodigality of James—He is compelled to meet his parliament—His ministers undertake to manage it—Their failure in the attempt—Tyrannical proceedings of the Star Chamber—Its cruel treatment of Edmond Peachum—George Villiers, a new royal favourite, appears—His rise in the king's favour—The Earl of Somerset discarded—He is accused of the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury—Trials connected with the event—Strange particulars of Somerset's trial—His singular mode of eluding condemnation—Lord Bacon's services in the trial—Rivalry and quarrels between him and Coke—James seeks a wife for his son Charles—Rapid rise of Villiers, the new favourite—James visits Scotland—His attempts to subvert the Church of Scotland and establish bishops over it—Resistance of Andrew Melvil to the innovations—He and other Scottish ministers banished—Resistance to Episcopacy in Scotland—Bishops imposed on the Scots—Attempts of James to win over the Scots to his changes—His hostility to English Puritanism—His attempts to establish the Book of Sports in England—Extravagant conduct of Lord Bacon during the king's absence—His abject behaviour on the return of James—Bacon's intrigues to recover his influence—His plots to accomplish the marriage of the favourite's brother—He is created Baron Verulam—The favourite's aggrandizement of his relatives—His own high offices—He is created a marquis



INCE the dissolution of parliament in 1611, James had attempted, as usual, to raise loans by writs under the great seal; but the merchants to whom he principally applied refused him the accommodation.

He opened a market for the sale of honours; sold several peerages for large sums; and created a new order of knights called baronets, whose honours were hereditary, and who paid £1000 each for their patents under the great seal. He still continued giving with as lavish a hand as ever to these servants, by which must be understood his favourites and courtiers, for the true servants of the state were often left unpaid, and told that they must support themselves on their private patrimonies. Such as obtained the higher employments paid themselves by means of bribes and peculations. These places were generally sold to the highest bidders by the minion Somerset and the noble Howards. Thus, Sir Fulke Greville obtained the chancellorship of the exchequer for the sum of £4000, which he paid to Lady Suffolk, now the favourite's mother-in-law.¹

The States of Holland had neither paid principal nor interest of their debt. Some of the ministers proposed adopting bold and decisive measures, in order to obtain this money, but James was too timid to follow their advice; and as his exchequer was bare and his credit exhausted, he reluctantly made up his mind to meet parliament once more. It appears that even at this extremity he would have avoided a parliament had it not been for Bacon, who was now attorney-general, and high in the royal favour, from which his rival, Coke, had wonderfully declined. Bacon, who had drawn up a regular

plan for managing the House of Commons, assured the king that the chief leaders of the late opposition, such as Neville, Yelverton, Hyde, Crew, and Sir Dudley Digges, had been won over to the court; that much might be done by forethought towards filling the House of Commons with persons well affected to his majesty, winning or blinding the lawyers, the *literæ vocales* of the house, and drawing the country gentlemen, the merchants, the courtiers, to act with one accord for the king's advantage. But Bacon told James, at the same time, that it would be expedient to tender voluntarily certain graces and modifications of the prerogative, such as might with smallest injury be conceded.² This advice was seconded by Sir Henry Neville, a place-hunter, as ambitious a man as Bacon, and scarcely more honest. In a well-written memorial, he suggested to his majesty that he should consider what had been demanded by the commons, and what promised by the crown during the last session; that he should grant now the more reasonable of the commons' requests, and keep all the promises which he had actually made; that he should avoid irritating speeches to his parliament, and make a show of confidence in their good affections.³ Upon these conditions, and under this system, they *undertook* to manage the commons (the lords had long been tame enough), and carry the king triumphantly through parliament to abundant votes of the public money; and hence they were called *undertakers*. James, in his embarrassments, acceded to the plan, and Somerset put himself at the head of it with Bacon and Neville.⁴ On the 5th of April, 1614,

² Original MSS. in the possession of Mr. Hallam, as quoted by him in *Const. Hist.*

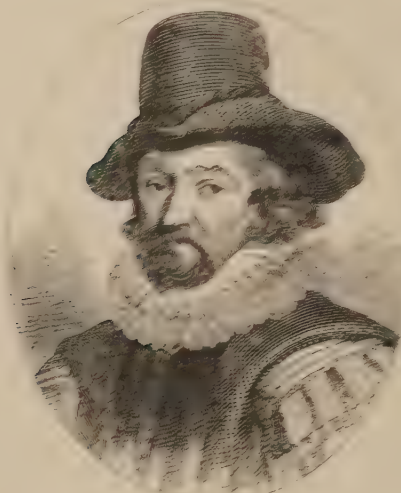
³ Carte.

⁴ Arthur Wilson says, "Yet there was a generation about the

¹ Birch, *Negotiations*.

the king opened the session with a conciliatory speech, descending on the alarming growth of Popery (he knew a little persecution would please them well), and on his zeal for the true religion; and then he told them how much he was in want of money, and how many graces he intended for them in the present session. But the commons would not be cajoled: they passed at once to the great grievance—the customs at the outports and impositions by prerogative. “And such faces appeared there as made the court droop.” Some of the courtiers and members returned or won over by the “undertakers,” made a faint effort, but their voice was drowned, and died away in a helpless murmur about the hereditary right

private consultation with the rest of the judges, declined giving any opinion to the lords touching the legality of impositions on merchandise by prerogative, because it was proper that he and his brethren, who were to speak judicially between the king and his subjects, should be disinterested in the cause on any side. The lords, who had expected a very different answer, now declined the conference; and Neyle, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, who, for the share he had taken in the Countess of Essex's divorce, had been recently translated to the see of Lincoln, rose in his place, and said that the commons were striking at the root of the prerogative, and that, if admitted to conference, they might proceed to undutiful and seditious speeches, unfit for the ears of their lordships. This Neyle was one of the worst of James's bench of bishops, and an object of detestation to the Puritans, whom he had harassed and persecuted. The commons fell upon him in a fury, and demanded reparation; for the practice did not yet obtain of one house of parliament supposing itself ignorant of what is done or said in the other house. The bishop instantly changed his tone, calmed himself, and, with many tears, denied the most offensive of the words which had been attributed to him. By this time James must have discovered that the *undertakers* had engaged for more than they could accomplish. Indeed, the discovery of this scheme, which was made public before the meeting of parliament, contributed to the ill-humour of the lower house. James, in his opening speech, positively denied that there was any such plan entertained, protesting that, “for *undertakers*, he never was so base to call, or rely on any;” and Bacon had pretended to laugh at the notion that private men should undertake for the commons of England. A few days after, Sir Henry Neville's memorial to the king was read at full length in the house, and at the opening of the session of 1621 James himself expressly confessed that there had been such a scheme. Seeing no likelihood of the despatch of the business for which alone he had summoned them, James sent a message, that if they further delayed voting supplies he would dissolve parliament. The commons, in reply, stated that they would vote no supplies till their grievances should be redressed. It is said, on a questionable authority, that he then sent for the commons, and tore all their bills before their faces in Whitehall; but, whatever was James's indiscretion, his cowardice would be likely to prevent even an offensive and violent act. What is certain, however, is, that he carried his threat into execution on the 7th of June, and, on the following morning, committed five of the members to the Tower, for “licentiousness of speech.”



SIR FRANCIS BACON.—After a portrait by Van Dyck.

of kings to tax their subjects as they list. The commons demanded a conference on this momentous subject with the lords. The lords hesitated, and consulted with the judges. Before the opinion of the latter was known, the commons objected to the way in which several members had been elected, and they went nigh to expel the attorney-general, Bacon. Coke, who was promoted to the chief justiceship of the King's Bench, who could hope for no higher promotion, and who was irritated into something like patriotism by his hatred of Bacon and the ill-usage he had received from the court, after a

short, but warm and bitter process, conducted a parliament, as men promising to have friends in every county and borough, who by their power among the people, would make election of such members for knights and burgesses as should supply votes to the King's service, and themselves in the end and chief of these *undertakers*. But this was not an election, and would be rejected."

At the time of this hasty and angry dissolution, the parliament had sat two months and two days, but had not passed a single bill. It was afterwards called the Addle Parliament; but few parliaments did more towards the proper establishment of the rights of the commons.¹

For the next six years James depended upon most uncertain, and, for the greater part, most illegal means. People were dragged into the Star Chamber on all kinds of accusations, that they might be sentenced to pay enormous fines to the king; monopolies and privileges were invented and sold, and the odious benevolences were brought again into full play; and such as would not contribute had their names returned to the privy council. Mr. Oliver St. John, who put himself in this predicament, who explained his reasons in writing like a lawyer and statesman,² and who did not spare the king, was sentenced by the Star Chamber to a fine of £5000,

up to London, and committed to the Tower. There he was examined by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord-chancellor Ellesmere, the Earls of Suffolk and Worcester, Sir Ralph Winwood, the Lord Chief-justice Coke, and others, touching his motives, advisers, and instructors. "I find not the man," wrote Winwood, "to be, as was related, stupid or dull, but to be full of malice and craft."³ James, who in such cases would always read the law in his own way, insisted that the offence amounted to high treason, and taking up his pen, he drew out for the instruction of his ministers and judges what he called "The true state of the question." But Coke, who had not always been so scrupulous, who, before the tide of his favour was on the ebb, had concurred and co-operated in many arbitrary measures, maintained that the offence might be a criminal slander, but did not amount to treason. On the next merciless examination

of the prisoner, Coke was not present; but his rival Bacon was there, in his stead, and an assenting witness to the atrocities committed. Twelve interrogatories were put to the preacher, who, according to the horribly concise expression of Secretary Winwood, in his report, was examined upon them, "before torture, in torture, between torture, and after torture." "Notwithstanding," continues Winwood, "nothing could be drawn from him, he still persisting in his obstinate and insensible denials and former answer." Some two months after, the poor captive changed his key somewhat, but still he would make no confession likely to bring any one into trouble; and, in the end, he would not sign this examination, which was taken before



THE STAR CHAMBER, WESTMINSTER.—From a drawing by J. T. Smith.

and to be imprisoned during the royal pleasure. But greatly as James wanted money, he was of himself disposed to be much less severe against those who refused it than against those who questioned his Divine right in the abstract, or censured his kingly conduct. There was one Edmund Peachum, a minister of the gospel, in Somersetshire, who probably first attracted attention by preaching puritanically. His study was suddenly broken open, and in it was found a manuscript sermon, which had never been preached, sharply censuring the king's extravagance and love of dogs, dances, banquets, and costly dresses, and complaining of the frauds and oppressions practised by his government and officers. The poor old man was seized, dragged

Bacon, Crew, and two other lawyers. In the absence, therefore, of all other evidence, James resolved that the manuscript unpreached sermon should be taken as the overt act of treason. And he called in the willing Bacon to smooth the legal difficulties to this strange course. Bacon conferred with the judges one by one, and found them all ready to be as base as himself, except only Coke, who objected that "such particular, and, as he called it, auricular taking of opinions (from the judges) was not according to the custom of this realm." This resistance to his infallibility stung James to the quick, and prepared, perhaps more than any other single circumstance, the triumph of Bacon over his great rival. In the end Coke,

¹ *Journals of the Lords and Commons*; Haxlington, *Nugæ Ant.*; Holby Wolt, *Coke*; Wilson, *Charles*; Hallam.

² See his letter to Calicut.

³ Letter from Secretary Winwood to a lord about King James's poems, in *Diary of Lord Hailes*, *Memoria*, &c.

⁴ Ibid. The original of this precious performance is preserved in James's own handwriting.

finding himself standing alone, consented to give some opinions in writing; but these were evasive, and did not lend the king the confirmation of his high legal authority. "As Judge Hobart, that rode the western circuit, was drawn to jump with his colleague, the chief baron, Peachum was sent down to be tried and trussed up in Somersetshire," where the overt act of writing the libel was supposed to have been committed. The poor old preacher was accordingly condemned for high treason, on the 7th of August, 1615. They did not, however, proceed to execution, and Peachum died a few months after in Taunton jail. This has been considered as the worst and most tyrannical act of James's reign; but there are others not at all inferior in violence and illegality. Those writers who consider this reign as an amusing farce, and nothing worse, appear to have forgotten such incidents.

On the 15th of June, 1614, about a week after the dissolution of the Addle Parliament, the Earl of Northampton, the grand-uncle of Somerset's wife, and the most crafty statesman of that faction, departed this life. His nephew, the Earl of Suffolk, and the favourite, divided his places between them, or filled them up with their own creatures; but his death was a fatal blow to their interests; for they neither had his cunning or ability themselves, nor could procure it in any of their allies and dependants. But they might have maintained their ascendancy, had it not been for the appearance at court of another beautiful young man, and for the declining spirits of the actual favourite. Somerset, guilty as he was, was no hardened or heartless sinner. From the time of the death of his friend Overbury a cloud settled upon his brow; his vivacity and good-humour departed from him; he neglected his dress and person, and became absent-minded, moody, and morose, even when in the king's company. All the courtiers, who envied him and the Howards, were on the watch, and as James grew sick of his old minion they threw a new one in his way. This was George Villiers, the youngest son of Sir Edward Villiers, of Brookesby, in Leicestershire, by his second wife, a poor and portionless but very beautiful woman. George, who appears, at least for a short time, to have been brought up expressly for the situation he succeeded in obtaining, was sent over to Paris, where he acquired the same accomplishments which had so fascinated the king in the Scottish youth, Robert Carr. When he appeared at the English court he had all these French graces, a fine suit of French clothes on his back, and an allowance of £50 a-year from his widowed mother. James was enchanted, and in a few weeks or days young Villiers was installed as his majesty's cup-bearer. He was tall, finely propor-

tioned, far more handsome—or so thought the king—than ever Somerset had been, and, unlike that now careworn favourite, his face was always dressed in smiles. Soon after there was a great but private supper-entertainment at Baynard's Castle, at which the noble Herberts, Seymours, Russells, and other courtiers of high name, devised how they should get Somerset wholly out of favour and office, and put George Villiers in his place.¹ Their only difficulty was to induce the queen to enter into their plot, for they knew "that the king would never admit any to nearness about himself but such as the queen should commend to him; that if she should complain afterwards of the dear one, he might make answer, it is along of yourself, for you commended him unto me."² Now, though her majesty Queen Anne hated Somerset, she had seen Villiers, and did not like him. To remove this feeling of the queen's, to labour for the substitution of one base minion for another, was thought a duty not unsuitable to the primate of the English Church; and Archbishop Abbot, in his animosity to Somerset, undertook it at the request of the noble lords. In the end, the importunities of the primate prevailed; but Anne told him that they should all live to repent what they were doing in advancing this new minion.³ On St. George's Feast, April 24, 1615, his onomastic day, the young cup-bearer was sworn a gentleman of the privy-chamber, with a salary of £1000 a-year; and on the next day he was knighted. The doom of Somerset was now sealed; his enemies had chuckled over the success of their scheme, and the most timid saw that there would no longer be any danger in accusing the favourite of a horrible crime which had long been imputed to him by the people. He was not so blind to his danger as court favourites have usually been; and before any proceedings were instituted against him he endeavoured to procure a general pardon to secure him in his life and property. Sir Robert Cotton drew one out, "as large and general as could be," wherein the king was made to declare, "that of his own motion and special favour, he did pardon all, and all manner of treasons, misprisions of treasons, murders, felonies, and outrages whatsoever, by the Earl of Somerset committed, or hereafter to be committed."⁴ James, hoping thereby to rid himself for ever of his disagreeable importunities,

¹ *Aulicus Coquinarius* (written by William Saunderson, author of a *History of James I.* See Harris, *Life of James I.*, p. 245, edition of 1814).

² These are Abbot's own words. See *Rushworth*.

³ *Rushworth*; *R. Coke*.

⁴ Such pardons, or pardons very like them, had been sometimes granted in other cases. Several ministers had obtained them as a security against the malice of their enemies, when their fall should come, and also as a security for doing the will of their sovereign in an illegal or unconstitutional manner. Wolsey had obtained a similar pardon from Henry VIII.

approved of the document most heartily; but the Chancellor Ellesmere refused to put the great seal to it, alleging that such an act would subject him to a premunire.

Secretary Winwood is said to have been the first to declare to James that the Countess of Essex and Somerset had caused Sir Thomas Overbury to be poisoned. When James privately summoned Elwes, the lieutenant of the Tower, into his presence, and questioned and cross-questioned him, he was fully convinced of the fact; but he still kept the earl about his person, concealed all he knew, and even simulated a return of his former warm affection. He went to hunt at Royston, and took Somerset with him. There, as he seemed "rather in his rising than setting," he was attached by the warrant of the Lord Chief-justice Coke, who, however, had refused to proceed until James had joined several others in commission with him. "The king had a loathsome way of lolling his arms about his favourites' necks, and kissing them; and in this posture Coke's messenger found the king with Somerset, James then saying, 'When shall I see thee again? When shall I see thee again?'" When Somerset got the warrant in the royal presence, he exclaimed, that never had such an affront been offered to a peer of England. "Nay, man," said the king wheedlingly, "if Coke sends for me, I must go;" and as soon as Somerset was gone he added, "Now the devil go with thee, for I will never see thy face more!" This was at ten o'clock in the morning. About three in the afternoon the lord chief-justice arrived at Royston, and to him James complained that Somerset and his wife had made him a go-between in their adultery and murder. He commanded him, with all the scrutiny possible, to search into the bottom of the foul conspiracy, and to spare no man how great soever. And, in conclusion, he said to Coke, "God's curse be upon you and yours, if you spare any of them; and God's curse be upon me and mine, if I pardon any of them!"¹

Coke, who had many motives besides the love of justice, was not idle. He had owed many previous obligations to Somerset; but he saw that earl could never again be of use to him. He and his brother commissioners took three hundred examinations, and then reported to the king that Frances Howard, sometime Countess of Essex, had employed sorcery to incapacitate her lawful husband Essex, and to win the love of Rochester; that afterwards she and her lover, and her uncle, the late Earl of Northampton, had, by their joint contrivance, obtained the committal of Sir Thomas Overbury, the appointment of their creature Elwes to be lieutenant of the Tower, and one Weston to be warder or keeper of the pri-

soner; and, further, that the countess, by the aid of Mrs. Turner, had procured three kinds of poison from Franklin, an apothecary, and that Weston, the warder or keeper, had administered these poisons to Sir Thomas. Coke had also obtained possession of many note-books and letters; and from a passage in a letter from Overbury to Somerset, alluding to the *secrets* of the latter, he pretended to derive proof that these secrets must have been of a treasonable nature; and he ventured thereupon to charge the earl with having *poisoned Prince Henry!* In reality there was nothing in Overbury's letter which could bear this construction; Sir Thomas merely said that he had written a history of his confidential connection with the favourite (Somerset), from which his friends might see the extent of that man's ingratitude. The queen, however, entered into Coke's view of the case, and openly declared that she had no doubt of the murder of her eldest son. But the king discouraged this interpretation, and only believed, or pretended to believe, that, in addition to his guilt in being an accomplice in the poisoning of Overbury, Somerset had received bribes from Spain, and had engaged to place Prince Charles in the hands of that court.

Weston, the warder, who had been servant to Franklin the apothecary who furnished the poison, had been arrested and examined at the first opening of these proceedings, and the countess and all the other guilty parties were secured without any difficulty; for not one of them suspected what was coming. Weston at first stood mute, but his obstinacy gave way to Coke's threats of the *peine forte et dure*, and to the exhortations of Dr. King, Bishop of London, and he consented to plead. But even then he pleaded not guilty, and so did Mrs. Turner, Franklin the apothecary, and Elwes the lieutenant of the Tower. Their trials disclosed a monstrous medley of profligacy and superstition: and what seems almost equally monstrous, is the fact that the learned Coke, the other judges, and all the spectators believed in the force of astrology and witchcraft, and considered the credulity of two frantic women as the most damnable of their crimes. Mrs. Turner, now the widow of a physician of that name, had been in her youth a dependant in the house of the Earl of Suffolk, and a companion to his beautiful daughter Frances Howard, who contracted a friendship for her which survived their separation. As certain vices, not unknown in the court of the Virgin Queen, had become common and barefaced in that of her successor, it would not be fair to attribute the demoralization of the Lady Frances solely to her connection with this dangerous woman; though it should appear that she led her into the worst of her crimes, and

¹ Rushworth; R. Coke.

found her the means of executing them. When they renewed their intimacy in London, the Lady Frances was the unwilling wife of Essex, and enamoured of the favourite Rochester. Mrs. Turner had had her illicit amours also; and believing, as most ladies then believed, in the efficacy of spells and love philters, she had found out one Dr. Forman, a great conjuror, living in Lambeth, and who was frequently consulted by court dames and people of the best quality. Forman engaged to make Sir Arthur Mainwaring love Mrs. Turner as much as she loved him; and soon after Sir Arthur travelled many miles by night, and through a terrible storm, to visit the widow. Instead of ascribing this passion to her own personal charms—and she was a most beautiful woman—she attributed it entirely to the charms of the conjuror at Lambeth. All this she told to the amorous Lady Essex, who, anxious for a like spell upon Rochester, went with her to the house of Dr. Forman. Like Mrs. Turner, the fair countess thought her beauty less potent than his incantations. She was grateful to him for the favourite's love, and frequently visited him afterwards with Mrs. Turner, calling him "father!" and "very dear father!" It appeared, also, that the countess had secret meetings with Rochester at the house in Lambeth. The wizard was since dead, but they produced in court some of the countess's letters to him, in which she styled him "sweet father!" and some of his magical apparatus, as pictures, puppets, enchanted papers and magic spells, which made the prisoners appear the more odious, as being thus known to have had dealings with witches and wizards. At this point of the proceedings in court, a loud crack was heard from the gallery, which caused great fear, tumult, and confusion among the spectators and throughout the hall, every one fearing hurt, as if the devil had been present, and grown angry to have his workmanship shown by such as were not his own scholars. There was also produced a list on parchment, written by Forman, signifying "what ladies loved what lords" in the court. The Lord Chief-justice Coke grasped this startling document, glanced his eye over it, and then insisted that it should not be read. People immediately said that the first name on the list was that of Coke's own wife, the Lady Hatton. It was further proved—though in some respects the evidence seems to have been such as would not satisfy a modern jury—that Weston had once lived as a servant with Mrs. Turner, who had recommended him to the countess; that it was at the request of the countess and her uncle Northampton, communicated through her friend Sir Thomas Monson, chief falconer, that Elwes, the lieutenant of the Tower, had received him as warder, and placed him over Sir Thomas Over-

bury; that Weston administered the poison, which was of several kinds, and procured from his former master Franklin, in Sir Thomas's medicines, soups, and other food; that he, Weston, had told his employers that he had given him poison enough to kill twenty men, administering it in small doses at a time through a course of several months; and that Somerset had commanded, through the Earl of Northampton, that the body of the victim should be buried immediately after his death. Franklin, the apothecary, made a full confession, in the vain hope of saving his own neck; Weston also confessed the murder, and many particulars connected with it. Coke pronounced sentence of death upon all these minor criminals. As Weston was on the scaffold at Tyburn, Sir John Holles and Sir John Wentworth, with other devoted friends of the fallen Somerset, rode up to the gallows, and endeavoured to make him retract his confession; but the miserable man merely said, "Fact, or no fact, I die worthily!"—and so was hanged. Elwes, the lieutenant of the Tower, who had made a stout defence on the trial, confessed all on the scaffold, and ascribed his misfortune to his having broken a solemn vow he had once made against gambling. The fate of the beautiful Mrs. Turner excited the most interest. Many women of fashion, as well as men, went in their coaches to Tyburn to see her die. She came to the scaffold rouged and dressed, as if for a ball, with a ruff, stiffened with yellow starch, round her neck; but otherwise she made a very penitent end.¹

Both Coke and Bacon eulogized the righteous zeal of the king for the impartial execution of justice; but their praise was at the least premature. James betrayed great uneasiness on hearing that his chief falconer, Sir Thomas Monson, was implicated, and would probably "play an unwelcomed card on his trial." And when Monson was arraigned, some yeomen of the guard, acting under the king's private orders, to the astonishment and indignation of the public, carried him from the bar to the Tower. After a brief interval he was released from that confinement, and allowed not only to go at large, but also to retain some place about the court.²

As for the trial of the great offenders, the Earl and Countess of Somerset, it was delayed for many months. The delay was imputed for a time to the necessity of waiting for the return of John Digby, the ambassador at Madrid, afterwards Baron Digby and Earl of Bristol, who, it was

¹ Mrs. Turner had introduced yellow starched ruffs, &c. The fashion went out with her exit at Tyburn.

² Roger Coke, the author of the *Detection*, and the grandson of the great Coke, says that the lord chief-justice, Judge Dodridge, and Judge Hyde, declared Sir Thomas Monson to be as guilty of the murder as any of the others.

said, could substantiate the late favourite's treasonable dealings with the Spanish court; but when Digby came he could do nothing of the sort; and everything tends to prove that James had all along a dread of bringing Somerset to trial. Even from the documents which remain, we may see the king's unceasing anxiety, and a system of trick and manœuvre almost unparalleled, which cannot possibly admit of any other interpretation than this—Somerset was possessed of some dreadful secret, the disclosure of which would have been fatal to the king. The two prisoners, who were kept separate, were constantly beset by ingenious messengers from court, who assured them that, if they would only confess their guilt, all would go well—that they would have the royal pardon to secure them in their lives and estates. Nay, more, there was held out to Somerset, “indirectly as it were, a glimmering of his majesty's benign intention to reinstate him in all his former favour.” When we mention that James's chief messenger and agent was Bacon, it will be understood that the business was ably done, and that the hopes and fears of the prisoners were agitated with a powerful hand.¹ The countess, after much pains had been taken with her, confessed her guilt; but Somerset resisted every attempt, most solemnly protesting his innocence of the murder of Overbury. He earnestly implored to be admitted to the king's presence, saying that, in a quarter of an hour's private conversation, he could establish his innocence, and set the business at rest for ever. But James shrunk from this audience; and the prisoner's request to be allowed to forward a private letter to the king was denied him. Then Somerset threatened instead of praying; declaring that, whenever he should be brought to the bar, he would reveal such things as his ungrateful sovereign would not like to hear. James Hay, afterwards Earl of Carlisle, the friend and countryman of Somerset, and other particular friends, were despatched from time to time by the trembling king to the Tower to work upon the prisoner; but though, in the end, something must have been done by such means, they for a long time produced no visible effect upon the resolution of the earl. When the confession of his wife was ob-

tained (it did not materially bear against him), Bacon and the other commissioners, among whom were Coke and Chancellor Ellesmere, told Somerset that his lady, being touched with remorse, had at last confessed all, and that she that led him to offend ought now, by her example, to lead him to repent of his offence; that the confession of one of them could not singly do either of them much good; but that the confession of both of them might work some further effect towards both; and that therefore they, the commissioners, wished him not to shut the gates of his majesty's mercy against himself by being obdurate any longer. But Somerset would not “come any degree farther on to confess; only his behaviour was very sober, and modest, and mild; but yet, as it seemed, resolved to expect his trial.” Then they proceeded to examine him touching the death of Overbury; and they made this farther observation, that, “in the questions of the imprisonment,” he was “very cool and modest;” but that, when they asked him “some questions that did touch the prince,² or some foreign practice” (which they did “*very sparingly*”), he “grew a little stirred.”³ James received a letter from the prisoner, but not a private one. The tone of the epistle was enigmatical, but bold, like that of a man writing to one over whom he had power.⁴ In it Somerset again demanded a private interview; but James replied that this was a favour he might grant after, but not before his trial.⁵

Bacon was intrusted with the legal management of the case, but he appears hardly to have taken a step without previously consulting the king, who postillated with his own hand the intended charges, and instructed the wily attorney-general so to manage matters in court as not to drive Somerset to desperation, or give (in his own words) “occasion for despair or flushes.” He was perfectly well understood by Bacon, who undertook to have the prisoner found guilty before the peers without making him too odious to the people. The whole business of Bacon was to put people on a wrong scent, for the purpose of preventing Somerset from making any dangerous disclosure, and the other judges from getting an insight into some iniquitous secret which it imported the king to conceal. On the 24th of May,

¹ Bacon's *Works*; *Cabala*; *State Trials*.

² It is by no means clear that Prince Henry is here alluded to. Bacon may possibly refer to the living prince, Charles, and the rumour of Somerset's undertaking to deliver him into the hands of the Spaniards. But it seems scarcely possible that Somerset should have betrayed agitation at an unfounded report. On a former examination, when, as we learn from Bacon himself, the charge was clearly that of a treasonable correspondence with Spain, Somerset showed no emotion whatever, merely saying that he had been too well rewarded by his majesty ever to think of Spain. “If he” (Prince Henry), says Lord Dartmouth, in a note to Burnet's *History of his Own Time* (vol. i. p. 11), “was poisoned by the Earl of Somerset, it was not upon the account of religion, but for making love to the Countess of Essex; and

that was what the Lord Chief-justice Coke meant, when he said, at the Earl of Somerset's trial, ‘God knows what went with the good Prince Henry, but I have heard something.’”

³ Bacon's letter to the king, in *Cabala*. In his postscript the wily attorney-general says, “If it seem good unto your majesty, we think it not amiss some preacher (*well chosen*) and access to my Lord of Somerset, for his preparing and comfort, although it be before his trial.” From the whole tenor of this correspondence, there can be no doubt whatever as to the sort of service Bacon would expect from this “well-chosen” preacher! Several of the letters about the old favourite are addressed by Bacon, with sly and disgusting protestations, to the new minion, Sir George Villiers.

⁴ See the letter in Somers' *Tracts*.

⁵ Letter of James, in *Archæologia*.

1616, the countess was *separately* arraigned before the peers. The beautiful but guilty woman looked pale, and sick, and spiritless: she trembled excessively while the clerk read the indictment; she hid her face with her fan at mention of the name of Weston; and she wept and spoke with a voice scarcely audible when she pleaded guilty and threw herself on the royal mercy. As soon as this was done she was hurried from the bar, and then, when she was not present to say that her confession did not involve her husband, Bacon delivered a very artful speech, stating the evidence he had to produce, if she had made it necessary by pleading not guilty. After this speech the countess was recalled for a minute to the bar of the lords to hear sentence of death, which was pronounced by the Chancellor Ellesmere, whom the king and Bacon, after long deliberation, had appointed high-steward for the



ROBERT CARR, Earl of Somerset, AND HIS COUNTESS.
From a rare contemporary print.

trials. On the same day Somerset, who ought to have been tried with his wife, was warned by Sir George More, the present lieutenant of the Tower, that he must stand his trial on the morrow. Owning to some causes not explained, but at which we may easily guess, the earl, who had before desired

this, absolutely refused to go, telling the lieutenant that he should carry him by force in his bed; that the king had assured him he should never come to any trial, and that the king durst not bring him to trial. This language made More quiver and shake; . . . "yet away goes More to Greenwich, as late as it was, being twelve at night, and bounces up the back stairs as if mad." The king, who was in bed, on hearing what the lieutenant had to say, fell into a passion of tears, and said, "On my soul, More, I wot not what to do! Thou art a wise man; help me in this great strait, and thou shalt find thou dost it for a thankful master."¹ "Returning to the Tower, the lieutenant told his prisoner that he had been with the king, and found him a most affectionate master unto him, and full of grace in his intentions toward him; but, said he, to satisfy justice, you must appear, although you return instantly again, without any further proceeding, only you shall know your enemies and their malice, though they shall have no power over you. With this trick of wit he allayed his fury, and got him quietly, about eight in the morning, to the hall; yet feared his former bold language might revert again, and, being brought by this trick into the toil, might have more enraged him to fly out into some strange discovery. He had two servants placed on each side of him, with a cloak on their arms, giving them a peremptory order, if that Somerset did any way fly out on the king, they should instantly hoodwink him with that cloak, take him violently from the bar, and carry him away; for which he would secure them from any danger, and they should not want also a bountiful reward."²

Somerset, however, when brought to the bar of the lords, was in a very composed easy humour, which Bacon took good care not to disturb by any of those invectives that were usually employed against prisoners. He abstained, he said, from such things by the king's order, though of himself he were inclined to blazon his name in blood.³ He handled the case most tenderly, never urging the guilt of Somerset without bringing forward the hope or assurance of the royal mercy. But the prisoner, who displayed far more ability than he had ever been supposed to possess, though he abstained from any accusations or

¹ Weldon says that Sir George More "was really rewarded with a suit worth to him £1500, although Annandale, his great friend, did cheat him of one-half; so was there falsehood in friendship."

² Weldon. The lieutenant of the Tower may have thought of providing the two sentinels and the hoodwinking cloaks, but all the rest had certainly been suggested beforehand by Bacon, in a *Particular Remembrance for his Majesty*. "It were good," says this miracle of genius and profligacy, "that after he is come

into the hall, so that he may perceive he must go to trial, and shall be retired to the place appointed till the court call for him, then the lieutenant shall tell him roundly that if in his speeches he shall tax the king, that the justice of England is that he shall be taken away, and the evidence shall go on without him; and then all the people will cry, 'Away with him!' and then it shall not be in the king's will to save his life, the people will be so set on fire."—*State Trials*.

³ A hint at Coke, who was a dealer in invectives.

out-pourings of wrath against James, was not willing to submit to a verdict of guilty, however sure of a pardon. He maintained his innocence, and defended himself so ably that the trial lasted eleven hours. In the end the peers unanimously pronounced him guilty. He then prayed them to be intercessors for him with the king, adding, however, words which meant that he thought that it would hardly be needed. "But who had seen the king's restless motion all that day, sending to every boat he saw landing at the bridge, cursing all that came without tidings, would have easily judged all was not right, and that there had been some grounds for his fears of Somerset's boldness; but at last, one bringing him word he was condemned, and the passages, all was quiet."¹ A few weeks after sentence, James granted a pardon to the countess, "because the process and judgment against her were not of a principal, but as of an accessory before the fact." A like pardon was offered to the earl, who said that he, as an innocent and injured man, expected a reversal of the judgment pronounced by the peers. After a few years' imprisonment, Somerset and his lady retired into the country—there, as it is said, to reproach and hate one another. The king would not permit the earl's arms to be reversed and kicked out of the chapel of Windsor; and upon his account it was ordered "that felony should not be reckoned amongst the disgraces for those who were to be excluded from the order of St. George, which was without precedent."² Further, to keep the discarded favourite and depository of royal mysteries from desperation, he was allowed for life the then splendid income of £4000 a-year. Considering the power of money and the baseness of the age, we are inclined to doubt the oratorical accounts of the loneliness and abandonment into which he fell. The countess died in 1632, in the reign of Charles I.; the earl, who survived her thirteen years, will reappear on the scene towards the close of the present reign. Their daughter, an only child, the Lady Anne Carr, who was born in the Tower, was married to William, fifth Earl, and afterwards first Duke, of Bedford, by whom she had many children, one of whom was the celebrated Lord Russell, who died on the scaffold in the time of Charles II. She is described as a lady of great honour and virtue: and it is said that her mother's history was so carefully con-

cealed from her, that she knew nothing of the divorce of Lady Essex until a year or two before her death.³ The ill-used Earl of Essex will appear hereafter, and most conspicuously, as the leader of the parliament army against the unfortunate successor of King James.

It should appear that the services of Bacon in the Overbury and Somerset case secured his triumph over his rival. Coke, however, had long been hated by the king, and in his irritation thereat he took an independent, and what might otherwise have been a patriotic course in administering the law. Many things had made the lord chief-justice totter in his seat, but a dispute with Villiers, the new favourite, about a patent place at court, a dispute with the king about bishoprics and commendams, and the ingenious malice of Bacon, who had James's ear, laid him prostrate at last. By the advice of Bacon, he was called before the council: the other judges had all been there before him, to kneel to the king and ask pardon for attempting to act according to law. Bacon, Ellesmere, and Abbot the primate had been employed for some time in collecting charges against him. Coke was accused of concealing a debt of £12,000, due to the crown by the late Chancellor Hatton; of uttering on the bench words of very high contempt, saying that the common law would be overthrown, wherein he reflected upon the king; and, thirdly, of uncivil and indiscreet carriage in the matter of commendams. Coke repelled the charge about the money, and he afterwards obtained a legal decision in his favour: without denying his words on the bench, he palliated the second charge; to the third he confessed, and prayed forgiveness. The king ordered him to appear a second time before the council, and then the proud lawyer was brought to his knees to hear the judgment of his royal master, which was, that he should keep away from the council-table and not go the circuit, but employ himself in correcting the errors in his book of reports. When Coke reported to the king that he could discover only five unimportant errors in his book, James chose to consider that he was proud and obstinate, and gave the chief justiceship to Montague, the recorder of London. It is said that Coke, on receiving his *supersedeas*, wept like a child.

Prince Charles, now created Prince of Wales, was in his seventeenth year, and the king had not yet succeeded in negotiating what he considered a suitable marriage for him. The religious feelings of his subjects, both in England and Scotland, were violently opposed to any Catholic match; but James's pride led him to prefer a family alliance with some one of the

¹ *Weldon*. Old Sir Anthony's pen was no doubt occasionally dipped in gall, but his account of these transactions, which he says he and a friend had from Sir George More's own mouth *verbatim* in Wanstead Park, after being long ascribed to his libellous spirit and hatred of James, has received the most complete confirmation by some letters from More himself, published in the *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. When he is found so veracious in one important particular, it may be questioned whether *Weldon* has not been unfairly doubted in others.

² Camden, *Annals of King James*.

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³ *Oldmixon*.
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royal houses in Europe, and of those houses the greatest were all Catholic. Suspecting at last that the court of Spain had no intention to conclude any arrangement with him, he opened negotiations with that of France for the hand of Madame Christine, sister to the young King Louis XIII.; but, notwithstanding an extravagant and pompous embassy, the French court preferred an alliance with the Duke of Savoy. Shortly after the failure of this treaty, Concini, Marshal D'Ancre, a Florentine, who had accompanied the queen mother, Maria de' Medici, into France, and who, since the death of Henry IV., had ruled the whole kingdom, was murdered on the drawbridge of the Louvre by Vitry, one of the captains of the body-guard. The deed was done in broad daylight, by order of Louis, who had been kept in a state of subjection, and almost of bondage, by his mother's favourite. On the following day the people of Paris raised a cry against the excommunicated Jew and wizard; they dug up his body, which had been hastily buried—dragged it through the streets—hung it by the heels on a gibbet on the Pont Neuf—cut it up—burned part of it before the statue of Henry IV., and threw the rest into the Seine. The parliament of Paris proceeded against the memory of the deceased favourite, declared him to have been guilty of treason both against God and the king—condemned his wife to be beheaded, and her body afterwards burned—and declared his son to be ignoble and incapable of holding any property or place in France. In this strange process there was more talk of sorcery and devil-dealing than there had been on the trial of the murderers of Overbury; and it was pretended that monstrous proofs were discovered of the Judaism and magic of the wretched Florentine.

In the meanwhile, James's new favourite, Villiers, was becoming far more powerful and mischievous than his predecessor, Somerset. The old Earl of Worcester was made to accept a pension and the honorary office of president of the council, and to resign his place of master of the horse to the minion, who was now Viscount Villiers, and was soon after (on the 5th of January, 1617) created Earl of Buckingham. Bacon, who, on Villiers' first advancement, had written an elaborate treatise to show him how to demean himself in his post of prime favourite, got some reward at the same time.¹ The old Chancellor Ellesmere, who in moments of sickness had repeatedly complained of his great age, his griefs, and infirmities, but who, when the fit was past, had baffled the hopes of the attorney-general and had clung to his place, having been gratified with the title of Viscount Brackley in November, 1616,

felt his end approaching in the month of February, formally resigned the seals in March, and died a fortnight after. James gave the seals, with the title of Lord-keeper, to Bacon, who had pledged himself to do the royal will in all things.



GEORGE VILLIERS, Duke of Buckingham.—From a print after Michael Mierevelt.

The great philosopher, now in the fifty-fourth year of his age, was made giddy by his elevation: he rode to Westminster Hall on horseback, in a gown of rich purple satin, between the lord-treasurer and the lord privy-seal, with a splendid escort of lords, courtiers, judges, lawyers, law students, officers, and servants. He seemed inclined to rival the magnificence and finery of Buckingham, and, in the absence of that creature of the court, the fullest-blown fop was the head of the English law, the restorer of philosophy, the greatest wit, scholar, and scoundrel of his age.

When James took his leave of his loving subjects of Scotland, he had promised that he would gladden their hearts and eyes with his presence at least once every three years; but fourteen years had elapsed, and he had never been able to recross the Tweed. This was owing to his improvidence and consequent poverty. It would have been too much to expect the poor Scots to pay the expenses of his costly progress. But in the course of the preceding year (1616) he had restored the cautionary towns of Brill, Flushing, and Rammekens to the Dutch, for 2,700,000 florins, which was about one-third of the debt really owing to him.² This Dutch money enabled

² Rymer. It appears that the English ministers and negotiators were bribed by the Dutch, who must, however, have known that James's wants would make him grasp at any offer of ready money. Peyton says that Secretary Winwood got £29,000 from the States.

¹ Cabala and Bacon's Works.

James to pay off some of his most pressing debts, and to raise on the first blush of his improved credit nearly £100,000 at ten per cent. per annum, for his journey into Scotland. "He begins his journey with the spring, warming the country as he went with the glories of the court; taking such recreations by the way as might best beguile the days, and cut them shorter, but lengthen the nights (contrary to the seasons); for what with hawking, hunting, and horse-racing, the days quickly ran away; and the nights, with feasting, masking, and dancing, were the more extended."¹ At Berwick, the king and his favourite, and his English courtiers and jesters, were met by a numerous deputation of the Scottish nobility, who conducted them by slow stages to Edinburgh—for James loved to stop at every good house or sporting-ground that he came nigh. His chief object in visiting Scotland was, however, to effect the complete establishment of the Episcopal form of church government, and to assimilate the religious worship of the two countries. Without the least spark of religious zeal or fanaticism, James was most determinately bent on the subversion of the Presbyterian system, the spirit and form of which he detested more than ever, as inimical to his notion of the Divine right of kings, and their absolute supremacy over the church as well as state. From the time of his controversy with the English Puritans at Hampton Court, he had been devising how he should fully restore Episcopacy in Scotland; and, by means of English money, and the boldness and cunning of his principal minister there, Sir George Hume, afterwards Earl of Dunbar, he had made some progress in this direction. The first blow was struck at the general assembly of the Scottish kirk in 1605. This assembly was arbitrarily prorogued by royal authority three times in rapid succession. A number of the clergy met at Aberdeen; their meeting was prohibited, but they proceeded to assert their rights, chose a moderator, fixed an assembly to be held in the course of that year, and then dissolved themselves, in compliance with an order from the privy council. Thirteen of the leading members were forthwith selected for fierce prosecution; and out of this number Welsh, Drury, and four other popular preachers, were convicted by the crown lawyers and a slavish jury of *high treason*. After a rigorous confinement, sentence of death was commuted into perpetual banishment. These conscientious men retired to the Protestant churches in France and Holland, whither they were soon followed by many voluntary exiles, who revered their doctrines, and who were scared by the approaching horns of the mitre. Soon after, the bishops, who had

never altogether ceased to exist in name, were re-established in authority and in revenue—that is, to the extent of the power of James and his slavish court. These occupants of dilapidated sees, who were ready on all occasions to maintain that it was a part of the royal prerogative to prescribe the religious faith and worship of the people, soon came into conflict with the Presbyterian clergy. Old Andrew Melvil, the successor of John Knox, James Melvil, his nephew, and six others, were summoned up to London, where James disputed with them about doctrine and practice. It is probable that the king did not treat them with more respect than he had treated the Puritans at Hampton Court; and old Melvil was made of firmer materials than those preachers. To the king his behaviour was respectful; but when he was interrogated by some Scottish lords, he said indignantly, "I am a free subject of Scotland—a free kingdom, that has laws and privileges of its own. By these I stand. No legal citation has been issued against me, nor are you and I in our own country, where such an inquisition, so oppressive as the present, is condemned by parliament" James, who had only invited them to a *free* conference, prohibited the return of the Scottish preachers to their own country, and insisted on their attending worship in his royal chapel, where they might hear the preaching of his courtly bishops. This made matters worse. The characters of the bishops most about court were not spotless, and their discourses seemed monstrously slavish to the unbending Calvinists: nor did the rites and oblations of the chapel, the gilded altar, the chalices, the tapers, improve in their eyes upon a closer but a compulsory acquaintance. Old Andrew Melvil vented his feelings of disgust in a Latin epigram of six lines, in which he set down all these things as relics of the scarlet she-wolf of Rome.² The verses were shown to James, who summoned the author before his English privy council, where Andrew was so irritated that he burst forth into an invective against the whole Anglican church, and pulled or shook what he called the Romish rags of the Archbishop of Canterbury's surplice. For all these offences James arbitrarily committed him to the Tower of London, where he lay for four years. He was then liberated at the earnest prayer of the Duke of Bouillon, but only upon condition that he should pass the remainder of his life in some foreign country. The venerable champion of Calvinism retired to Sedan, and died abroad in 1620. His nephew, James Melvil, was confined for life to Berwick, on the confines of his native country, where he died six years before his uncle. The other six Scottish

¹ Arthur Wilson.² Calderwood.

preachers who had accompanied them to the *free* conference were banished to separate and remote districts in Scotland. To quiet the murmurs of the Presbyterian clergy—to win them over to the bishops, whose indefinite powers the king continued to advance—the Earl of Dunbar employed threats and bribes. Forty thousand marks were distributed among the members of an ecclesiastical convention summoned by royal authority, that met at Linlithgow, at the end of the year 1606, and appointed certain clergymen to be permanent moderators of the presbyteries within which they resided, and the bishops to be *ex officio* the moderators of the provincial synods. But the great body of the Scottish clergy—a spiritual republic—were incensed at this subversion of equality; they soon resumed their independence in the synods, and set aside the authority of the bishops as perpetual moderators. The synods were then, as seditious bodies, prohibited from assembling. In 1609 the consistorial courts, which at the Reformation had been given to civil judges, were restored to the bishops; and the Archbishop of Glasgow was created an extraordinary lord of session, in order to restore a spiritual intermixture to that high court of law, which had originally consisted of an equal number of temporal and spiritual judges. But this latter plan was stopped in the commencement, by the determination of James to establish a separate and paramount court, which, if he was so minded, he might fill entirely with bishops. The High Commission Court—the greatest grievance of the land—existed in England as a part or a result of the king's supremacy over the church; but in Scotland this supremacy had not yet been acknowledged, and no such court could be imposed with anything like a decent regard to law. Yet notwithstanding this fact, and the violent repugnance of the people, James, in 1610, erected two courts of high commission—one at St. Andrews, the other at Glasgow—more arbitrary, more absolute than the detestable court in London. And, as if the Scots did not already sufficiently hate the name of bishop, the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow were put at the head of these tyrannical courts, and it was declared that either of these prelates and four assistants should compose a quorum, from whose sentence there was no appeal. It was soon evident that an oppression of this kind must be enforced by troops of horse, as well as by bishops; but the peace-loving king would not see the inevitable result of his system.

An assembly of the kirk was held at Glasgow in June, 1610, for the purpose of confirming the authority of the bishops; and, partly by the high exercise of authority, partly by a trick which kept away the bolder ministers, and partly by

bribery, the primate obtained several important concessions. Then Dunbar, and some of the bishops, would have proceeded to the entire suppression of presbyteries; but the more prudent considered such a measure as dangerous or premature, and it was laid aside for the present. The packed clergy, however, solemnly recognized the king's ecclesiastical supremacy, and the right of bishops to ordain and induct to churches. Under the crafty and bold management of the Earl of Dunbar, the Scottish parliament confirmed and enlarged these decisions. Hitherto the Scottish prelates had not been consecrated by the imposition of prelatical hands; but now three of their number were summoned up to London to undergo that ceremony, and on their return they imposed their hands on the other Scottish bishops, who were thus presented to the scorning and incredulous people as legitimate successors of the apostles. These proceedings were soon followed by the death of the Earl of Dunbar, whose place, whether for the king or the bishops, was badly supplied by some of the kinsmen of Carr, Earl of Somerset, who misruled Scotland till the downfall of that favourite.

In 1616, the year before James's visit, the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians seem to have witnessed with equal satisfaction the barbarous execution of one Ogilvy, a Jesuit. Presently after James's arrival, in the month of June, 1617, a parliament assembled to establish the faith, and ceremonies, and discipline of the Scottish church. But by this time sundry of the lords, who were holders of lands which had formerly belonged to the bishoprics, began to be alarmed as to the security of those parts of their property. James disarmed their opposition by inviting these great nobles to a secret conference, wherein, it is generally supposed, he addressed himself to their most sensitive feelings, and promised that they should not be disturbed in any of their possessions. Forthwith an act was prepared to declare, "that, in ecclesiastical affairs, whatever should be determined by the king, with the advice of the prelates and a competent number of the clergy, should receive the operation and the force of law." This bill was brought suddenly into parliament, and passed there; and James was on the point of making it law in the Scottish manner, by touching it with the sceptre, when the clergy presented to parliament a loud and alarming protest against it. James trembled and hesitated; and, in the end, to save his honour, he pretended that it was idle to give him by statute that which was part of the inherent prerogative of the crown; and the bill was silently withdrawn. Another bill, assigning chapters to the different bishoprics, and regulating the methods to be followed in the election of bishops, appears

to have passed without any sturdy opposition either in parliament or out of it. After a very short session parliament was dissolved, and James removed to St. Andrews to attend a great meeting of the clergy. There he caused Simpson, Ewart, and Calderwood, distinguished preachers, who had signed the late protest (which they were supposed to have penned), to be brought before the High Commission Court, and convicted of seditious behaviour. Simpson and Ewart were suspended and imprisoned; Calderwood, the most learned and most hated or feared of the three, was condemned to exile for life. The people soon began to consider these victims of kingly and prelatical rage as martyrs, and bitterly did they avenge their wrongs on James's successor. But, now, that complacent sovereign proceeded to announce to the clergy assembled at St. Andrews how they must forthwith transplant and adopt the ceremonies of the English church. It was his prerogative as a Christian king to command in these matters—so he told the clergy—nor would he regard their disapprobation or remonstrances; *but*, if they could convince him in fair theological disputation, then he might withdraw his ordinances. But the Scottish theologians were too wise to gratify the king with the field-day he desired. They knew all about his great victory at Hampton Court, and the result of his free conference with old Andrew Melvil; the fate of their three brethren, Simpson, Ewart, and Calderwood, was appalling; and so, instead of disputing or opposing the royal will, they fell on their knees and implored him to remit the five articles of the ceremonies to the consideration of a general assembly of the whole kirk. James at first turned a deaf ear to their prayer; but he graciously granted it when some minister or ministers assured him that matters would be so managed as to make the general assembly altogether submissive to his will. He, however, insisted on the immediate enforcement of some of the ceremonies at court; and he kept Whitsuntide in the English manner, surrounded by his applauding bishops and courtiers, whose knees and consciences were flexible. And from that time no man was admitted into any office or employment that would not kneel as ordered, and conform in the other particulars. James slowly wended his way back to England in all the pride of victory; but he was followed by the curses of the large majority of his Scottish subjects, who had not forgotten his former solemn pledges to maintain their church and their liberties, and who regarded him as an apostate, a renegade, and a faithless tyrant.¹

During the king's absence in Scotland, he had been greatly annoyed by the strict manner in

which the Sabbath was kept by the Presbyterians. As he travelled southward he thought over these things, and no doubt talked of them too. In Lancashire, where the Catholics were numerous, and, it was said, increasing in numbers, petitions were presented to him, complaining that the strictness of the Puritans in keeping the Sabbath, and putting down all manly exercises and harmless recreations, drove men to Popery and the ale-house, where "they censured in their cups his majesty's proceedings in church and state." Being met by his hounds and hunters, James made his progress through the hunting counties, stopping at Sherwood Forest, Needwood, and all the other parks and forests in his way; but when he got to London he did not forget the Presbyterians or Puritans, and their observance of the Lord's-day. Assisted by some of his chaplains and bishops, he prepared and put forth his *Book of Sports*, pointing out to the people, with his usual minuteness, what pastimes they might, and indeed ought to use, on Sabbath-days and festivals of the church—what running, vaulting, archery, and morris-dancing, what may-poles, church-ales, and other rejoicings, they might indulge in "upon Sundays, after evening prayers ended, and upon holidays." He prohibited, upon Sundays only, all bear and bull-baitings, interludes, and bowls; and he barred from the benefit and liberty of the other sports "all such known recusants, either men or women," to quote the words of the declaration, "as will abstain from coming to church or Divine service; being, therefore, unworthy of any lawful recreation after the said service, that will not first come to the church and serve God: prohibiting, in like sort, the said recreations to any that, though conform in religion, are not present in the church, and the service of God, before their going to the recreations." It is quite certain that Abbot, the primate, disapproved of the whole measure, and thereby he increased the suspicion which attached to him at court of being a Puritan or Precisian himself; and it is said that he positively refused to read the book in his own church of Croydon. But the other bishops were less bold, or less convinced that some amusements after the celebration of Divine service were so heinous; and the *Book of Sports* seems to have been generally read as appointed.

In many parts of the country, more particularly in the north, the peasantry, tired of the severities of the Puritanic Sabbath, fell readily into the spirit of the new law, and people again came from church with merry faces, and the village green again resounded on the Sunday evening with merry voices. But, except to the poor labourers in these parts, and to the High Church party, the measure was, in the utmost

¹ Calderwood; *Malcolm Laing*.

degree, odious; and many people, who were not convinced, perhaps, that the Christian Sunday ought to be kept as the old Jewish Sabbath, refused to be merry and sportful upon compulsion, and thought it absurdly illegal that the king, of his own and sole authority, should issue such an ordinance. If nothing worse, the *Book of Sports* was a great political blunder, tending to increase ill-will and irritation. But, for the present, the murmurs of the Puritans were timid and subdued, and the full danger to royalty was not felt till the year 1633, when, by the advice of Laud, Charles I. revived his father's book, and tried to give it the force of law.

In departing for Scotland, James had intrusted extraordinary powers to Lord-keeper Bacon, whose head was thereby turned more than ever, and who, during his majesty's absence, conducted himself in such a manner as to give mortal offence to most of the ministers and men of business that were left behind. According to a caustic reporter of his doings, he instantly began to believe himself king, to lie in the king's lodgings, to give audience in the great banquetting-house at Whitehall to ambassadors and others, to make the rest of the council attend his motions with the same state that the king was used to do, and to tell the counsellors, when they sat with him for the despatch of business, to know their proper distance. "Upon which," continues Weldon, "Secretary Winwood rose and went away, and would never sit more, but instantly despatched one to the king, to desire him to make haste back, for his seat was already usurped; at which, I remember, the king reading it unto us, both the king and we were very merry. . . . In this posture he lived until he heard the king was returning, and began to believe the play was almost at an end, he might personate a king's part no longer, and therefore did again re-invest himself with his old rags of baseness, which were so tattered and poor: at the king's coming to Windsor, he attended two days at Buckingham's chamber, being not admitted to any better place than the room where trencher-scrappers and lackeys attended; there, sitting upon an old wooden chest (amongst such as, for his baseness, were only fit for his companions, although the honour of his place did merit far more respect), with his purse and seal lying by him on that chest. . . . After two days he had admittance: at his first entrance he fell down flat on his face at the duke's (earl's) foot, kissing it, and vowing never to rise till he had his pardon, and then was he again reconciled, and since that time so very a slave to the duke, and all that family, that he durst not deny the command of the meanest of the kindred, nor yet oppose anything: by which you see a base spirit is ever most concomitant with the proudest

mind; and surely never so many brave parts and so base and abject a spirit tenanted together in any one earthen cottage as in this one man." But the great offence of Bacon, for which more than for anything else he was made to lick the dust at the minion's feet, was his conduct in an affair which closely concerned the "kindred" of the favourite. Coke, who in many things was not a whit more high-minded than his rival Bacon, perceiving the capital error he had committed in opposing the views of Buckingham, took up, by the advice of Secretary Winwood, a little family project, which he thought would restore him to place, and give him again his old superiority over his rival. The ex-Lord Chief-justice of England had a marriageable daughter—a young lady that was considered a great match—for Coke had kept his money instead of spending it like Bacon, and his wife, the Lady Hatton, was very wealthy, from the lands and houses which Elizabeth had bestowed on her handsome and dancing chamberlain and chancellor. One of the first uses made by Sir George Villiers of his high favour at court, and of the influence of James, who was a prince very prevalent in such matters, was to secure rich wives for his poor brothers and kindred. His elder brother, John Villiers, afterwards created Viscount Purbeck, was proposed as a suitable husband for this young lady; but Coke then, being not sufficiently informed of court news, and not foreseeing the mighty destinies of the new favourite, rejected the proposal. But when he saw himself deprived of office and the favourite in the ascendant, he changed his tone, and before Buckingham's departure with the king for Scotland, he made a secret bargain to give his daughter, and to take place and honours in return. Bacon, a courtier to the backbone, soon discovered this secret compact, which boded him no good; but counting as well on his own great favour with the favourite and the king, as on Coke's disfavour with the king, and relying on his own ready wit and talent for intrigue, he fondly fancied that he had conjured down this brewing storm, and made Buckingham and "the kindred" averse to the marriage. At the same time he had stirred up Coke's wife, who was always disposed to act in direct opposition to the wishes of her husband, whom she despised and hated with an intensity rare even in the matrimonial history of those days, to carry off her daughter and lodge her for safety in the house of her friend, Sir Edward Withpole, near Oxford, and to conclude a written contract of marriage with Henry de Vere, Earl of Oxford, for whom, it appears, the young lady herself entertained some affection. Coke, in a fury, followed the fugitive and recovered his daughter by force. Upon this the proud widow of Lord Hatton, the

grand-daughter of the great Burghley, carried her complaints before the privy council, where her ally for the occasion, the Lord-keeper Bacon, charged the disgraced chief-justice with a flagrant breach of the peace, and countenanced Yelverton, the new attorney-general, in filing an information in the Star Chamber against Coke. Bacon would not have gone thus far if he had not been convinced that the absent favourite had given up the scheme; but, to be doubly sure, he now wrote two letters to Scotland, one to Buckingham, and one to the king. In the first, after treating the renewed scheme for the match between his brother Sir John Villiers, and the young lady, solely as a device of Coke and Winwood, he went on to tell him that many a better match, upon reasonable conditions, might be found; that the mother's consent to it was not had, "nor the young gentlewoman's, who expecteth a great fortune from her mother, which, without her consent, is endangered;" and that this match was altogether very inconvenient, both for his brother and himself. *Because*, "First, he shall marry into a disgraced house, which, in reason of state, is never held good. He shall marry into a troubled house of man and wife, which, in religion and Christian discretion, is disliked." "Your lordship," continues Bacon, "will go near to lose all such your friends as are adverse to Sir Edward Coke (myself only except, who, out of a pure love and thankfulness, shall ever be firm to you). And lastly and chiefly, believe it, it will greatly weaken and distract the king's service; for though, in regard of the king's great wisdom and depth, I am persuaded those things will not follow which they imagine, yet opinion will do a great deal of harm, and cast the king back, and make him relapse into those inconveniences which are now well on to be recovered." Therefore, according to Bacon, his lordship would gain a great deal of honour, if, according to religion and the law of God, he would think no more of this marriage for his elder brother. To the king Bacon begged to state his disinterested opinion in the business of this match, which he took to be *magnum in parvo*. After saying some bitter things to keep alive James's hatred of the ex-chief-justice, he reminded him of his own servility, and how, by God's grace and his majesty's instructions, he had been made a servant according to his heart and hand. If, indeed, it was his majesty's desire that the match should go on, then, upon receiving his express will and commandment from himself, he would conform himself thereunto, imagining, though he would not wager on women's minds, that he could prevail more with the mother of the young lady than any other man. And then, returning to his attack on Coke, he begged the king to observe how much more quietly matters

had gone on since that judge and minister had been in disgrace.¹ This letter went home to the bosom of James; but Buckingham, who now led him as he chose, was not only fully bent upon the marriage, but was intriguing, by means of which probably both Coke and Bacon were ignorant, to remove the violent objections of Coke's termagant wife. As for the affections of the young lady, they were things too trivial to enter into the consideration of any party. Thus, when the great philosopher brought down his glorious intellect to low cunning and matrimonial court intrigues, notwithstanding his boast of his great experience in the world, he could be outwitted by an ignorant stripling like Buckingham, to whom he had given the power of insulting him and degrading him in his own eyes. Buckingham wrote him a stinging letter, reproaching him with his pride and audacity, and giving him to understand that he who had made him could unmake him at his pleasure. James, taking the cue from his favourite, despatched an admonitory epistle of awful length, rating and scolding the mighty sage like a schoolboy. Upon this, Bacon veered round and went before the wind. He stopped proceedings begun against Coke in the Star Chamber; sent for the attorney-general, and made him know that, since he had heard from court, he was resolved to further the match; sent also for my Lady Hatton and some other special friends, to let them know that they must not hope for his assistance in their disobedience to the young lady's father; wrote to the mother of Buckingham, to offer all his good offices for furthering the marriage; and addressed a humble letter of excuses and protestations to the favourite, telling him that his apprehension that this alliance would go near to lose him his lordship, whom he held so dear, was the only respect particular to himself that had moved him to be as he was, till he had heard his lordship's pleasure. But all this was not enough; and about a month after writing this letter, Buckingham kept him in the hall among trencher-scrappers, and brought him to his feet. After the reconciliation at Windsor he wrote another base letter to thank the minion. The marriage now proceeded apace, the king driving at it as if the safety of the state depended upon its completion. Lady Hatton was confined and interrogated by the council instead of her husband; and Coke, to use his own expression, "got upon his wings again." The obstinacy of this dame yielded at last to the instances of the king, and the manoeuvres of the favourite's mother, who was all-powerful at court, and who pretended a sudden friendship for her. She made a liberal settlement out of her own property upon her daughter; and in the month of Sep-

¹ *Cabala*: Bacon's Works.

tember that unwilling fair one was dragged to the altar, in the chapel royal at Hampton Court, to marry a sickly idiot. A splendid feast, enlivened by the presence of royalty, was given soon after at Lady Hatton's house in Holborn; and to make it more absolutely her own, express orders were given by her ladyship, as was reported, that neither Sir Edward Coke nor any of his servants should be admitted.¹ The union, as might be expected, turned out a most wretched one; and this appears to have been the case with nearly all the matches promoted by James, who, in the matter of number, was one of the greatest of match-makers. The daughter of Coke became a profligate and an adulteress;² and the crazy Sir John Villiers, created Viscount Purbeck about a year and a half after his marriage, became so mad that it was necessary to place him in confinement. His brother Buckingham took charge of the property his young wife had brought him, and kept it, or spent it upon himself. But, after all, the selfish father of the victim—the great lawyer—was juggled by Buckingham and that courtly crew. As soon as the favourite saw the marriage completed and the dower safe, he felt a natural repugnance to risking favour by urging the suit of a bold-spoken, obnoxious man. Bacon, again in cordial alliance with Lady Hatton, who was most conjugally disposed to thwart and spite her husband in all things, administered daily to the king's antipathies; and all that Coke got by sacrificing his poor child was his restoration to a seat at the council-table—a place where he was no match for his rival.

A.D. 1618. On the 4th of January the supple lord-keeper was converted into lord high-chancellor, and in the month of July following he was created Baron Verulam. "And now Buckingham, having the chancellor or treasurer, and all great officers, his very slaves, swells in the height of pride, and summons up all his country kindred, the old countess providing a place for them to learn to carry themselves in a court-like garb." Rich heiresses, or daughters of noblemen, were soon provided as wives for his brothers, half-brothers, and cousins of the male gender. "And then must the women kindred be married to earls, earls' eldest sons, barons, or chief gentlemen of greatest estates; inasmuch that his very female kindred were so numerous as sufficient to have peopled any plantation. . . . So that King

James, that naturally, in former times, hated women, had his lodgings replenished with them, and all of the kindred; . . . and little children did run up and down the king's lodgings like little rabbits started about their burrows."³

People now looked back with regret to the days of Somerset, for that favourite had some decency, some moderation; and, if he trafficked in places and honours, he trafficked alone. But "the kindred," one and all, engaged in this lucrative business. The greatest trafficker, or most active broker, in the market, was the Old Countess, as Buckingham's mother, though not an old but very beautiful woman—and infamous as beautiful—was commonly called.⁴ She sold peerages, and took money for all kinds of honours and promotions, whether in the army, navy, courts of law, or the church. There were plenty of purchasers not over-scrupulous as to the purity of the sources whence they derived their honours or titles; but, in some cases, wealthy men were forced into the market against their inclination, and made to pay for distinctions which they were wise enough not to covet. Thus one Richard Robartes, a rich merchant of Truro, in the county of Cornwall, was compelled to accept the title of Baron Robartes of Truro, and to pay £10,000 for it.⁵ The titles that were not sold were given out of family considerations: one of the favourite's brothers, as already mentioned, was made Viscount Purbeck, another Earl of Anglesey; Fielding, who married the favourite's sister, was made Earl of Denbigh, and Fielding's brother Earl of Desmond in Ireland. Cranfield also "mounted to be Earl of Middlesex, from marrying one of Buckingham's kindred."⁶ James, in one of his lengthy speeches, delivered in the Star Chamber in 1616, complained that churchmen were had in too much contempt by people of all degrees, from the highest to the lowest; and yet, notwithstanding the sharp criticisms of the Puritans, who were every day finding more reasons for reviling the whole hierarchy, he permitted his minion and "the kindred" to hold all the keys to church promotion, and to sell every turn of them to the highest bidder, or to give them as rewards to their companions and creatures.

In the course of this year the favourite was created a marquiss, and as he expressed a desire for the post of lord high-admiral, the brave old Howard, Earl of Nottingham, the commander-in-

¹ *Strafford Papers*. It is said that Coke, on the day of this great feast, dined among the lawyers at the Temple.

² Mr. D'Irassell (*Curiosities of Literature*) says that Coke's daughter, Lady Purbeck, was condemned, as a wanton, to stand in a white sheet; but he does not give his authority for this assertion, which seems to be contradicted by published letters of the time.

³ *Weldon*.

⁴ She was created Countess of Buckingham for life, in July, 1618.

⁵ All the titles of that date, borne by the Spencers, the Fanes,

the Petres, the Arundels, the Sackvilles, the Cavendishes, the Montagues, &c., were purchased *à poids d'or*, except those that were granted to the vilest favouritism. This practice also continued through the reign of Charles I., and was even more publicly acted upon as the necessities of the king and his courtiers rendered the sums of money so obtained the more necessary to them. Among the noble families who appear to owe their honours to these causes, may be mentioned the Stanhopes, Tuftons, and many others.—*Remarks on the Origin of the Families and Honours of the British Peerage*.

⁶ *Wilson*.

chief of the fleets that had scattered the Spanish Armada, was obliged to accept a pension, and make room for the master of the horse, who was entirely ignorant of ships and sea affairs. To all these high offices were subsequently added those of warden of the Cinque-ports, chief-justice in eyre of all the parks and forests south of Trent, master of the King's Bench-office, high-steward of Westminster, and constable of Windsor Castle.

The doting, gloating king had taught Somerset Latin; Buckingham he attempted to teach divinity and prayer-writing, and these exercises appear prominently in a correspondence, for the most part too gross for quotation, wherein the favourite calls the king "dear dad and gossip," or "your sow-ship," and the king calls the favourite "Steenie." It was a strange intercourse between teacher and pupil, king and subject.

CHAPTER IV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1618—1621.

JAMES I.

The favourite persecutes the Earl of Suffolk—Distinguished prisoners in the Tower—Sir Walter Raleigh's imprisonment there—His studies and pursuits in confinement—His *History of the World*—His proposal about a gold mine in Guiana—He is liberated from the Tower—Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador—Raleigh sets sail for Guiana—His attack on the Spaniards—His troops repulsed—Failure of the expedition—Complaints of the Spaniards against Raleigh—He is arrested—His fruitless attempts to escape from London—His trial—His conduct and speeches at the bar—His sentence—His demeanour in his last moments—His execution—Bohemia—Its religious reformation—Crown of Bohemia offered to the Palatine Frederick, son-in-law of James—He accepts it—Perplexity of James at the event—He asks supplies from parliament to aid his son-in-law—Parliament complies, and proceeds to the reform of abuses—Bacon accused, displaced, and fined—His behaviour under his fall—Severe punishment inflicted by the commons on Edward Floyde—The king prorogues parliament—War in Bohemia—The Palatine unsuccessful—Expedition against the Algerines—Application of James for supplies—Resentment of the commons against him—Altercation between James and the commons—Protest of the commons against his arbitrary principles—He prorogues parliament—He commits some of its members to prison.



BUCKINGHAM this year attacked the Earl of Suffolk, lord-treasurer, and father-in-law of the disgraced Somerset—all the rest of that party had long since been dismissed the court—and that noble Howard was now charged with peculation and corruption, particularly with reference to the money paid by the Dutch for the recovery of the cautionary towns, a business in which all the public men had taken bribes. Suffolk and his wife were both thrown into the Tower, and the ingenuity of Bacon, and of commissioners appointed by him, was employed in making out a strong case of embezzlement against the treasurer. The earl wrote to the king, imploring him to pardon his weakness and errors—guilt he would never confess—and telling him that, instead of being enriched by the places he had held, he was little less than £40,000 in debt.¹ The name of this Howard was rather popular, for he had fought bravely at sea in the time of Elizabeth, and James was half inclined to stop proceedings against him: but Buckingham was of a different mind, and the earl and countess were brought up to the Star Chamber. There, Coke, who hoped to fight his way back to favour

by some of his old sharp practices, charged the prisoners on one side, while Bacon, who spoke like an Aristides, assailed them on the other. The venal and corrupt chancellor was eloquent in exposing the shameful vice of corruption. Suffolk, disregarding a hint to plead guilty and make sure of the royal pardon, stood upon his innocence, and it was the general opinion that, as compared with his wife, he was innocent. But the Star Chamber sentenced them to pay a fine of £30,000, and sent them both back to the Tower. After some time, however, the fine was reduced to £7000, which was "clutched up by Ramsay, Earl of Haddington," and the Earl and Countess of Suffolk recovered their liberty. The post of lord-treasurer was sold to Sir Henry Montague, chief-justice of the King's Bench, for a large sum; but in less than a year it was taken from him and bestowed on Cranfield, afterwards Earl of Middlesex, who had married one of "the kindred."

But this same year witnessed a far more memorable proceeding—one which, while it blackened for all ages the name of James, has perhaps brightened beyond their deserts the fame and character of the illustrious victim. Sir Walter Raleigh, it will be remembered, after receiving

¹ *Cobala.*

sentence of death at Winchester, was immured in the Tower of London. In that dismal state-prison he found several men fit to be his mates; and these were increased year after year by the absurd tyranny of the court, until it seemed almost to be James's intention to shut up all the genius, taste, and enterprise of England in that great cage. Henry Percy, the accomplished and munificent Earl of Northumberland—the friend of science and scientific men, the enthusiastic promoter of natural and experimental philosophy, the favourer of all good learning—and Serjeant Hoskins, the scholar, poet, wit, and critic, the admired of Camden, Selden, Daniel, the friend and polisher of Ben Jonson—were among the distinguished co-mates of Raleigh; and these men constantly attracted to the Tower some of the most intellectual of their contemporaries, who enlivened their captivity with learned and pleasant discourse. Northumberland served as a centre for these wits, and his purse appears to have been always open to such as were in need, whether prisoners or free. For some time Raleigh did not require pecuniary assistance; for, though his moveable estate was forfeited by his attainder, it was consigned to trustees appointed by himself for the benefit of his family and creditors, and his principal estate and castle of Sherborne in Dorsetshire, which his taste and unsparing outlay of money in his prosperous days “had beautified with orchards, gardens, and groves of much variety and great delight,” had been cautiously conveyed to his eldest son some time before the death of Elizabeth and the beginning of his troubles. But some sharp eye, in looking for prey, discovered that there was a legal flaw in the deed of conveyance, and the chief-justice, Popham, Raleigh's personal enemy, and the same that had sat on his trial, decided that, from the omission of some technicality, the deed was altogether invalid. No doubt the chief-justice knew beforehand that the king wanted the property for his minion Robert Carr, who was just then commencing his career at court. From his prison Raleigh wrote to the young favourite, telling him that, if the inheritance of his children were thus taken from them for want of a word, there would remain to him but the name of life. Some of the expressions in this letter are exceedingly affecting; but, in reading them, we cannot but remember that Raleigh himself, at his own dawn, had greedily grasped at the possessions of the fatherless—that he himself had got from Elizabeth

a grant of the lands of Anthony Babington, leaving the young and innocent widow and children to beggary.¹ The letter to the favourite produced no effect. Then the prisoner's wife, the devoted and spirited Lady Raleigh, got access to the king, and throwing herself on her knees, with her children kneeling with her, implored him to spare the remnant of her fortunes. James's only reply was, “I maun ha' the land—I maun ha' it for Carr;” and the minion had it accordingly. From this time it is probable that the hospitable table kept by the Earl of Northumberland was of consequence to Raleigh on other grounds than those of society and conversation. This extraordinary man had always had a determined turn to letters and the sciences; in the bustle of the camp, in the court, in the discomforts of the sea, he had snatched hours for intense studies, which had embraced the wide range of poetry, history, law, divinity, astronomy, chemistry, and other sciences. In the Tower, the quiet of the place, the necessity his restless mind felt for employment and excitement, and the tastes of his fellow-prisoners and visitors, all led him to an increased devotion to these absorbing pursuits. If he was a rarely-accomplished man when he entered his prison-house, the thirteen years he passed there in this kind of life were likely to qualify him for great literary undertakings. During one part of his confinement he devoted a great deal of his time to chemistry, not without the usual leaning to alchemy, and an indefinite hope of discovering the philosopher's stone—a dream which was fully indulged in by his friend Northumberland, and which was no stranger to Bacon himself. Raleigh fancied that he had discovered an elixir, or grand cordial of sovereign remedy in all diseases—a sort of panacea. On one occasion, when the queen was very ill, she took his draught, and experienced or fancied immediate relief. Prince Henry, who had always taken a lively interest in his fate, and for whom Raleigh had written some admirable treatises in the Tower, joined his grateful mother in petitions for his liberation; but without avail. For the instruction of the young prince, Raleigh commenced his famous *History of the World*—a work, as far as it goes, of uncommon learning and genius, and altogether extraordinary, if we consider the time, the trying circumstances under which it was written, and the previous busy life of the author. The first part was finished in 1612.² Shortly after young Henry died; and then, though (to use his own

¹ The first entry in Lord Burghley's Diary, under the year 1587, is the following:—

“A grant of Anthony Babington to Sir Walter Raleigh.”

The touching expressions in Raleigh's letter to Carr are these:—

“And for yourself, sir, seeing your fair day is now in the dawn, and mine drawn to the evening, your own virtues and the king's grace assuring you of many favours and of much

honour, I beseech you not to begin your first building upon the ruins of the innocent, and that their sorrows with mine may not attend your first plantation . . . I therefore trust, sir, that you will not be the first who shall kill us outright, cut down the tree with the fruit, and undergo the curse of them that enter the fields of the fatherless.”—*Scrib. Sac.*

² It was not published till 1614.

expression) he had "hewn out" the second and third parts, he had not heart to finish them.¹ In 1614 the revolutions at court had thrown Somerset into disgrace, and brought Buckingham into favour. Raleigh built new hopes on the change, and instantly became a suitor to George Villiers. But he and his friends had never

tious man of business, was captivated by the project, and he recommended it to the king as a promising speculation. James, who was almost penniless, entered into it at first with more eagerness than the secretary; but, on reflection, he fancied that the enterprise might involve him in a war with Spain, which still pretended its exclusive right, by Papal bull, to all those regions; and war was James's horror. Still, however, his increasing wants made him often dream of El Dorado, and he began to talk about Raleigh as a brave and skilful man. Some noble friends of the captive took advantage of this frame of mind: but nothing was now to be done at court without conciliating "the kindred," and it was a sum of £1500 paid to Sir William St. John and Sir Edward Villiers, uncles of the favourite, that undid the gates of the Tower. Raleigh walked forth in the beginning of March, leaving behind him, in that fortress, the fallen Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, who, in the following month, was brought to his trial for the murder of Overbury. But, though admitted to liberty, Sir Walter as yet had no pardon; and to obtain one, and to restore his shattered fortune, to indulge again in his favourite pursuits, his romantic adventures, he laboured heart and soul to remove the king's objections to his great project. James had a hard struggle between his timidity and his cupidity: he longed for the gold as the traveller in the desert longs for water, but still he dreaded the Spaniards, the dragons of the mine. His indecision was increased when, by his indiscreet gossiping, the project became known to the Spanish ambassador. Count Gondomar was a very accomplished diplomatist, the best that could possibly have been found for such a court as that of James. "He had as free access to the king as any courtier of them all, Buckingham only excepted; and the king took delight to talk with him, for he was full of conceits, and would speak false Latin a purpose, in his merry fits, to please the king; telling the king plainly, 'You speak Latin like a pedant, but I speak it like a gentleman.'² While he could drink wine with his majesty and the men, he could win the ladies of the court by his gallantry and liberality; and it is said that, in that sink of dishonour and immorality, he intrigued with some of the highest dames, and bribed some of the proudest nobles. If the indiscretion of the king over his cups were not enough, he had plenty of other keys to the secrets of government. According to James's own declaration, Gondomar "took great alarm, and made vehement assertions, in repeated audiences, that he had discovered the objects of the expedition to be hostile and piratical, tending to a breach of the late peace between the two



SIR WALTER RALEIGH.
From the print in his "History of the World," ed. 1677.

ceased their endeavours at court, and before this time Sir Walter had proposed to Secretary Winwood a scheme which, he fancied, must excite the king's cupidity, and lead to his immediate release. In the year 1595, Raleigh, in the course of one of his adventurous voyages, had visited Guiana in South America, the fabled El Dorado, or Land of Gold, which, though discovered by the Spaniards, had not been conquered or settled. The capital city of Manoa, which had been described by Spanish writers as one vast palace of Aladdin—a congeries of precious stones and precious metals—eluded his pursuit; but he found the country to be fertile and beautiful, and he discovered at an accessible point, not far from the banks of the mighty Orinoco, some signs of a gold mine. He now proposed to Secretary Winwood an expedition to secure and work that virgin mine, which he was confident would yield exhaustless treasures. The ships necessary, their equipment, and all expenses, he undertook to provide by himself and his friends; he asked nothing from the king, who was to have one-fifth of the gold, but his liberty and an ample commission. Winwood, though a practised and cau-

¹ It should be remembered, however, that he was released from the Tower after the prince's death, and again involved in the active business of life.

² Arthur Wilson.

crowns.”¹ Raleigh drew up a memorial, stating that he intended to sail not for any Spanish possession, but for a country over which England could claim a right both by priority of discovery and consent of the natives; that there would be no hostile collision with the Spaniards; and that



COUNT GONDOMAR, Spanish Ambassador.
From a print by S. Pass.

the arms and soldiers he took with him would be solely for self-defence. According to James, the ambassador then seemed to be satisfied, observing to Secretary Winwood, that if Raleigh only meant to make a peaceful settlement, Spain would offer no resistance. Thereupon the energetic adventurer pressed the preparations for his expedition, and his reputation and merit “brought many gentlemen of quality to venture their estates and persons upon the design.” Sir Walter obtained from the Countess of Bedford £8000, which were owing to him, and Lady Raleigh sold her estate of Mitcham for £2500; all of which money he embarked in the adventure. Having obtained ample information as to the course he intended to pursue, and securities, in persons of wealth and rank, for his good behaviour and return, James granted his commission under the privy seal, constituting Raleigh general and commander-in-chief of the expedition, and governor of the colony which he was about to found. On the 28th of March, 1617, he set sail with a fleet of fourteen vessels. The *Destiny*, in which he hoisted his flag, had on board 200 men, including sixty gentlemen, many of whom were his own or his wife’s relations. The voyage began inauspiciously; the ships were driven by a storm into the Cove of Cork, where they lay till the month of August. They did not reach the Cape de Verd

Islands before October, and it was the 13th of November when they “recovered the land of Guiana.” During the long rough voyage, disease had broken out among the sailors; forty-two men died on board the admiral’s ship alone, and Raleigh suffered the most violent calenture that ever man did and lived. But he wrote to his wife, “We are still strong enough, I hope, to perform what we have undertaken, if the diligent care at London to make our strength known to the Spanish king by his ambassador have not taught that monarch to fortify all the entrances against us.” He was received by his old friends, the Indians on the coast, with enthusiasm;² but he soon learned that the Spaniards were up the country, and prepared to dispute with him the possession of it. Being himself so reduced by sickness as to be unable to walk, he sent Captain Keymis up the river Orinoco with five of the ships, and took up his station with the rest at the island of Trinidad, close to the mouths of that river. He had been given to understand that a Spanish fleet was in the neighbourhood; and it is quite certain that he intended not only to fight it if challenged, but also to fight in order to prevent it following Keymis up the river. This brave captain, who had been for many years devoted to Raleigh, and had suffered many troubles on his account, had explored the country where the mine was situated in 1595, and he was now ordered to make direct for the mine, “the star that directed them thither.” If he found it rich and royal he was to establish himself at it; if poor and unpromising, he was to bring away with him a basket or two of ore, to convince the king that the design was not altogether visionary. Keymis began sailing up the river on the 10th of December. If we are to believe the English accounts, the Spaniards began the war, and shot at the ships both with their ordnance and muskets, which they were very likely to do, even without a reference to the exclusive pretension of sovereignty, from the recollection of the mode in which the great Drake and other English commanders had behaved, and that too when, as now, there was no declaration of war between England and Spain.³ Keymis soon arrived off the town of St. Thomas, which the Spaniards had recently built on the right bank of the river; and he landed and took up a position between that town and the mine. It is said that he had no intention of attacking the place—we confess that, from a consideration of the circumstances, we

² “To tell you that I might here be king of the Indians were a vanity. But my name hath still lived among them here. They feed me with fresh meat, and all that the country yields. All offer to obey me.”—*Letter to his Wife.*

³ It was an axiom with sailors long before and long after this voyage of Raleigh, that the treaties of Europe did not extend across the ocean—that there was “no peace beyond the Line.”

¹ James’s declaration in Appendix to Cayley’s *Life of Raleigh*.

doubt the assertion—and that the Spaniards broke in upon him by surprise, in the middle of the night, and butchered many of his people in their sleep. In the morning the English assaulted the town and forced their way into it. The fight was desperate: on one side the governor, a near relation of the ambassador Gondomar, was slain; on the other the brave young Captain Walter Raleigh, the general's eldest son. This young Walter was the true son of his father: he cut down one of the chief officers of the Spaniards, and was cut down himself in the act of charging at the head of his own company of pikemen. His death infuriated the English, who loved him dearly; and, after much bloodshed, they set fire to the houses. All the Spaniards that escaped retired to strong positions among the hills and woods, to guard, as Raleigh said, the approaches to some mines they had found in the neighbourhood of St. Thomas. We cannot help suspecting that the adventurers expected to find and secure some rich prize, like what had been pounced upon by the Drakes and Hawkinsses, but all they really found in the captured and destroyed town of St. Thomas were two ingots of gold, and four empty refining-houses. They immediately showed their disappointment and discontent, became mutinous and dangerous, and Keymis, oppressed with grief for the loss of young Raleigh, and confounded by their clamours and conflicting projects, appears to have lost his head. He, however, led them some way higher up the river; but, on receiving a volley from a body of Spaniards lying in ambush, which killed two and wounded six of his men, he retreated and made all haste to join his chief. Their meeting was dreadful: Raleigh, in anguish and despair, accused Keymis of having undone him, and ruined his credit for ever. The poor captain answered, that when his son was lost, and he reflected that he had left the general himself so weak that he scarcely thought to find him alive, he had no reason to enrich a company of rascals, who, after his son's death, made no account of him. Raleigh, in the utter anguish of his soul, repeated his charges. Keymis drew up a defence of his conduct in a letter to the Earl of Arundel, which he requested his commander to approve of; but, though some days had been allowed to elapse, Raleigh was not yet in a humour to be merciful to the brave friend of many years. He refused to sign the letter; he vented reproaches of cowardice or incapacity; and then, Keymis retiring to his cabin, in the general's ship, put an end to his existence with a pistol

and a knife.¹ All now was horror, confusion, and mutiny in the fleet. Captain Whitney took off his ship, and sailed for England, and Captain Woolaston went with him. Others followed—"a rabble of idle rascals"—and Sir Walter was soon left with only five ships. But the men that remained were, for the most part, dashing, daring sailors, or desperate adventurers; and these men would have wished Raleigh to take a leaf or two out of the book of the lives of some of his predecessors (men honoured above all naval heroes in the annals of their country); and, though Raleigh rejected their plans of plunder, it appears to have been after a struggle with the overwhelming feeling of his utter desperation. With his "brains broken,"² he sailed down the North American coast to Newfoundland, where he refitted his ships. When they were ready for sea, a fresh mutiny broke out, and Raleigh avowedly kept them together by holding out the hope of intercepting the treasure galleons. What followed at sea is open to much doubt; but, in the month of June, 1618, Sir Walter came to anchor at Plymouth, where he was welcomed by the intelligence that there was a royal proclamation against him. Gondomar, who had received intelligence of all that had passed on the Orinoco, and of the death of his kinsman, had rushed into the royal presence, crying, "Pirates! pirates!" and had so worked upon James that the worst possible view of Raleigh's case was instantly adopted at the English court, and a proclamation was published, accusing him of scandalous outrages in infringing the royal commission, and inviting all who could give information to repair to the privy council, in order that he might be brought to punishment; and, a few days after Raleigh's arrival, Buckingham wrote a most humble letter to the Spanish ambassador, informing him that they had got the offender safe, and had seized his ships and other property; that King James held himself more aggrieved by the proceedings than King Philip could do; that all kinds of property belonging to the subjects of the King of Spain should forthwith be placed at his disposal; and that, though the offenders could not be put to death without process of law, the King of England promised that a brief and summary course should be taken with them. As if this were not enough, Buckingham concluded by saying that the king, his master, would *punctually perform his promise* by sending the offenders to be *punished in Spain*, unless the King of Spain should think it more satisfactory and exemplary that they should receive the reward of their crimes in

¹ I rejected all these his arguments, and told him that I must leave it to himself to answer it to the king and state. He shut himself into his cabin, and shot himself with a pocket-pistol, which brake one of his ribs; and finding that he had not pre-

valled, he thrust a long knife under his short ribs up to the handle, and died."—*Raleigh's Letter to his Wife*.

² This striking expression is Raleigh's own, in a letter to his wife.

England; and he requested the ambassador to send an express messenger into Spain, because the king, his master, would not have the vindication of his affection to the King of Spain, or his sincere desire to do justice, long suspended. This warmth of affection arose out of James's belief that Philip was now quite ready to bestow the *infanta*, with a large sum of ready money, upon Prince Charles.

The thirst of the Spaniards for Raleigh's blood was provoked by many causes besides the burning of the little town of St. Thomas. He was hated and feared as the ablest commander England possessed, and one whose place it was thought would not soon be supplied. It was remembered how he had butchered the Spaniards in the surrendered fort on the coast of Ireland, and the feeble garrison on the coast of Guiana, at the time of his first voyage thither in 1595. There were other bitter recollections of his exploits with Essex among the Azores and the Canary Islands, and Gondomar was eager to avenge the death of his kinsman. Sir Walter was fully aware of his danger; his sailors had told him that if he returned to England he would be undone; but, according to the testimony of his younger son, Carew, given many years after his father's death, the Earls of Pembroke and Arundel had become bound for his return, and he had therefore come to discharge his friends from their heavy engagement, and to save them from trouble on his account. Upon landing at Plymouth, he was arrested by Sir Lewis Stukely, vice-admiral of Dover, and his own near relation, who took him to the house of Sir Christopher Harris, not far from that seaport, where he remained more than a week. As he had returned and delivered himself up, Pembroke and Arundel were released from their bond, and Sir Walter now attempted to escape to France, but he failed through his indecision, or—which is more probable—through the faithlessness of his agents and the vigilance of Stukely.

When he was carried forward from the coast to be lodged again in the Tower, Sir Walter feigned to be sick, to have the plague, to be mad; and if what is related of him be true, which we doubt, never did man play wilder or sadder pranks to save his life. Having gained a little wretched time and the king's permission to remain a few days at his own house at London before being locked up, he sent forward Captain King, one of his old officers and friends, to secure a bark for him in the Thames, in which he might yet escape to the Continent. He then followed slowly to the capital, giving a rich diamond to his loving kinsman Stukely, and some money to one Manourie, a Frenchman, Stukely's servant, who both took the bribes, and promised to con-

nive at his escape. On reaching London, his faithful friend, Captain King, informed him that he had a bark waiting near Tilbury Fort; and on that same evening Le Clerc, the French *chargé d'affaires*, sought him out privately, and gave him a safe-conduct to the governor of Calais, with letters of recommendation to other gentlemen in France. On the following morning, as he was descending the Thames, he was basely betrayed by Stukely, who, to the last moment, pretended that he was assisting him through the toils.¹ He was brought back to London, and securely lodged in that wretched prison where he had already spent so many years, and where he was soon subjected to frequent examination by a commission composed of the Archbishop of Canterbury (Abbot), Lord-chancellor Bacon, Sir Edward Coke, and some other members of the privy council. He was charged, first, with having fraudulently pretended that his expedition was to discover a mine, while his real object was to recover his liberty, and commence pirate; secondly, that he intended to excite a war with Spain; thirdly, that he barbarously abandoned his ships' companies, and exposed them unnecessarily to extreme danger; fourthly, that he had spoken disrespectfully of the king's majesty; that he had imposed upon the king by feigning sickness and madness; and lastly, had attempted to escape in contempt of his authority. Raleigh replied that his sincerity as to the gold mine was proved by his taking out refiners and tools, at his own expense, "of not less than £2000;" that the affair of St. Thomas was contrary to his orders; that he never abandoned his men, or exposed them to more danger than he underwent himself; that all that he had said of the king was, that he was undone by the confidence he had placed in his majesty, and that he knew his life would be sacrificed to state purposes. As to his feigning sickness and attempting to escape, it was true, but natural and justifiable. As the commissioners could gain no advantage over him in these interrogatories, it was resolved to place a familiar or spy over him, who might ensnare him into admissions and dangerous correspondence. The person chosen for this detestable, but at that time not uncommon office, was Sir Thomas Wilson, keeper of the State Paper Office, a learned, ingenious, base villain. If this Wilson is to be credited, Raleigh acknowledged that, had he fallen in with the treasure-ships, he would have made a prize of them according to the old principles which he had learned in the school of Drake and Cavendish. To which my lord-chancellor said, "Why, you would have been a pirate." "O!" quoth he, "did you ever

¹ For the particulars of Stukely's villainy, see Mr. Tytler's *Life of Raleigh*.

know of any that were pirates for millions? They that work for small things are pirates.”¹ Bacon’s palm must have itched as he thought of all this gold, and perhaps, in spite of James’s fears, Raleigh’s fate would have been somewhat different if he had returned with the “millions.” But as things were, there was no making a capital crime of an intention; nor could all the cunning, and zeal, and perseverance of Sir Thomas Wilson extract or detect anything of the least consequence. As it was fully resolved that he should lose his head,² James ordered his council to devise some other means; and, on the 18th of October, Bacon and Coke and the other commissioners who had examined him presented two forms of proceeding for his majesty’s consideration. The one was to send his death-warrant at once to the Tower, only accompanying it with a narrative of Raleigh’s late offences, to be printed and published; the other form, to which they said they *rather* inclined, as being *nearer to legal proceedings*, was “that the prisoner should be called before a council of state, at which the judges and several of the nobility and gentlemen of quality should be present; that some of the privy council should then declare that this form of proceeding was adopted because he was already civilly dead (in consequence of the sentence pronounced at Winchester fifteen years before); that, after that, the king’s council should charge his acts of hostility, depredation, abuse of the king’s commission, and of his subjects under his charge, impostures, attempts to escape, and other his misdemeanors.” and they recommended that, after this charge, the “examinations should be read, and Sir Walter heard, and some persons confronted against him, if need were; and then he was to be withdrawn and sent back, because no sentence could by law be given against him; and, after he was gone, the lords of the privy council and the judges should give their advice whether upon these subsequent offences, the king might not, with justice and honour, give warrant for his execution.”³ For reasons not explained, this latter form was rejected, and the former alternative, somewhat modified, was adopted; and a privy seal was sent to the judges of the Court of King’s Bench, directing them to order immediate execution of the old sentence upon Sir Walter Raleigh. The judges, cowardly and corrupt as they were, were startled with the novelty and injustice of the case, and a consultation of all the twelve judges was held, wherein it was determined that neither

a writ of privy seal, nor a warrant under the great seal, would be a sufficient authority, after so great a lapse of time, to order execution without calling upon the party to show cause against it;⁴ and, in the end, they unanimously resolved that the legal course would be to bring the prisoner to the bar by a writ of *habeas corpus*. Accordingly, such a writ was issued to the lieutenant of the Tower, who, upon the 28th of October, at an early hour of the morning, made Raleigh, who was suffering from fever and ague (this time his maladies were not feigned), rise from his bed and dress himself. As soon as he was brought to the bar of the Court of King’s Bench at Westminster, Sir Henry Yelverton, the attorney-general, said, “My lords, Sir Walter Raleigh, the prisoner at the bar, was, fifteen years since, convicted of high treason at Winchester; then he received judgment to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, but his majesty, of his abundant grace, hath been pleased to show mercy unto him till now, when justice calls upon him for execution. Sir Walter Raleigh hath been a statesman and a man who, in respect of his parts and quality, is to be pitied; he hath been as a star at which the world hath gazed; but stars may fall, nay, they must fall when they trouble the sphere wherein they abide. It is, therefore, his majesty’s pleasure now to call for execution of the former judgment, and I now require your lordships’ order for the same.” Then, the clerk of the crown having first read the old conviction and judgment, the prisoner was asked why execution should not be awarded. “My lords,” said Raleigh, “my voice is grown weak by reason of sickness.” Montague, the chief-justice, told him his voice was audible enough. “Then, my lords,” continued Raleigh with admirable composure, “all I have to say is this: I hope that the judgment which I received to die so long since cannot now be strained to take away my life; for since that judgment was passed it was his majesty’s pleasure to grant me a commission to proceed in a voyage beyond the seas, wherein I had power, as marshal, over the life and death of others; so, under favour, I presume I am discharged of that judgment. By that commission I gained new life and vigour; for he that hath power over the lives of others, must surely be master of his own. . . . Under my commission I departed the land, and undertook a journey, to honour my sovereign and to enrich his kingdom with gold, the ore whereof this hand hath found and taken in Guiana; but the voyage, notwithstanding my endeavour, had no other event but

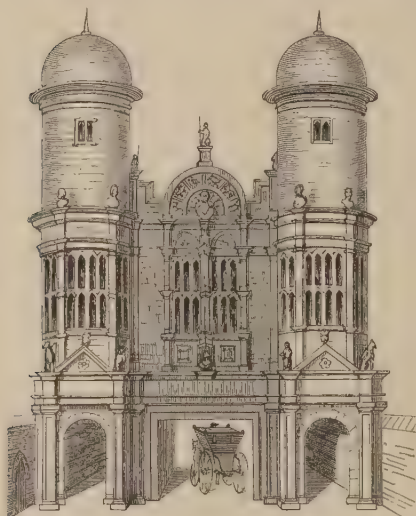
¹ Sir Thomas Wilson’s own MS. in the State Paper Office, as quoted by Mr. Tytler, *Life of Raleigh*. It appears that the Spanish ambassador expressly charged Raleigh with “proportioning to his fleet to go and intercept some of the Plate galleons.”—Howell, *Letters*.

² “Gondomar will never give him over till he hath his head off his shoulders.”—*Ibid*.

³ Cayley, *Life of Raleigh*.

⁴ “For, it was said, among order reasons, that the original judgment being of so long standing, the party might have a pardon to shew, or he might plead that he was not the same person.”—Hutton’s *Reports*, as quoted by Mr. Jardine, *Criminal Trials*.

what was fatal to me—the loss of my son and the wasting of my whole estate.” The chief-justice told him that he spoke not to the purpose; that his voyage had nothing to do with the judgment of death formerly given against him, which judgment it was now the king’s pleasure, upon certain occasions best known to himself, to have executed; that the commission given to him could in no way help him, for by that he was not pardoned, nor was there any word tending to pardon him in all that commission;¹ that in cases of treason there must be a pardon by express



THE GATEHOUSE, WESTMINSTER.²—From a print by Vertue.

words. To this Raleigh replied, that, if such was the law, he must put himself on the mercy of the king, and hope that he would be pleased to have compassion. He then said, “Concerning that judgment at Winchester passed so long ago, I presume that most of you that hear me know how that was obtained; nay, I know that his majesty was of opinion that I had hard measure therein, and was so resolved touching that trial; and if he had not been anew exasperated against me, certain I am, I might, if I could by nature, have lived a thousand and a thousand years before he would have taken advantage thereof.” The chief-justice told him that he had had an honourable trial at Winchester (and honourable it was to Raleigh!); that for fifteen years he had been as a dead man in the law, and might at any minute have been cut off, had not the king, in

mercy, spared him. “You might justly think it heavy,” he continued, “if you were now called to execution in cold blood; but it is not so; for *new offences have stirred up his majesty’s justice to revive what the law hath formerly granted*. (This was admitting what Raleigh said, and what all the world knew.) And after praying God to have mercy on his soul, he ended with the fatal words—“Execution is granted.” The undaunted victim then begged for a short respite to settle his affairs, and for the use of pen, ink, and paper, to “express something,” and to discharge himself of “some worldly trust;” “and I beseech you,” he said, “not to think that I crave this to gain one minute of life; for now, being old, sickly, disgraced, and certain to go to death, life is wearisome unto me.” The gentle James had the barbarity to refuse the brief respite; but pen, ink, and paper were allowed, or procured from the humanity of the jailer. Sir Walter, instead of being carried back to the Tower, was conveyed to the Gatehouse at Westminster, where, in the evening, his affectionate wife took her last farewell. At an early hour on the following morning (October the 29th) he was waited upon by Dr. Tounson, dean of Westminster, appointed by the court to give him ghostly consolation; for he was not allowed to choose his own minister. This dean administered the sacrament, which he took very reverently, declaring that he forgave all men, even his relative Sir Lewis Stukely, who had so basely betrayed him. It has been well said of Raleigh, by a contemporary, that he rather loved life than feared death—the reverse, we believe, being generally the case with inferior minds. He would have lived on for the beauty of this visible world, of which, as a traveller, he had seen so much; for the science and the literature he cultivated; for the grand schemes of discovery he indulged in to the last; for his wife and dear boy. But as soon as he felt his doom to be inevitable, he made up his mind to meet it with alacrity and cheerfulness. He breakfasted heartily, smoked a pipe of tobacco after it, as was his usual practice, and when they brought him a cup of good sack, and asked him how he liked it, he said, gaily, that it was good drink if a man might tarry by it. It was mercifully arranged at court that he should be beheaded instead of being hanged, drawn, and quartered. At about eight o’clock in the morning he was

¹ “The old sentence,” says Howell, “still lies dormant against him, which he could never get off by pardon, notwithstanding that he mainly laboured in it before he went; but his majesty could never be brought to it; for he said he would keep this as a curb to hold him within the bounds of his commission, and of good behaviour.”—*Letters*.

² This prison, which obtained much celebrity during the civil wars, on account of the incarceration of so many eminent men within its walls, was erected in the reign of Edward III., and was originally the principal approach to the inclosure of the monastery at Westminster, from the open space in front of the western towers of the abbey. It was converted into an ecclesiastical prison shortly afterwards, and was used for criminals on the suppression of monasteries. It was pulled down in 1777, at which period it had become a debtor’s prison.

conveyed to the scaffold erected in Old Palace Yard, Westminster, where an immense crowd was collected, including many great lords and courtiers, and no doubt ladies—for it was common then for high-born dames to attend these scenes of blood. There was so great a press that it was with difficulty the sheriffs and their men could get him through. When Sir Walter was upon the scaffold he saluted, with a cheerful countenance, the lords, knights, and gentlemen. He then began to speak, and, perceiving a window where the Lords Arundel, Northampton, and Doncaster were seated, he said he would strain his voice, for he would willingly have them hear. But my Lord of Arundel said, "Nay, we will rather come down to the scaffold." And this he and some others did; and then Raleigh, after saluting them one by one, continued to speak. He thanked God heartily that he had brought him to die in the light, and not left him to perish obscurely in the dark prison of the Tower, where for so many years he had been oppressed with many miseries: he denied, by all his hopes of salvation, that he ever had any plot or intelligence with France; that he had ever spoken dishonourably or disloyally of his sovereign. He solemnly asserted, that in going to Guiana he knew that the mine he spoke of really existed, and that it was his full intent to search for gold for the benefit of his majesty and himself, and of those that ventured with him, together with the rest of his countrymen. Then, after defending himself at some length against other charges, he spoke about the fall and death of the gallant Essex, by which he knew he had lost the favour of the people, and which (as we believe) weighed heavily on his soul in spite of his denial of having hastened that execution. Then the dean of Westminster asked him in what faith he meant to die; and Raleigh said in the faith professed by the Church of England. "Then, before he should say his prayers, because the morning was sharp, the sheriff offered him to bring him down off the scaffold to warm himself by a fire. 'No, good Mr. Sheriff,' said he, 'let us despatch, for within this quarter of an hour mine ague will come upon me, and if I be not dead before then, mine enemies will say that I quake for fear.'" So he made a most admirable prayer, and then rose up and clasped his hands, saying, "Now I am going to God." He then took his leave of the lords, knights, and gentlemen. Though so ready to die, he was anxious for the fame that should survive him; and, in bidding farewell to the Earl of Arundel, he entreated him to desire the king that no scandalous writing to defame him might be published after his death. He poised the axe, felt its edge, and then said, with a smile, "This is a sharp medi-

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cine, but it will cure all diseases." He laid his neck across the block; the executioner hesitated; "What dost thou fear?" said he; "strike, man!" The headsman struck, and at two blows severed the neck of the soldier, sailor, statesman, poet—the universal Raleigh, who was then in the sixty-seventh year of his age:—

"Even such is Time, that takes on trust
Our youth, our joys, our all we have
And pays us but with age and dust:
Who, in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wander'd all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days."¹

King James made a merit of this execution with the court of Spain: the people set it down to his eternal disgrace.

The death of Sir Walter Raleigh was soon followed by that of Queen Anne, who had interceded warmly but in vain in his favour; and by a war into which James found himself dragged, in spite of his soul.

The country of Bohemia, surrounded on all sides by mountains, was occupied by an interesting people, a branch of the great Slavonian family of nations. The Cteches, or Bohemians, as they were called in the rest of Europe, maintained their independence, and were governed by an elective king of their own choosing till the year 1526, when the house of Austria, a house which has gained more by fortunate marriages than by arms, obtained the sovereignty through the union of Ferdinand I. with the daughter of Lewis II. Long before this event, sects had arisen in the country inimical to the Church of Rome: Conrad Stekna, John Milicz, and Mathias Janowa, between the middle and the end of the fourteenth century, had raised their voices against some fundamental doctrines, for which the pope proceeded against them as heretics. The reader will remember that our unfortunate King Richard II. married a Bohemian princess, the good Queen Anne, as she was affectionately called by the English. At her death in 1394, many persons of her household who had accompanied her from her native country, returned thither, and contributed to spread the doctrines of our first reformer Wyckliffe. At the same period, a considerable intercourse existed between the universities of Prague and Oxford. English students occasionally frequented the former—Bohemian students the latter. Hieronymus of Prague, the friend of John Huss, and in the end his companion at the stake, is supposed to have returned from Oxford about the year 1400. He probably assisted Huss when, shortly after, that Reformer translated all the works of Wyckliffe. Huss was burned in 1414 by sentence of the council of Constance, but his opinions survived him, and when

¹ Raleigh's Works. It is said that he wrote these lines on a blank leaf of his Bible the night before his execution.

Luther began his great work about a century after, the majority of the Bohemians became ready converts. The religious feelings allied themselves with the hereditary hostility which existed between the Slavonian and the German races, and with their nationality and jealousy of the house of Austria, which remained steadfast in its attachment to the Roman church.¹ There followed a series of insurrections and sanguinary conflicts; but in the year 1609, the Emperor Rodolph conceded the boon of religious freedom to Bohemia. This treaty was not very religiously observed by Rodolph's successor; but at the same time, it must be allowed that the Protestant Bohemians were not satisfied with a simple toleration; their aim and object was to establish their own faith as the only or the dominant church, and to snatch their old Slavonian crown out of the grasp of the Tudesque house of Austria. The latter aim was natural and honourable, but unfortunately the Protestant Bohemians had not all adopted the same branch of the Reformation; some were Lutherans, some Calvinists; and these sections hated each other as much as they did the pope. The Catholics also were still numerous, and included some of the noblest families. Hence the national cause was sacrificed, for the people were divided against themselves. The Calvinists, the most numerous or the boldest, began the quarrel this time by seizing some lands which belonged to the Catholic Archbishop of Prague and the abbot of Brunaw. The archbishop and the abbot appealed to the emperor, who gave a decision in their favour. Thereupon the Calvinists deliberated during two whole days, and upon the third (the 23d May, 1618) they repaired well armed to the castle of Prague, where the council of state was sitting, and, after some altercation, flung Martiniz Slavatta and Philip Fabricius, members of the council and zealous Papists, out of the windows into the castle ditch. Immediately after their unceremonious ejection Count Thurn, the leader of the insurrection, delivered a spirited harangue to the people. The Calvinists to a man flocked round the national banner; but the Lutherans and the Catholics remained loyal to the house of Austria, or were neutral. In a very short time most of the fortresses were taken, two armies were raised, a manifesto was published, and a provisional government established. The old Emperor Matthias offered an amnesty, and proposed that the grounds of the quarrel should be referred to the amicable arbitration of the two Catholic Electors

of Mentz and Bavaria, and the two Protestant Electors of Saxony and the Palatinate; but the Bohemians, who were greatly encouraged by seeing the insurrection spread into the provinces of Lusatia, Silesia, and Moravia, rejected the proposal. The old emperor died at the end of the year, and was succeeded by his cousin, Ferdinand II., a weak and bigoted prince. The Bohemians reviving the old principle, that their crown was elective, that their sovereign was to be chosen by themselves, offered the dangerous honour to two of the princes who had been selected by the emperor as arbitrators—first to John George, Elector of Saxony, who refused it, and then to the Elector Palatine. The Palatine Frederick, without making a proper estimate of his means to resist the great confederacy of the Catholics and the house of Austria, and blindly counting upon the assistance of his father-in-law, the King of England, as chief of the Protestant interests, accepted the invitations of the Bohemians, or rather of the Calvinist insurgents, hastened with his family to Prague, and was crowned on the 4th of November, 1619.² Frederick had declared that the finger of God was made visible in his election; the Protestants abroad considered it as a great and glorious victory obtained over the Papists, and the encroaching spirit of the house of Austria. In England nobody looked coolly at the question as a political one: Abbot, the primate, declared that the Palatine ought to follow where God led him, and the mass of the people thought that a holy war ought to be made to secure him in possession of the kingdom of Bohemia. In a short time, the cry for war spread throughout Scotland and England, and became louder and louder, when news arrived that immense preparations were making by the Catholic powers to drive Frederick not only from Bohemia, but also out of his hereditary dominions. James was astounded, and gored by the horns of several dilemmas. Could he, who had declared, written, and preached against the transfer of crowns on religious pretexts, and by the will of the people and popular revolutions, assist the Bohemians against their lawful sovereign lord the emperor? But could he, on the other hand, remain quiet and see his son-in-law ruined?—the inheritance of the children of his only daughter swallowed up? Could he, as a Protestant monarch, witness the aggrandizement of the Catholic powers? But, on the other side, what sympathy could he feel with Calvinists? If he assisted his son-in-law, he should lose that Spanish daughter-in-law elect, and that rich dower his heart had

¹ Some interesting information regarding the history of religion among the Bohemians, and other people of the Slavonian stock, has been given by the late Count Valerian Krasinski, a Polish exile, in the first volume of his *Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Reformation in Poland*. London, 1838.

² Frederick did not even wait for the letters of the ambassador he had despatched to England to consult with James, who wisely prophesied from the beginning, that the undertaking would miscarry, and involve his son-in-law in ruin and disgrace.

so long yearned after. If he should enter into the war without money in his treasury, without ships in his arsenals, what chance had he of success? But then, on the other side, in the inflamed state of his subjects' minds, would it be safe for him to try to remain at peace? He procrastinated, equivocated, and shuffled. He told the Protestant envoys from Germany and Bohemia, that he would assuredly support the true faith, and aid his dear son: he told Gondomar that the Palgrave was a villain, an usurper, and he gave his royal word that he would not assist him and the confederate princes. But when, while Frederick was in his new kingdom, the Catholics fell might and main upon the Lower Palatinate, the cry of indignation in England was so terrifying that he was obliged to do something more than talk, and, without flying in the face of his principles, he thought he might assist his son-in-law in his own patrimonial states, if he meddled not with Bohemia. After sending ambassadors to Brussels and Madrid on negotiations that proved altogether fruitless, he raised and equipped 4000 volunteers, who, under the command of the Earls of Oxford and Essex, and Sir Horatio Vere, proceeded by Holland and the Rhine to the Palatinate. This force was too small and too late to be of any service; but in the raising of it James had completely exhausted his means and his credit; and he found himself again driven to the hard necessity of thinking about a parliament.

A.D. 1621. James summoned a parliament to meet on the 16th of January, taking care to give in his proclamation as many unconstitutional directions or commands, touching what sort of members the people should elect, as he had done in 1604. At the same time, he warned the people not "to presume to talk or write saucily of the *arcanæ imperii*, or state affairs."¹ The session did not actually commence till the 30th of January, when James delivered what was meant to be a very conciliatory speech. He gave promises of better government for the future, and then with a bold face asked for liberal supplies to carry on war in the Palatinate. The commons were ready enough to vote supplies for this popular war, but, before giving their money, they requested the king to be more rigorous with regard to the Papists, upon whom they laid the blame of the miscarriages in Bohemia, and they asked satisfaction for the imprisonment of four of their members at the close of the last parliament. James promised in general terms to attend to their requests: and on the 15th of February they voted two subsidies. The commons then proceeded to attack the patent monopolists, who robbed the people and shared their spoils with the government or with the courtiers.

Sir Giles Mompesson, and his partner Sir Francis Mitchell, a justice of peace, were particularly obnoxious. Mompesson, seeing that the court had abandoned him as a scapegoat, fled beyond sea; Mitchell was taken, voted by the commons to be incapable of being in the commission, and sent by them to the Tower. As the lords had never shown any alacrity in the correction of abuses, the lower house had taken all this upon themselves, and in so doing had clearly exceeded their jurisdiction. Coke, who was not without a hope of implicating Bacon with Mompesson, took a deal of trouble with the case, and proved to the commons that the proper mode of conducting it would be by joining with the lords in an impeachment. The commons then requested a conference, at which they informed the other house generally as to the offence, and then the lords, taking upon themselves the inquiry, and becoming satisfied of the guilt of the parties, sent for the commons and delivered judgment, which was, that Mompesson and Mitchell should be degraded from the honour of knighthood, fined, and imprisoned. James, who had been frightened out of endeavours he was making to save them, came forward to express his detestation of their offence, and to increase the severity of their punishment. By a very unusual exercise of the prerogative, it was settled that Sir Giles should be banished for life. Sir Henry Yelverton, the attorney-general, who was connected with the illegal practices, and who boldly charged Buckingham at the bar of the lords with being a partaker in them, was condemned to two heavy fines and imprisonment for life. The ball, once set a-going down such a foul and slippery declivity, was not likely to stop soon. Sir John Bennet, judge of the prerogative court, was impeached for corruption in his office; and Doctor Field, now Bishop of Llandaff, was impeached for being concerned in a matter of bribery in the Chancery Court. The Lord-chancellor Bacon, whose own hour was coming, said truly that corruption was the vice of the time. Within not many days after, Bacon was impeached himself for corruption in his high office. Coke took a prominent share in this business; but Buckingham wanted the seals for his creature, Bishop Williams. A report of a committee of the lower house to inquire into abuses in the courts of justice, recommended proceedings against the lord-chancellor, Viscount St. Alban's²—and the commons, having been told by the king to proceed fearlessly, charged him before the lords with twenty-two several acts of bribery and corruption. A constitutional timidity, united with a consciousness of guilt, or still more, perhaps, the

¹ *Canalen; Rymer.*

² Bacon had been raised to the title of Viscount St. Alban's on the 27th of January of this same year.

certainly that the court had devoted him to ruin, made Bacon's heart sink within him. He took to his bed, wrote an affecting letter to the lords, and prayed for time that he might recover from his sickness, and prepare his defence. He was gratified in this respect, for the two houses adjourned from the 27th of March to the 17th of April. In that interval the falling chancellor was admitted to an audience of the king. On the 24th of April, a week after the re-assembling of parliament, Bacon sent his submission, and a confession in general terms, to the lords, which, it appears, was presented by Prince Charles. His humble submission, he said, came from a wasted spirit and oppressed mind, from the midst of a state of as great affliction as a mortal man might endure, honour being above life. Still, he continued, he found gladness in some things: the first being, "that hereafter the greatness of a judge or magistrate shall be no sanctuary or protection to him against guiltiness, which is the beginning of a golden work. The next; after this example, it is like that judges will fly from anything in the likeness of corruption (though it were at a great distance) as from a serpent; which tends to the purging of the courts of justice, and reducing them to their true honour and splendour." He hoped that the peers would behold their chief pattern, the king—"a king of incomparable clemency, and whose heart was inscrutable for wisdom and goodness—a prince whose like had not been seen these hundred years, a prince who deserved to be made memorable by records of acts mixed of mercy and justice." He told them that corruption and bribery were the vices of the time, and that any reform would in the beginning be attended with danger.¹ He reminded their lordships of their noble feeling and loving affections towards him as a member of their own body, and concluded his remarkable letter with these words:—"And therefore my humble suit to your lordships is, that my penitent submission may be my sentence, the loss of my seal my punishment, and that your lordships would recommend me to his majesty's grace and pardon for all that is past. God's holy spirit be among you."² But the lords were not satisfied with this submission, humble as it was, nor with his general and vague confession; and though they excused him from appearing as a criminal at their bar, they exacted from him a distinct confession to all the charges specifically brought against him. He then wrote and signed a confession of particulars; and to a de-

putation of the lords, who waited upon him to know whether this paper was his own voluntary act, he said, with tears, "It is my act—my hand—my heart. O, my lords, spare a broken reed."

On the 30th of April his second confession was read in the lords, who, on the 3d of May, informed the lower house that they were ready to pronounce sentence against the late lord-chancellor. So the house went up, and the speaker demanded judgment. The lord chief-justice (sitting as speaker in the higher house) said that the lords had duly considered of the complaints presented by the commons against the Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Alban's, late lord-chancellor, and had found him guilty, as well by oath of witnesses as by his own confession, of those and many other corruptions, for which they had sent for him to come and answer; and upon his sincere protestation of sickness, they, admitting his excuse of absence, had yet, notwithstanding, proceeded to his judgment, namely—that he be fined £40,000; to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure; made incapable to bear office in the commonwealth; never to sit in parliament; nor to come within the verge, which is within twelve miles, of the court.³ Bacon had not £40,000—so steadily had his expense kept pace with his increasing income that he probably had not 40,000 pence. James was pleased to remit the fine, which he never could have paid, and to liberate him from the Tower after a *pro formâ* imprisonment of two days. Such a man could not be without his friends and admirers—even in the House of Commons, Sir Edward Sackville and others adventured to speak in his favour; and, apart from politicians and courtiers, there were, no doubt, many high and honest minds that revered the philosopher, the wit, the scholar, though they condemned and despised the chancellor. It is, at all events, a sort of consolation to know that, when Bacon took his departure from the verge of the court, a beggared and disgraced man, he was not wholly forsaken even in that time-serving generation. On that day, as Prince Charles was returning from hunting, "he espied a coach, attended with a goodly troop of horsemen," who it seems were gathered together to wait upon the chancellor to his house at Gorhambury, at the time of his declension. At which the prince smiled; "Well, do we what we can," said he, "this man scorns to go out like a snuff."⁴ He had inscribed his name on the scroll of the immortals—he had written his greatest works before his fall: his *History of Henry VII.*, and some other things, were produced after his disgrace. If he had satisfied himself with these ennobling pursuits—if he had remained quiet in the beautiful solitudes

¹ When the fierce general attack first began, Bacon wrote to the king:—"I hope I shall not be found to have the troubled fountain of a corrupt heart, in a depraved habit of taking rewards to pervert justice, however, I may be frail, and partake of the abuses of the times."

² Bacon's Works.

³ Journals.

⁴ *Aulicus Coquinarius.*

of Gorbamby, which lie like a piece of Paradise under the ancient town of St. Alban's, he would have risen into respect, even personally, from the moment he fell from power; but so mean was this great man's soul—so dependent was he for his gratifications on money, and place, and court honour, that he struggled and begged incessantly, and wrote the most humiliating of letters for the light of the king's countenance, for a pension, for some fresh employment. At

it should transport them to inconveniences, he would have them reconsider whether they should sentence one who did not belong to them, and who had not offended against their house or any member of it; and whether they could sentence a denying party without the oath of witnesses.² Nothing could well be clearer than that the commons had exceeded their jurisdiction, as they had so recently done, and confessed it, too, in the case of Sir Giles Mompesson; but

now, instead of yielding the point, they debated it long and loudly, and persisted in their first vote. James, who for once was perfectly right, asked them to show precedents—they had none to show. The lords requested a conference: and this, with the declaration of Noye, that the matter of judicature clearly remained with the upper house, led the commons to yield. The difference was merely between the two houses—a conflict of privileges: but lords and commons were alike ready to be unmerciful to the poor offender; and the lords, “to keep up a good understanding between the two houses,” augmented the severity of the original sentence. The fine of £1000 was raised to £5000. Whipping at the cart's tail from the Fleet to Westminster Hall

was added to the infamous punishment of the pillory: Floyde was to be degraded from his rank of a gentleman, to be held an infamous person, and, as a climax to all this brutality and injustice, he was to be imprisoned in Newgate for life. Prince Charles, to his honour, interfered and obtained the remission of the whipping; but the unfortunate man, it appears, underwent the rest of the atrocious sentence.

The king considered that he had done a great deal to conciliate the commons in this session, but still there was no prospect of their voting the fresh supplies which he needed. Therefore, on the 24th of May, as they were going on in full career with other bills for reformation of abuses, for the checking of Popery, &c., he unexpectedly announced his intention of proroguing the parliament at the end of the week. The commons petitioned for a longer time. The king offered them a fortnight, which they considered too little; and the parliament was prorogued to November, by commission, after a unanimous declaration made by the commons, of their resolution to spend their lives and fortunes for the defence of the Protestant religion and the Palatinate.³



BACON'S HOUSE, GORHAMBY, HERTFORDSHIRE.
From *Beauties of England and Wales*.

times his baseness and flattery were closely allied to impiety. He wrote, for example, to the prince, that he hoped, as his father, the king, had been his creator, so he, the son, would be his redeemer.¹

The commons had scarcely made this session memorable by the impeachment of high delinquents, when they proceeded to make it disgraceful by a spiteful and meanly tyrannical prosecution—a glaring instance of vulgar, savage intolerance. There was one Edward Floyde, a Catholic of good family, a prisoner in the Fleet for debt or Popery, or both, who sorely offended Protestant ears by rejoicing at the success of the Catholic arms against the new King of Bohemia, or by saying simply (for this was the burden of the matter), that Prague was taken, and Goodman Palgrave and Goodwife Palgrave had taken to their heels. For this offence, which was not worthy the attention of the pettiest court, the commons, in a headlong fury, sentenced him to pay a fine of £1000, to stand in the pillory in three different places, and to be carried from place to place on a horse without a saddle, and with his face turned to the tail. But the next day the chancellor of the exchequer delivered a message from the king, telling the commons that his majesty thanked them for their zeal; but lest

¹ Howell.

² The commons had proceeded upon declarations of the chaplain of the Fleet and others. Floyde, in a letter to the king, denied the words.

³ Journals; Rushworth.

It was indeed time to be stirring if they meant to keep the Palatine from utter ruin. In the month of November of the preceding year (1620) the Imperialists and the Spaniards, commanded by his own relative, but bitter enemy and rival, the Duke of Bavaria, and by the famous Tilly, gained a decisive victory over him in the neighbourhood of Prague, drove him from that city, where he had been king twelve months all but three days, took all his artillery, baggage, standards, and a great treasure. He fled with his wife and children to Breslau, leaving the heads of his party in Prague to be victims to their enraged enemies. From Breslau he got to Berlin, and thence to the Hague in Holland. During this flight the fair and captivating Elizabeth of England, who was styled the "Queen of Hearts" when she could no longer be called Queen of Bohemia, was far advanced in pregnancy. The princes of the Protestant union, to whom the Palatine had intrusted the defence of his patrimonial possessions during his absence in Bohemia, were no match for the great Italian general Spinola, with his army of "old tough blades"¹ and veteran commanders. They lost town after town, and were constantly out-manœuvred or beaten by very inferior forces. The 4000 English were far too few, and their generals too unskilful, to turn the fortune of the war. The petty princes were jealous of each other; and when they were all put to the ban of the empire, they began to abandon as hopeless the cause of the Palatine, who soon found himself left alone in the war, with no other means at his disposal than the weak English force and two free corps commanded by a younger son of the house of Brunswick and Count Mansfeldt. The English threw themselves into Heidelberg, Mannheim, and Frankendael. Sir Arthur Chichester, one of the envoys, said plainly, that the English army should have been greater or none at all; but James had neither the means nor the steady wish to increase it. He fancied that he could reinstate his son-in-law, and make up all those differences—which eventually ran into the "Thirty Years' war," the starting point being Bohemia—by his skill in diplomacy; and he continued to send ambassadors in all directions. The Earls of Essex and Oxford, who had returned from the Palatinate, said that the only way to recover that country was by force of arms; and the English people not only believed them, but joined in their complaints that the money which ought to be spent in retrieving the national honour was wasted in inglorious idlings. The discontents of these two noble commanders, and of the Earl of Southampton, gave rise to a great political novelty—a spirited opposition to the court in the House of Lords.

During the recess, James abolished, by proclamation, thirty-six of the most oppressive of the patents and monopolies, and adopted regulations for the improvement of foreign commerce. These measures might have put the nation in good humour but for other circumstances that tended to produce a very different effect. The pirates of Algiers and other ports on the African coast had for some years been very troublesome to all the flags of Europe. James proposed that the different Christian powers should unite to destroy the pirates' chief nest, Algiers, and burn all their ships. Spain, whose subjects had suffered most, engaged to co-operate; but when the time came, they fell short of the promised supply, and Sir Robert Mansell sailed to Algiers with an insufficient force and a cramped commission, by which, it should appear, he was ordered by the timid, needy King of England not to risk his ships. On the 24th of May Mansell sailed up to the port, and the English sailors soon set fire to the ships and galleys; but they had scarcely retired when the Algerines put out the flames, recovered their ships, brought down artillery, mounted batteries on the mole, and threw booms across the harbour mouth. We may safely calculate that Mansell did not much expose himself or his fleet, for he lost only eight men in the whole affair, and brought back all his ships undamaged.² This was clearly another case where more ought to have been done or nothing at all. The pirates turned their whole fury against the flag of James, and, within a few months, thirty-five English merchantmen were captured by them, and the crews sold as slaves. The country was filled with bitter and just complaints, when, in the month of November, the parliament re-assembled. The king lay at Royston, under a real or feigned sickness; but, by his orders, Lord Digby, at a conference of the houses, explained his bootless embassies into Germany for the recovery of the Palatinate, which he plainly hinted was now hopeless unless by means of English arms and English money. Lord Cranfield, the treasurer, told the commons that, to maintain a sufficient force in that country for one year would require £900,000: all that the commons would vote was one subsidy, which would make about £70,000! They had every ground for believing that the money would have been applied to other purposes than the Protestant war; and they knew that James was, at the very moment, engaged in a treaty with Spain to get for his son a Catholic wife. And, indeed, it required some uncommon faculty to discover how James should wage a fierce war with the whole house of Austria (for Spain had been as active as the emperor against his son-in-law) and intermarry with that house

¹ Howell.² Howell.

at one and the same time. The commons, moreover, and not a few of the lords, were exasperated by fresh stretches of the prerogative. Since the adjournment the Earls of Oxford and Southampton, Sutchiff, dean of Exeter, Brise, a Puritan preacher, Sir Christopher Neville, Sir Edwin Sandys, who was a bold-spoken member of the lower house, and the great constitutional lawyer and antiquary Selden, who had been in prison before for differing in opinion with the king and the bishops in the matter of tithes, had all been arbitrarily arrested; and Coke, whose patriotic vigour increased with his years and his disappointments at court, and who had boldly espoused the country party—as the popular party was called—in the preceding session, had been exposed to a prosecution for various offences and malpractices committed when he was a judge.¹ It was felt by the commons that all this severity had been provoked by the expression of liberal opinions; and, putting aside Coke, though not until they attempted to prove that there was a conspiracy against him, they stood by the only other member of their house, Sir Edwin Sandys (against whom there were no legal proceedings), and, as he was sick in bed, they sent two members to wait upon him and hear from his own mouth the cause of his arbitrary arrest. Together with intelligence of these proceedings, James received information respecting a petition, proposed by Coke in the commons, against the growth of Popery and the Catholic marriage of the Prince of Wales, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war in the Palatinate. The petition encountered a strong opposition in the house; those who supported it were fain to agree to the insertion of a clause that “they did not mean to press on the king’s most undoubted and royal prerogative;” and it neither passed nor was very likely to pass when James, proud of his finding the commons in error in two cases in the preceding session, inflated by his extravagant notions of prerogative, and enraged and transported out of all discretion by this bold intermeddling with his *arcana imperii*, addressed a most absolute letter to Sir Thomas Richardson, the speaker of the House of Commons.

The house received this letter with less warmth than might have been expected; but they were prompt in their resolution to resist the propositions it contained. They drew up a remonstrance, in firm but respectful language, telling the king that they could not conceive how his honour and safety, or the state of the kingdom, could be matters unfit for their consideration in parliament,

and asserting their undoubted right of liberty of speech as an inheritance received from their ancestors. James replied at length, showing them how unfit they were for entering on high matters of government, and criticizing the language of their remonstrance. In the end he told them that, although he could not allow of the style of calling their privileges an undoubted right and inheritance, but could rather have wished that they had said that their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of his ancestors and himself; yet, as long as they contained themselves within the limits of their duty, he would be as careful of their privileges as of his own prerogative, so that they never touched on that prerogative, which would enforce him or any just king to retrench their privileges. This was bringing matters to an issue: this was an explicit assertion on the part of the sovereign that the privileges of parliament existed only by sufferance, or depended entirely upon what the court might choose to consider good behaviour. The assertion exasperated the house, and Secretary Calvert and other ministers vainly attempted to pacify the members by admitting that the king’s expressions were incapable of defence, and calling them a mere slip of the pen. James, in a fright, wrote a letter to Calvert to qualify what he had said; but, even in this conciliatory epistle, he could not abstain from reasserting that the liberties and privileges of the house were not of undoubted right and inheritance unless they were so from their being granted by the grace and favour of his predecessors on the throne: and, therefore, on the memorable 18th of December, a day which forms an era in constitutional history, they drew up the following protestation:—

“The commons, now assembled in parliament, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning sundry liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament, amongst others not herein mentioned, do make this protestation following:—That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king’s state, and the defence of the realm, and of the Church of England, and the making and maintenance of laws, and redress of mischiefs and grievances, which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of counsel and debate in parliament; and that, in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, every member of the house hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same: that the commons in parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of those matters, in such order as, in their judg-

¹ It is said that his wife, the implacable Lady Hatton, did her best to bring on this prosecution, and that she was privately assisted by Bacon, to whom she was bound, even in his disgrace, by a community of hatred against Coke.

ments, shall seem fittest; and that every such member of the said house hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation (other than by the censure of the house itself), for or concerning any bill, speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the parliament or parliament business; and that, if any of the said members be complained of and questioned for anything said or done in parliament, the same is to be showed to the king, by the advice and assent of all the commons assembled in parliament, before the king give credence to any private information." After a long and spirited debate (it lasted till the unusual hour of five or six in the evening, being carried on even by candle-light¹), the commons entered this protestation in their journals "as of record."

James's wrath overcame his craftiness, and he forgot that he was reported sick. He rode up to London, foaming or slaving at the mouth—prorogued parliament—ordered the clerk of the House of Commons to bring him the journals—erased the famous protestation with his own hand, in the presence of the judges and a full assembly of the council—commanded an act of

council to be made thereon, and what he had done to be entered in the council-book—and a few days after (on the 6th of January, 1622) dissolved the parliament by an insulting proclamation.²

The first act the king did to make good his promise to govern well during the suspension of parliament, was to commit Coke and Sir Robert Phillips to the Tower, Mr. Selden, Mr. Pym, and Mr. Mallery to other prisons, and to send Sir Dudley Digges, Sir Thomas Crew, Sir Nathaniel Rich, and Sir James Parott, on a commission into Ireland, as a sort of a cover for banishment. It will be remembered that an opposition party had sprung up in the House of Lords; therefore several of the peers were called before the privy council, and one or two of them committed to the Tower.

It is said that Prince Charles was rather constant in his attendance in the House of Lords during this most significant session; but, if so, he certainly had neither the good sense nor the good fortune to understand its meanings and indications, or to perceive the great changes men's minds were undergoing—the mighty events that were indeed casting their shadows before them.

CHAPTER V.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1622—1625.

JAMES I.

Sympathy of the nation for the Queen of Bohemia—Inert conduct of James in the Bohemian war—His leanings to the side of Spain—His desire of a Spanish marriage for his son Charles—His correspondence with the Pope—Agreement of James with the Spanish court for relief of the Papists in England—Treaty for a marriage of Prince Charles with the Spanish infanta—Charles and Buckingham request leave to go to Spain—James compelled to assent—The prince and favourite set off on their enterprise—Their adventures on the journey—Their reception at Madrid—Festivals and pageants at the Spanish court—Successful courtship of Prince Charles—Expectation that he would embrace the Romish faith—His duplicity on the occasion—Marriage stipulations for his union with the infanta—The consent of James required—Shifting and double-dealing of James in the matter—Buckingham's offensive conduct at Madrid—The prince and Buckingham depart from Spain—Hypocritical conduct of Charles at his departure—His welcome at his return to England—Treaty of the Spanish marriage continued—Its abrupt and disgraceful termination—Difficulties of James—He is necessitated to convoke parliament—His conciliatory opening speech—Buckingham's false statement about the marriage treaty—James urged to go to war with Spain—Supplies voted to him by the commons—They demand the enforcement of the statutes against Catholics—Massacre of Amboyna—War in the Netherlands—Arrival of Count Mansfeldt in England—Negotiations for the marriage of Prince Charles with a French princess—Stipulations on the subject between the English and French courts—Charles engages to espouse the Princess Henrietta Maria—Last sickness of King James—His death.



At this time the popular feeling was greatly excited by the misfortunes and sufferings of the king's daughter, which, by a little exaggeration, were heightened into a wonderfully dramatic interest. The young and the brave declared themselves her champions,

and troubled James with their enthusiasm. Every step that the Palatine took was a blunder, and James could do little for him but send more ambassadors. His relation, the King of Denmark, was no longer able or willing to do him service; and the Dutch, who were said to have contributed to all his troubles, by urging him to ac-

¹ This is one of the earliest instances of a debate by candle-light.

² Rymer; Rushworth; Parl. Hist.; Coke; Carte.

cept the crown of Bohemia, could not do much by themselves. The Catholics of Antwerp turned all these illustrious parties into ridicule in their public theatres. At the same time they pictured King James, at one place with a scabbard without a sword; in another with a sword which nobody could pull out of its sheath, though many kept tugging at it.

The French, out of their ancient rivalry and jealousy of the house of Austria, and their love of war, would have been disposed to strike a blow for the dispossessed prince; but their young king, like our old king, was ruled by a despicable favourite; their court was occupied by profligate intrigues and selfish factions; and their country was again the scene of a civil and religious war, for the Huguenots about this time rushed or were driven into open hostilities. Instead of being in a condition to lead an army to the Rhine, Louis XIII. saw himself compelled to lay siege to his own cities in the heart of France. The French Protestants, as usual, applied to England for assistance; but all that James could do for them was to transmit a few diplomatic messages to their young king.

The Count Mansfeldt, and Prince Christian of Brunswick, after maintaining a wild sort of war, more on their own account than on that of the ex-King of Bohemia, evacuated the Palatinate, and took service with the Dutch; and James, who found it burdensome to pay the garrison, and who wished to propitiate his Catholic majesty, delivered up Frankendael to the Spaniards, upon their promise of restoring it if a satisfactory peace were not concluded in eighteen months. The emperor had already given the greater part of the Palatine's territories to the Duke of Bavaria. Without kingdom or electorate, without a province, without a house or home of his own, the luckless Palatine, with his wife and family, was left to subsist at the Hague upon a Dutch pension. But the Solomon of his age, his loving father-in-law, who found a gratification in the fulfilment of his own prophecy, and who was little touched by his disgrace, saw elevation in this depression—a light in all this darkness. He had done the will of Spain in many things; he was doing it in more, even at the risk of a civil war at home; and he deluded himself with imagining that he had at last removed all obstacles to the Spanish match, and that the treaty of marriage would be followed by the entire restitution of the Palatinate to his son-in-law. Philip III. had died in the month of March, 1621, and

had been succeeded by his son Philip IV., brother to the intended bride of Prince Charles. The Lord Digby, now Earl of Bristol, and special ambassador to the young sovereign, reported that he was favourable to the match, but that Philip could not marry his sister to a Protestant without a dispensation from the pope, and a full assurance that she should be left to the enjoyment of her own conscience and her own religion in England. Gondomar, who had returned from London to Madrid, to forward, as he said, the plans and wishes of his royal friend and boon companion, gave equally hopeful assurances. In fact, the King of Spain applied to Rome for a dispensation. James, impatient of delay—and the churchmen of Rome were seldom quick in these matters—despatched an agent of his own (Mr. George Gage) to the Vatican, while his favourite, Buckingham, employed another. Nay, in his anxiety, James did what he had done before in Scotland—he wrote himself two letters to the pope, or rather to two popes, for there was a death and a new election during the negotiations.

It was well for James that the secret correspondence with Rome was not discovered by the Puritans, who, however, were wonderfully disquieted by certain proceedings which arose out of it, and James's eagerness to gratify the pope. If what he did had been his own free and disinterested act, it would have entitled him to high praise. He issued pardons for recusancy to all English Catholics that should apply for them; and he ordered the judges on their circuits to discharge from prison every recusant that could find security for his re-appearance. So severely had the laws been executed that the prisoners thus liberated were counted by thousands. All the zealots took the alarm, and the Lord-bishop and Lord-keeper Williams, to quiet their fears, represented, by order of the king, that this lenity was only meant to secure better treatment for the Protestants abroad; and that, though the recusants were released from prison, they had still the shackles about their heels, and might be seized again at the shortest notice.

By the month of January, 1623, such progress was made in the Spanish match, that James and his son signed articles, promising that the English Catholics should be relieved from all kinds of persecution, and permitted to have their masses and other ceremonies in their own houses; and the Spanish king agreed to give his sister 2,000,000 ducats, and to celebrate the espousals at Madrid (the Prince of Wales being represented by proxy), within forty days after the arrival of the dispensation from Rome. James wished to have the money; Charles wished to shorten the period which, according to Spanish etiquette, was to

¹ His favourite was one Monsieur de Luynes, who, in his non-age, gained much upon the king by making hawks to fly at all little birds in his gardens, and by making some of those catch butterflies.—*Life of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, written by himself.

elapse between the espousals and the actual marriage; and both appear to have apprehended that the business, which had already been seven years on the carpet, might still be spun out a year or two longer, if left to the management of ministers and diplomatists. Impatient of this delay, and animated by a strange fit of quixotism, Charles and Buckingham suddenly made up their minds to become travellers into Spain, and manage the matter in their own fashion. If the precious scheme had not been seconded by the all-prevailing minion, it would assuredly have failed through the opposition of the king. Various motives are assigned for Buckingham's going into it with the eagerness he did: according to some, he already hated the Earl of Bristol, and was jealous of the consideration and the influence over the mind of the Spanish infanta which that nobleman would obtain, if he were left to bring the match to completion, and conduct the bride into England; while Clarendon says, not only that he entered into the scheme to gain favour with the prince, but that he originated it, and that it was "the beginning of an entire confidence between them, after a long time of declared jealousy and displeasure on the prince's part, and occasion enough administered on the other." One morning Charles waited upon his father, declaring that he had an earnest desire and suit upon which the happiness of his life depended; but that, as the doing or not doing what he desired depended wholly and entirely upon his majesty's approbation and command, he would not communicate the substance of his suit without his father's promise to decide upon it himself, and not to consult with, or communicate the secret to any person whatsoever. James gave this promise, and then grew very eager to know what this great secret could be. Then, watching the moods and turns of the king's humour, and seizing their opportunity, Charles fell on his knees, and stated his request, the duke standing by without saying a word. The king talked over the whole matter to the prince with less passion than they expected, and then looked at the favourite, as inclined to hear what he would say. Buckingham spoke nothing to the point, but enlarged upon the infinite obligation his majesty would confer upon the prince, by his yielding to the violent passion his highness was transported with; and then, after he had gone on to state that his refusal would make a deep impression upon the spirits and peace of mind of his only son, Charles, seeing that his father was touched, put in his word, and represented that his arrival at Madrid must certainly be presently followed by his marriage, and in a moment determine the restitution of the Palatinate to his brother and sister. "These discourses, urged with all the ar-

tifice and address imaginable, so far wrought upon and prevailed with the king, that, with less hesitation than his nature was accustomed to, and much less than was agreeable to his great wisdom, he gave his approbation, and promised that the prince should make the journey he was so much inclined to."¹ But as soon as James was left to his reflections he bitterly repented; and, when his son and favourite next presented themselves, he fell into a great passion with tears, and told them that he was undone, and that it would break his heart if they persisted; and after exposing to them the uselessness and danger of such a journey, the power it would give the Spaniards, the jealousies and suspicions it would excite among the English, he implored them to release him from his promise, and concluded as he had begun, with sighs and tears. Neither the prince nor the favourite took any pains to answer the reasons his majesty had insisted on; but Charles put him in mind of the sacredness of his promise, telling him that the breaking of it would make him never more think of marriage; and Buckingham, who, according to the royalist historian, better knew what kind of arguments were of force with him, treated him more rudely, telling him that nobody could believe anything he said, when he retracted so soon the promise he had so solemnly made; and that he plainly perceived it all proceeded from another breach of his word, in communicating with some rascal who had furnished him with those pitiful reasons. His majesty passionately, and with many oaths, denied that he had communicated the matter to any person living; and presently, conquered by the "humble and importunate entreaty" of his son, and "the rougher dialect of his favourite, he withdrew his opposition to the journey; and it was settled that in two days they should take their leave," his highness pretending to hunt at Theobalds, and the duke to take physic at Chelsea. They told the king that, as it was before resolved they should only take two persons with them, they selected Sir Francis Cottington and Endymion Porter, as men grateful to his majesty, and well acquainted with Spain. The king approved of their choice, and called for Sir Francis Cottington, who was in waiting. "Cottington will be against the journey," whispered Buckingham to the prince. "No, Sir," said Charles, "he dares not." But the prince was somewhat mistaken; for, when the king told Cottington that Baby Charles and Steenie had a mind to go by post into Spain, to fetch home the infanta, and commanded him to tell him, as an honest man, what he thought about it, Cottington, after such a trembling that he could hardly speak, told the king that the expedition was unwise and unsafe;

¹ Clarendon.

and then the king threw himself upon his bed, crying, "I told you so, I told you so before; I shall be undone, and lose Baby Charles." The prince and Buckingham were furious, and the latter fell upon poor Cottington as if he had been a courier or post-boy, telling him that he should repent his presumption as long as he lived. This put the king into a new agony. "Nay, by God, Steenie," said he, "you are very much to blame to use him so: he answered me directly to the question I asked him, and very honestly and wisely." After all this passion on both sides, James again yielded, plainly perceiving, it is said, that the whole intrigue had been originally contrived by Buckingham, whom he durst not oppose, and whom Clarendon says he was never well pleased with afterwards. On the 17th of February, 1623, the two knights-errant took their leave of the king, and on the following day they began their journey from New Hall, in Essex, a

road, and teach post hackneys to leap hedges." At Canterbury an officious mayor would have arrested them, but Buckingham took off his beard, and told him who he was. Then, on the road, the baggage post-boy, who had been at court, got a glimmering who they were, but his mouth was easily shut—at least so they thought. At Dover they found Sir Francis Cottington and Master Endymion Porter, who had been sent before to provide a vessel; and on the following morning they hoisted their adventurous sails for the French coast.² Even as a masquerade the performance did them little credit, for they were discovered nearly everywhere they went; and as for their secret being kept at court, it was blown abroad through town and country almost as soon as they put on their false beards. For a day or two, however, it was not known whither they had directed their steps. When it was discovered that the prince was going to Spain, to throw him-

self among priests and monks, familiars and inquisitors, there was a dreadful consternation among the people, who declared at once that he would never come back alive, or, if he did, he would come a Papist.

Meanwhile, the prince and Buckingham, or, as the king addressed them, the "sweet boys and dear venturous knights, worthy to be put in a new romanso," continued their journey in disguise. Late one night the English ambassador at Paris, Mr. Edward Herbert, afterwards Lord Herbert of Cherbury, was waited upon by one Andrews, a Scotchman, who asked him whether he had seen the prince. The ambassa-

dor asked what prince? "He told me," says Herbert, "the Prince of Wales, which yet I could not believe easily, until, with many oaths, he affirmed the prince was in France, and that he had charge to follow his highness, desiring me, in the meanwhile, on the part of the king, my master, to serve his passage the best I could."³ Though nettled that the prince should have passed without visiting him and letting him into the secret, Herbert, full of anxiety for his safety, went, very early the next morning, to Monsieur Puisieux, principal secretary of state, whom in his urgency



NEW HALL, ESSEX.¹—From a view by Bartlett.

seat which Buckingham had recently purchased, setting out with disguised beards and borrowed names. The prince was John Smith—the noble marquis, Thomas Smith. They were attended only by Sir Richard Graham, master of the horse to the marquis, and "of inward trust about him." On crossing the river to Gravesend they excited suspicion, by giving a piece of gold to the ferryman, and were near being stopped at Rochester. On ascending the hill beyond that city they were perplexed at seeing the French ambassador in the king's coach, "which made them baulk the

¹ New Hall was sold in 1620 by Robert, Earl of Sussex, to Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, for £30,000. When this duke was murdered by Felton in 1629, his son George became heir to his titles and estates, and in 1648 joined the Earl of Holland and others in taking up arms in behalf of Charles I. The royal army being defeated and dispersed at Kingston-upon-Thames, the duke was proceeded against as a traitor, and his estates

sequestered; and afterwards, when commissioners were appointed to sell traitors' estates, this was purchased, in 1651, by General Oliver Cromwell, the consideration money being five shillings, and the computed yearly value £1309, 12s. 3½d. Cromwell exchanged New Hall for Hampton Court, paying the estimated difference.—Wright's Essex.

² Reliq. Wotton.

³ Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

he dragged out of bed, telling him he had important business to despatch. The French secretary's first words were, "I know your business as well as you. Your prince is departed this morning post to Spain!"¹ And then he added that he would suffer him quietly to hold his way without interrupting him. The French ministry certainly did not regard the matrimonial alliance between England and Spain with pleasant feelings; but what they more immediately apprehended was that Charles, who was stealing secretly through their kingdom, might have dangerous communications with the disaffected or revolting Huguenots; and, when Herbert requested that no one might be sent after him, the secretary replied, politely and adroitly, that he could do no less than send some one to know how the prince fared on his journey. The hint was enough: Herbert hurried home and despatched a courier after Charles, warning him to make all the haste he could out of France, and not to treat with any of the religion on the way, since his being in Paris was publicly known. The ambassador afterwards learned that Charles had spent the whole of the preceding day in "seeing the French court and city of Paris, without that anybody did know his person, but a maid that had sold linen heretofore in London, who, seeing him pass by, said, Certainly this is the Prince of Wales."² On that same night the prince had written to tell his father how he and Buckingham had been at court, without being known by any one, where he saw the young queen, and little Monsieur, and nineteen "fair dancing ladies" practising a mask, and the queen was the handsomest of them all, which had wrought in him the greater desire to see her sister.² Among these fair dancing ladies was one really destined to become his wife, and it has been suspected that the dark eyes of Henrietta Maria now fascinated Charles, and that he went to pay his court to the infanta with his mind pre-occupied by another. At Bayonne the venturous knights were detained and examined, and, for a moment, fancied they would not be allowed to proceed across the Pyrenees; but their fears proved to be unfounded, and they presently crossed the Spanish frontier. At the close of an evening towards the end of March two mules stopped at the house of my Lord of Bristol in Madrid. The riders alighted. Mr. Thomas Smith went in first with a portmanteau under his arm; and then Mr. John Smith, who stayed awhile on the other side of the street in the dark, was sent for. When the diplomatist recognized in this John Smith the heir to the

English crown, and in Thomas the Marquis of Buckingham, he stared as if he had seen two ghosts; but presently he took the prince up to his bed-chamber, wrote a letter, and despatched a courier that night to acquaint the King of England how his son, in less than sixteen days, had arrived safely at the capital of Spain. The next day Sir Francis Cottington and Mr. Porter rode into Madrid, the prince and Buckingham having out-riden them.³ Knowing that their arrival must be discovered, and not wishing the discovery to be made by a postillion, the prince and the favourite lost no time in sending for Count Gondomar, the man who had sent Raleigh to the block, and who was now in very high favour at court. Gondomar hastened to Lord Bristol's and then back to the palace (we must use the words of Charles, in the joint letter he and Buckingham wrote to Solomon), "and presently went to the Condé of Olivares, and as speedily got me your dog Steenie a private audience of the king; and, when I was to return back to my lodging, the Condé of Olivares himself alone would accompany me back again to salute the prince in his king's name." "The next day" (we continue the story in the appropriate language of the other chief performer in it), "we had a private visit of the king, the queen, the infanta, Don Carlos, and the cardinal, in the sight of all the world, and I may call it a private obligation hidden from nobody; for there was the pope's nuncio, the emperor's ambassador, the French, and all the streets filled with guards and other people; before the king's coach went the best of the nobility, after followed all the ladies of the court; we sat in an invisible coach, because nobody was suffered to take notice of it, though seen by all the world: in this form they passed three times by us, but before we could get away, the Condé of Olivares came into our coach and conveyed us home, where he told us the king longed and died for want of a nearer sight of our wooer. First, he took me in his coach to go to the king; we found him walking in the streets, with his cloak thrown over his face, and a sword and buckler by his side; he leaped into the coach, and away he came to find the wooer in another place appointed, where they passed much kindness and compliment one to another." Steenie goes on to tell his master that Philip is in raptures with the journey and with the prince; that Olivares, the potent favourite, had told him, that very morning, that if the pope would not give a dispensation for a wife, they would give the infanta to his son Baby "as his wench;" and that he had just written to the pope's nephew, entreating him to hasten the dispensation. He then mentions that the pope's nuncio, at Madrid, was

¹ *Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury.*

² Charles's letter to the king, dated Paris, the 22d of February, 1623, in Sir Henry Ellis. Anne of Austria, the young French queen, was elder sister to the infanta Donna Maria.

³ *Hovell.*

working maliciously against the match, and concludes with these ominous words: "We make this collection, that the pope will be very loath to grant a dispensation, which, if he will not do, *then we would gladly have your directions how far we may engage you in the acknowledgment of the pope's special power, for we almost find, if you will be contented to acknowledge the pope chief head under Christ, that the match will be made without him.*"¹ Meanwhile all honour was paid by the Spanish court to the Prince of Wales; grantees were appointed to attend him, and various diversions were proposed to amuse him till the time of his solemn entrance and public reception. On the Sunday afternoon, Charles having signified his desire to see his bride again, the king went abroad to take the air with the queen, his two brothers, and the infanta, who were all in one coach; but the infanta sat in the boot with a blue ribbon about her arm, on purpose that the prince might distinguish her. The royal carriage was followed by twenty coaches, full of grantees and ladies. Then his highness of Wales, with the Earl of Bristol and Gondomar, took coach and drove to the Prado, where he met and passed the king's carriage three several times. As there had been no public presentation, etiquette did not allow his majesty to notice the prince or stop his coach; but as soon as the infanta saw the prince, her colour rose.² The infanta, Donna Maria, who was then in the bloom of youth, is thus described by the lively and attentive observer of these doings:—"She is a very comely lady, rather of a Flemish complexion than Spanish, fair-haired, and carrying a most pure mixture of red and white in her face. She is full and big-lipped, which is held a beauty rather than a blemish."³ In the following week Charles was amused with hunting and hawking, and parties of pleasure to the Casa de Campo; but on Sunday he was conducted to the royal monastery of St. Jerome, whence the Kings of Spain were wont to proceed on the day of their coronation. As soon as he was there, Philip, attended by his two brothers, his eight ministers of state, and the flower of the Spanish nobility, went to bring him back in triumph to Madrid. Charles rode at the king's right hand, through the heart of the town, under a great canopy, and was brought so into his lodgings in the king's palace, and the king himself accompanied him to his very bed-chamber. From his apartment (it was the most magnificent in the palace) Charles proceeded to

visit the royal family. Four chairs of precisely equal size (an important matter) were placed under a canopy of state; one for the king, one for the queen, one for the infanta, and one for his highness of Wales. The Earl of Bristol attended as usual as interpreter, for Charles knew no Spanish, and the royal personages possessed no one language in common.⁴ When Charles went back to his chamber, he found many costly presents which the queen had sent him. Though he had arrived so poorly attended, the Prince of Wales had by this time a pretty numerous retinue, which kept increasing with fresh arrivals from England. James made haste to send the Earl of Carlisle to the French court to excuse his son's incognito. Carlisle was accompanied by Lord Mountjoy; and when they had given their explanations at Paris, these two lords rode on towards Madrid. A few days after this James hurried off in the same track Master Kirk and Master Gabriel to carry Georges and Garters with all speed, and the Lords Holland, Rochfort, Denbigh, Andover, Vaughan, and Kensington, and a whole troop of courtiers, to keep "the sweet boys" company. Others followed from time to time, some going by land and some by sea—some receiving money from the king, and some defraying their own expenses. Archibald Armstrong, the famous court fool, was among these travellers to Madrid, so that, by the time they all arrived, his royal highness must have had a tolerably complete court. This said Archy, notwithstanding his profession and the cap and bells, was a stout Presbyterian or Puritan, and, as such, very much averse to the Catholic match. "Our cousin Archy," says the attentive observer of this court comedy, "hath more privilege than any; for he often goes with his fool's coat where the infanta is with her Meninas and ladies of honour, and keeps a blowing and blustering among them, and blurts out what he lists."⁵ They were altogether an ill-bred, disorderly crew, and the wonder is, that with such conflicting prejudices, and such fiery tempers as those of the Spaniards, they did not get knocked on the head. Before quarrelling about religion, they quarrelled about cookery—a point on which nationality is extremely susceptible, every people considering their own kitchen, like their own religion, not merely the best, but the only good one in the world. King Philip, a weak youth of nineteen, but accomplished, cheerful, and good-natured, associated familiarly with Charles, who was four years his senior; but not only the rigid etiquette of that court, but also the universal custom of the country, were opposed to any tête-à-tête, or

¹ *Hardwicke State Papers*. This letter, like the many other joint letters, is signed, "Your majesty's humble and obedient son and servant, Charles—Your humble slave and dog, Steenie."—This name, the Scotch for Stephen, is said to have been bestowed by James upon his minion in allusion to St. Stephen, who is always painted as a good-looking saint.

² *Howell's Letters*.

³ *Howell*.

⁴ Flores, *Reynas de España*, as quoted by Mr. Dunlop, *Memoirs of Spain during the reigns of Philip IV. and Charles II.* from 1621 to 1700.

⁵ *Howell*.

private meetings, between the English prince and his bride. He was, however, allowed plenty of opportunities of seeing her in company. But though the prince was very demure in public, he ventured upon a freak of a very strange and indecorous kind. "Understanding," says Howell, in a letter to Captain Thomas Porter, "that the infanta was used to go some mornings to the Casa de Campo, a summer-house the king hath on the other side the river, to gather *May-dew*, he rose betimes, and went thither, taking your brother (Endymion Porter) with him; they were let into the house, and into the garden, but the infanta was in the orchard. And there being a high partition wall between, and the door doubly bolted, the prince got on the top of the wall, and sprung down a great height, and so made towards her; but she, spying him first of all the rest, gave a shriek, and ran back: the old marquis that was then her guardian came towards the prince, and fell on his knees, conjuring his highness to retire, in regard he hazarded his head if he admitted any to her company; so the door was opened, and he came out under that wall over which he had got in."

One of the graces conferred on Charles was the release of all the prisoners in Madrid, and the royal promise that, for a whole month, any petition presented through him should be granted; but he showed himself wonderfully sparing in receiving any such petitions, especially from any Englishman, Irishman, or Scot.¹ Bull-fights,² fencing-matches, religious processions, tournaments, hunts, and feasts, were exhibited in rapid succession, to while away the time. Charles began to study Spanish—the infanta English. King James, in one of his paternal letters, besought Baby Charles and Steenie not to forget their dancing, though they should whistle and sing the one to the other, like Jack and Tom, for fault of better music. "But," he adds in the same letter, "you must be as sparing as you can in your spending, for your officers are already put to the height of their speed to provide the £5000 by exchange, and now your tilting stuff, which they know not how to provide, will come to three more; and God knows how my coffers are already drained. I know no remedy, except you procure the speedy payment of that £150,000 which was once promised to be advanced. . . . I pray you, my baby, take heed of being hurt if you run a tilt."³ But James was not blind to the peril of acting upon Charles's and Buckingham's

suggestions of acknowledging the pope; and in reply to that particular part of their letter, he told them that he knew not what was meant by his acknowledging the pope's spiritual supremacy. Buckingham, whose mother was an avowed Papist—and in all things this woman had the greatest influence over her son—would, in all probability, have voted readily for a change in religion; but the decided feelings of some of the English people about him, and his own reflections, shallow as they were, must have dispelled any such perilous notions. That the Spanish court flattered itself with the hope of reclaiming Prince Charles, and, by his means, reconciling the English nation to the Church of Rome—nay, that efforts were made to bring about this great end—is undeniable; and if Charles was, as that not very religious courtier, the Earl of Carlisle, expressed it, well grounded "in piety and knowledge of the religion wherein he was bred," and if he escaped the dogmas of Papal supremacy, purgatory, and transubstantiation, he certainly contracted a fondness—a passion—which afterwards proved fatal to him, for a gorgeous hierarchy and a splendid ceremonial in the Anglican church. Nor did he ever frankly close the door to the Spaniard's hope, or honestly declare, that neither his conviction nor his interest would permit him to recant. Every part of this story is interesting and important, as tending to throw light on the character of Charles. He entreated his father to advise as little with his council as was possible, but to trust to the discretion of himself and Buckingham; and he asked and obtained from the weakness of James a pledge of full power, conceived in the following words, which he and Buckingham had remitted as a copy: "We do hereby promise, by the word of a king, that whatsoever you our son shall promise in our name, we shall punctually perform."⁴ The Catholic refugees from England gathered round the prince and Buckingham, and were for some time cheered with the prospect of a most ample toleration in their native land, if not of the re-establishment of their religion to the exclusion of all other faiths. The priests tampered with Charles's attendants and servants, a kind of proceeding which greatly irritated the sturdier Protestants. One day Sir Edmund Varney found a learned priest, a doctor of the Sorbonne, by the bedside of one of the prince's pages, who was sick of a deadly fever, and he put a stop to his labours of conversion by doubling his fists instead of arguments, and hitting the priest under the ear.⁵

At the same time the Spanish court represented to the pope that Prince Charles would become a

¹ Howell. Gondomar, of his own accord, helped to free some English that were in the Inquisition at Toledo and Seville.

² Some of these bull-fights were very splendid, with loss of life to men and horses. "The pope," saith the facetious Howell, "hath sent divers bulls against this sport of bulling, yet it will not be left, the nation hath taken such an habitual delight in it."

³ Sir H. Ellis.

⁴ Hardwicke State Papers.

⁵ Rushworth. Howell tells the same story, a day or two after it happened.

good Catholic, or, if he did not, would secure every advantage to the professors of that religion in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Gregory XV. had already written to the inquisitor-general of Spain, expressing his desire that the most should be made of the opportunity offered by Heaven itself. "We understand," says the pope, "that the Prince of Wales, the King of Great Britain's son, is lately arrived there, carried with a hope of Catholic marriage. Our desire is that he should not stay in vain in the courts of those kings to whom the defence of the pope's authority, and care of advancing religion, hath procured the renowned name of Catholic. Wherefore, by apostolic letters, we exhort his Catholic majesty that he would gently endeavour sweetly to reduce that prince to the obedience of the Roman church," &c.¹ Soon after, Gregory addressed a gentle letter to Prince Charles himself, exhorting him to embrace the religion of his ancestors, and expressing his hope that, as he intended to match with a Catholic damsel, he would give new life to that piety for which the Kings of England had been so celebrated.² The proofs on record are too numerous and glaring to permit us to challenge the position that Charles was an early proficient in hypocrisy. He wrote a letter to the pope, in reverential terms, calling him most holy father, telling him how much he deplored the divisions in the Christian church, and how anxious he was to restore union.³ Gregory XV. died before this epistle reached Rome, but his successor, Urban VIII., considered it as equivalent to a recantation, and, in answering it, the new pontiff said, "We lifted up our hands to heaven, and gave thanks to the Father of mercies, when, in the very entry of our reign, a British prince began to perform this kind of obedience to the Pope of Rome."⁴ The events of the Vatican occasioned delay. Gregory had despatched a dispensation, which was in the hands of the legate at Madrid, who, however, had orders not to deliver it until he had made a surer bargain with the English court as to a full toleration, at least, of the Catholic religion; and now the Spanish court declared that it was essential to obtain a confirmation of the bull from the new pope. Olivares, moreover, remodelled the matrimonial treaty, inserting several new

clauses.⁵ It was provided that the infanta should have an open oratory, or chapel, in the palace, that she should choose the nurses and governesses of her children, and that her children should be brought up by her till they were at least ten years of age; that her children's proving Catholics should not exclude them from the succession; and, finally, that the King of England should give security for the fulfilment of these stipulations. James ratified all these clauses, but as for security, he could give none beyond his word, and that was not very highly valued. His majesty, however, did not sign without hesitation and fear: he felt that to obtain the sanction of his parliament would be impossible; but that which "pinched and perplexed him most" was, that he had given his power to Prince Charles, according to which power his royal highness had already concluded all these articles, and promised the required security: so that now "it went upon the honour of his majesty and the prince, and perhaps upon the liberty of his highness, his power to return home, and the safety of his person." The chosen counsellors met the king at Wanstead. "His majesty," says Secretary Conway, "made the most serious, the most sad, fatherly, kind, kingly, wise, pious, manly, stout speech that ever I heard, which no man can repeat or relate (without blemishing) but himself. But this effect it wrought—all the lords were of opinion that his highness's words and articles must be made good; that the oath by the council must be taken; and with one voice gave counsel (as without which nothing could be well) that the prince must marry and bring his lady away with him this year—this old year; or else, the prince presently to return without marriage or contract: leaving both those to be accomplished by the usual forms."⁶ A day or two after this meeting at Wanstead, both the king and the lords of the council swore to observe the treaty in the chapel royal at Westminster. Several of the lords who took this oath, which was valueless and strictly illegal without consent of parliament, did it unwillingly, through fear or interest. Among them was Abbot, the half-Puritan primate, who had been in great trouble and humiliation on account of an unhappy accident.⁷ James afterwards privately swore to observe certain secret articles

¹ *scrip. Sacra.*

² *Rushworth.*

³ Charles's letter, in Latin, is given in the *Hardwicke State Papers*, from the original draught. Clarendon said of it—and he might have said something more—"This letter to the pope is more than compliment; and may be a warning that nothing is to be done or said in that nice argument but what will bear the light."—*Clarendon State Papers.*

⁴ *Rushworth.*

⁵ By this time Buckingham had quarrelled with the Spanish favourite. Howell saw that these bickerings might "reverse this business of so high a consequence."

⁶ Letter from Secretary Conway to the Duke of Buckingham, in *Ellis*.

⁷ Abbot, while hunting with the Lord Zouche, shot a game-keeper instead of a fat buck, at which he had taken aim. In consequence of this unintentional homicide, the archbishop, according to canon law, had become incapacitated for exercising his functions. After suffering much anxiety, he was absolved by James, who, as King of England and Defender of the Faith, claimed the same kind of power which the Catholics acknowledged in the pope. This obligation, however, did not always bind the primate to the king's will; he repeatedly resisted that will; and if his motives are not altogether above suspicion, it will be difficult to deny to Abbot the credit of more courage than can be allowed to the rest of the bishops.

in the treaty. The Spanish ambassadors then desired that he would make a beginning, and publish a proclamation forbidding all persecution of Catholics; but James, fearful of so public a measure, told them that a proclamation was but a suspension of the law, which might be made void by another proclamation, and which did not bind a successor. Still, however, the two Spanish diplomatists fought hard for the proclamation. James offered in lieu to give an indemnity to the Catholics for the time to come, to give order for a pardon for all things past that stood to the advantage of the king and in his power to release; and for the time to come, to give a dispensation from all penal laws, statutes, or ordinances whatsoever. But when the proposed immunity, with a prohibition to bishops, judges, and magistrates, was submitted to the Lord-keeper Williams, he refused to issue it as being a dangerous thing without a precedent.¹ The ambassadors, who must have learned and seen that James and his son contracted for far more than they could perform, intimated to their court that a full toleration of the Catholics in England was all but hopeless. At the same time, with the usual sincerity of diplomatists, they told the King of England that his majesty had fulfilled every jot of that he was bound to, and more;² and James prepared presents and jewels—Buckingham and his son had almost emptied his purse and his diamond cases before this³—to be laid at the feet of the infanta, and a small fleet of ships to carry her to England with her sweet husband. At London it was generally believed that this long treaty was settled at last, and even at Madrid grand festivals were given as if in honour of the approaching union. But Olivares, the pope's nuncio, and a junta of Spanish priests, to whom the business was referred, found many reasons for avoiding a final settlement; and still the new pope delayed sending a new dispensation. When it was perceived that Charles, and still more, the double favourite Buckingham, were eager to return home, it was proposed that the marriage, when the pope was willing, should be solemnized in Spain, and that the princess and her dower should not be sent to England till the spring of the following year, by which time his English majesty would be able to carry into effect his good intentions towards his Catholic subjects. But this proposal was odious to James, who had set his heart upon having a large instalment immediately; and he again urged his son and Buckingham to return home, with the infanta, and some money if possible—if not, without them. It is probable, how-

ever, that the poor king might long have urged their return in vain, if it had not been for the quarrels and disgust which Buckingham had excited at Madrid, and for certain fears and jealousies he entertained of what was passing in London. Since his departure from England, that he might be more on a level with the grandees, James had made him a duke; but no move in the soiled and disgraced peerage-book could elevate this man's mind or improve his manners. His levity, choleric disposition, and low profligacy, disgusted the whole court; and the freedoms he took with the Prince of Wales excited the greatest astonishment, and lowered Charles, who permitted them. He called his royal highness by all kinds of ridiculous nicknames, lolled about his room with clothes half on, and kept his hat on his head while the prince was uncovered. He introduced loose and improper company into the very palace. It had been predicted to James that the two great favourites of two mighty kings would never agree; and the prediction was more than verified. It should be stated, however, in fairness, that, bad as he was, Olivares was a gentleman, and that he invariably acted with a decency and dignity of which the English upstart was altogether incapable. Philip himself was greatly disgusted, and said that his sister must be wretched if so violent and unprincipled a man was to enjoy the confidence and friendship of her husband. Buckingham, fool as he was, saw clearly that he was hated by the whole Spanish court, and that, if Charles married the infanta, he would always have an enemy at the English court—that if she acquired the natural influence of a wife over the prince, she might break the string with which he had hitherto led both son and father. And at the same time Buckingham was warned by Bishop Laud, and other friends or creatures of his faction, that the party of Lord Bristol were making head in England; that certain persons were so bold as to complain of his insolence and abuses of power; that the king listened to their complaints; and that there would be a complete revolution at court unless he returned forthwith to manage his old master. If Charles had not been apprehensive about their liberty and safety, he would have called for horses, and ridden away at once with his dear Steenie;⁴ but, as it was, he submitted to a course of mental reservation, evasion, lying, and perjury. There may be some doubt entertained with respect to the sincerity of the Spanish court, but the conduct of the Prince of Wales has not the benefit of

¹ *Hardwicke State Papers.*

² *Ibid.*

³ For some time after their arrival in Spain every letter from Buckingham and the prince contained a demand for jewels—*jewels—more jewels!*

⁴ "There were whisperings," says Howell, "that the prince intended to run away disguised, as he came; and the question being asked by a person of quality, there was a brave answer made—That if love brought him hither, it was not fear should drive him back."

the shadow of a doubt. He fancied that, if he failed to give them satisfaction, or cast a slight upon their princess, the Spaniards would detain him as a state prisoner; and he was ready to promise and vow whatever they chose, in order to get safe out of their country, fully resolving to break all these engagements as soon as he conveniently might. He intimated to his Catholic majesty that his father, who was growing old and sick, had commanded him to return, and that his presence was indispensable to quiet the alarms of the English people at his long absence, as well as to prepare them for the reception of his Catholic wife, and for that toleration of all Catholics, which had been settled by treaty. Philip and Olivares readily agreed to take charge of the dispensation when it should arrive, and to have the espousals celebrated *before Christmas, at the latest*; and Charles agreed to lodge a procuration, with full powers, in the hands of the Earl of Bristol, who was to deliver it to Philip ten days after the arrival of the expected paper from Rome, and to name the king, or his brother, the Infant Don Carlos, as proxy. Charles, in the presence of the Patriarch of the Indies, solemnly swore with Philip upon the Scriptures, to observe and faithfully keep this agreement. The Infanta Donna Maria took the title of Princess of England, and a separate court was formed for her by her brother. Charles now prepared to depart, and Buckingham got all things ready with amazing alacrity.¹ Philip presented the prince with some fine Spanish and Barbary horses, various pictures by the great Titian, a masterpiece of Correggio's, and various other articles indicative of his taste, as well as of his liberality. The young Queen of Spain gave a great many bags of amber, with some dressed kid skins, and linen; Olivares gave a few choice Italian pictures, three sedan chairs of curious workmanship, and some costly articles of furniture; and the chief grandees all gave something, as horses, fine mules with trappings, &c. In return, the Prince of Wales gave to the king an enamelled hilt for a sword and a dagger, studded with precious stones, to the queen a pair of curious ear-rings, and to the infanta a string of pearls, and a diamond anchor as the *emblem of his constancy*.² At his parting interview with the young queen and Donna Maria, Charles played the part of a disconsolate lover, forced from the object of his passionate affections. The infanta gave him a letter written with her own hand for

the celebrated nun of Carrion, who had attained in her lifetime to the reputation of a beatified woman, praying him to deliver it in person, with the hope, no doubt, of his being converted by the sight of so much holiness; and the princess afterwards caused an extra mass to be said for his safe voyage. Gondomar, the Count of Monterey, and other noblemen, were ordered to accompany the prince all the way to St. Andero, where the English fleet was lying under the command of Lord Rutland. But Philip himself, with his two brothers, would see his highness on his road; they travelled with him to the Escorial, where they entertained him splendidly for several days, and then, as if loath to part, they went on with him as far as Campillo. "When the king and he parted, there passed wonderful great endearments and embraces in divers postures between them a long time; and in that place there was a pillar to be erected as a monument to posterity."³ Passing through Segovia, Valladolid, by the cell of the nun of Carrion, travelling by easy journeys, and lodging in the castles of the provincial nobility, who everywhere gave him a most kind and hospitable reception, Charles at length reached the seaport. He had a narrow escape from drowning while going in a boat from the town of St. Andero to the admiral's ship. His first remark on finding himself in safety was, that he had duped the Spaniards; that the Spaniards were fools to let him depart so freely!

The voyage was most prosperous, and the prince and Buckingham landed safely at Portsmouth on the 5th of October.⁴ For some days there was nothing but a ringing of bells, a making of bonfires, with drums, guns, and fire-works; and, without waiting for the word of command from king or bishop, several zealous preachers offered public thanksgivings in the churches for the safe return of the godly young prince, the only hope of the nation. In the meanwhile, the effects of his double-dealing were manifesting themselves. A few days after his departure from Madrid, there arrived from him one Mr. Clerk, a creature of Buckingham's, who took up his lodging in the house of the Earl of Bristol, to the great surprise of those who knew it:—"Considering the darkness that happened betwixt the duke and the earl, we fear," writes Howell, "that this Clerk hath brought something that may puzzle the business." The fear was not unfounded. In the course of a few days it was rumoured that

¹ There were doubts entertained as to his intentions; but so much did Charles deceive his own countrymen, that wagers of thirty to one were offered among the English at Madrid, that the marriage with the Spanish infanta would still take effect. —Howell, *Familiar Letters*.

² *Mendoza* (in the Italian translation). There is a letter from Buckingham to the king, announcing the fine things they were bringing away with them, at which it is impossible not to laugh. "Four asses you I have sent, two hes and two shes. Five camels,

two hes, two shes, with a young one; and one elephant, which is worth your seeing. These I have impudently begged for you. There is a Barbary horse comes with them, I think from Watt Aston. My Lord Bristol sayeth, he will send you more camels. When we come ourselves, we will bring you horses and asses enough. If I may know whether you desire mules or not, I will bring them, or deer of this country either. And I will lay wait for all the rare colour birds that can be heard of." —*Ellis*.

³ *Howell*.

⁴ *Meads*.

the pope's rescript was arrived, and thereupon Clerk desired to speak with my Lord Bristol, for he had something to deliver him from the prince; and "my lord ambassador being come to him, Mr. Clerk delivered a letter from the prince, the contents whereof were, that whereas he had left certain proxies in his hands to be delivered to the King of Spain after the dispensation was come, he desired and required him not to do it till he should receive further order from England."¹ The only reason alleged by Charles was, that he feared that the infanta, immediately after the marriage by proxy, would shut herself up in a nunnery! Bristol, lost in amazement, would not see that this most absurd pretext was merely meant to cover over a fixed determination not to marry the princess at all. As the rumour which hastened Clerk's disclosure was premature, he had time, as he thought, to set matters right. He went straight to court, where Philip gave him every possible assurance that his sister would be sent into England at the time and in the manner already agreed upon, and where the infanta made herself very merry, saying, that she must confess she never in all her life had any mind to be a nun, and hardly thought she should be one now, only to avoid the Prince of Wales.² He then despatched a courier with life and death speed to King James, telling him of the absolute removal of the only difficulty; and he continued to dress and furnish his household in velvet and silver lace, so that they might do honour to the ceremony of the espousals. But Charles and Buckingham closeted James, and made him write to Bristol that he might deliver his proxy at Christmas, because "that holy and joyful time was best fitting so notable and blessed an action as the marriage." To this despatch Bristol replied in all speed, that (*as Buckingham and the prince well knew*) the powers in the proxy expired *before* Christmas; and it would be a most grievous insult to present it when it had ceased to be of value; that the pope had already signed the paper, and that he, Bristol, should consider himself bound by treaty, and by the oath he had taken to that treaty, to deliver the proxy whenever it should be asked for by the King of Spain, unless his master should send him positive orders to the contrary. Having given what he considered satisfactory assurances to his ambassadors at the English court, Philip, upon the actual arrival of the document from Rome, which came in about a fortnight, fixed the day for the marriage by proxy, invited the grandes and great ladies to the ceremony, and sent orders to all the towns and seaports to discharge their great ordnance. His infant daughter, of whom the queen had been delivered a little while before, was to be chris-

tened on the same auspicious day. But, when all Madrid was at the height of its joy and pleasant expectations, when it wanted but three days of *the day*, three English couriers, despatched for greater certainty, arrived one upon the back of the other, with a new commission to my Lord of Bristol, countermanding the delivery of the proxy until full and absolute satisfaction should be given for the immediate surrender of the Palatinate, or war declared by the King of Spain for the obtaining of that surrender to the King of England's son-in-law. Philip indignantly countermanded the preparations for the marriage, broke up the household of his sister, and ordered her to quit the study of the English language, and relinquish the title of Princess of Wales, which, it is said, the infanta could not do without shedding some tears. When the Spanish sovereign's anger cooled, he entered into explanations with Bristol, for whom he entertained a high esteem. He said that the Palatinate was not his to give, and that it was scarcely to be expected he should enter into a war with his relative the emperor, and with half the Catholic powers of Europe, for its recovery: but if a friendly negotiation could secure it, he would guarantee it—nay, if, after a time, negotiations were found unavailing, he would take up arms to restore the Palatinate to his hereditary dominions. The Spanish council, moreover, affirmed that his majesty was resolved to employ his utmost endeavours to satisfy the King of England; but to have it extorted from him by way of menace, or that it should now be added to the marriage by way of condition, and that his own sister must be rejected, unless the king would make a war with the emperor, was too humiliating, and whatsoever his majesty's resolutions might be, he could neither with his honour, nor with the honour of his sister, whom he would in no way force or thrust upon the prince, make any more concessions at present. But, in a day or two, Philip put his signature to a formal promise written in the form of a letter to King James: and this, it was thought, would satisfy the English court. But Charles had resolved not to marry the infanta at any price, and he and Buckingham, encouraged by the popular feeling at home, had made up their minds to a war with Spain. Bristol received his recall, and Philip then prepared for a war with England. The ambassador represented to James, that having contracted a debt of 50,000 crowns, and pledged all his lady's jewels at Madrid for *Prince Charles*, he had not a quarter of the money necessary for his journey; and he humbly besought his majesty to consider that his leaving that court ought not to be like a running away in debt, though, rather than disobey his commands, he would go home on foot. It does not appear that

¹ Howell.² Clarendon State Papers; Hardwicke Papers.

James remitted a sixpence. But Philip commiserated the hard case of Bristol, gave him a rich sideboard of plate, and, being fully aware of the fate that Buckingham was preparing for him in England, he made him an offer, that if he would stay in any of his dominions, he would give him money and honour equal to what the highest of his enemies possessed; but Bristol declined the splendid offer, saying, that he feared no mischief in his native country, which he must ever love and prefer to every other. Though Charles and Buckingham were very anxious to get Bristol away from Madrid, they were by no means desirous of his presence in England: he was told to travel by slow stages, and when he arrived, he was ordered to go instantly to his house in the country, and there consider himself a prisoner. But for the opposition of the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Pembroke, the vindictive Buckingham would have had him committed to the Tower. As it was, without any trial—without a hearing—he was forbidden either to visit the court, or to take his seat as a peer in parliament.¹

The king's joy for the return of the "dear boys" was soon overcast by a gloomy reflection upon the consequences of their rash journey. No money from Spain, fresh debts contracted, his jewels nearly all gone, his daughter still an outcast, a war in perspective—those thoughts harassed him to death, and made him forego his hunting and his hawking, and shut himself up in solitude. In other directions, Buckingham was eliciting the most deplorable exhibitions of human baseness. Cranfield the lord-treasurer, Bishop Williams the lord-keeper, and others of his creatures, who had joined in censuring his conduct during his absence, because they thought his influence was on the decline, were all brought to crawl like reptiles before him.²

A.D. 1624. Nothing remained for James but the last and painful resource of assembling a parliament. This time he issued no arbitrary proclamations, laid down no lessons to the electors; and when the houses met (on the 19th of February), he addressed them in a tone of great moderation and sweetness; but he could not conquer his nature or his inveterate habit, and, in the end, this falsetto give way to his real voice. He told them that he remembered and regretted former misunderstandings; that he earnestly desired to do his duty, and manifest his love to his people. Forgetting previous declarations, he told them that he had been *long* engaged in treaties with Spain; that he had sent his own son with the man he most trusted, the faithfulest and best of counsellors, into Spain;

that all that had passed should be disclosed to them. He hoped they would judge him charitably, as they wished to be judged; he declared that, in every treaty, whether public or private, he had always considered above all things the Protestant religion. He had, it was true, sometimes caused the penal statutes to bear less rigorously upon the Catholics than at other times, but to dispense with the statutes, to forbid or alter the law in that matter, he had never promised or yielded any such thing.³ In the conclusion of his long speech in parliament, he told them to beware of jealousy, to remember that time was precious, and to make no impertinent and irritating inquiries.⁴ Five days after, on the 24th of February, Buckingham, at a general conference held at Whitehall, delivered to the houses a long rambling but specious narrative, the Prince of Wales standing beside him to assist his memory, and give weight to his assertions. The Lord-keeper Williams, who had rehearsed the matter beforehand with the prince, had warned Buckingham not to produce or refer to *all* the despatches, for fear parliament should fall to examine particular despatches, wherein they could not but find many contradictions, "and because his highness wished to draw on a breach with Spain without ripping up of private despatches." In fact, if these documents had been produced, they would have proved the king to be an astonishing liar, and they would have disproved nearly everything that Buckingham uttered. Bold in the absence of Bristol, in the servility and connivance of the lords of the council, in the countenance of the heir to the throne, in the sympathy of the commons and the people, who were ready to credit anything about the breach of the match, which they always abhorred, the double favourite solemnly declared, that, after many years' negotiation, the king had found the Spaniards as far from coming to an honest decision as ever; that the Earl of Bristol had never brought the treaty beyond mere professions and declarations on their part (the truth being, that that ambassador had brought the treaty to a conclusion); that the prince, doubting of their sincerity, had gone to Spain himself; that he had there found such artificial dealing as convinced him that they were false and deceitful; that the king his master had always regarded the restitution

³ On the 20th of July, in the preceding year, James, in swearing to the Spanish treaty, in presence of the two ambassadors, and in their house, had sworn to the following clause:—"Quod nulla lex particularis contra Catholicos Romanos lata, necnon leges generales sub quibus omnes ex æquo comprehenduntur, modo ejus modi sint quæ religioni Romanæ repugnant, ullo unquam tempore, ullo omnino modo aut casu, directe vel indirecte, quoad dictos, Catholicos, executioni mandabitur."—*Prynne*; *Hardwicke Papers*.

⁴ *Journals of the Lords*. Rushworth gives the king's eloquence more at length than the journals.

¹ *Hardwicke State Papers; Clarendon Papers; Cabala; Journals of the Lords.*

² *Cabala.*

of the Palatinate as a preliminary; and that, in fine, the prince, after enduring much ill-treatment, was obliged to return home, bereft of all hope of obtaining either the *infanta* or the Palatinate. This tissue of misrepresentations was received with enthusiasm by parliament. Old Coke, in the House of Commons, called Buckingham the saviour of the nation, and out of doors the people sang his praises, lit bonfires, and insulted the Spanish ambassadors. These gentlemen protested against the duke's speech as false and injurious to their sovereign's honour; but the two houses defended the favourite, and presently proceeded to declare that their king could no longer negotiate with honour or safety. The people were eager for war; but James, in growing old, had not grown warlike; he trembled, hung back, talked of the long standing of his character as a righteous and pacific monarch, of his debts, of his poverty; but it was this very poverty that forwarded the views of Buckingham and his son, who represented that money he must have; that there was no such sure way of obtaining a round supply as by declaring war against his Catholic majesty; and, in the end, though with sore fears and misgivings, James resolved to assume the novel attitude of a belligerent.¹ The idea made the Spaniards laugh. Gondomar had told them that there were no men in England, and, if he meant public men, he was not far wrong; they despised this kingdom, as weak, poor, disunited, led by a timid king and an inexperienced prince, whose anger they ridiculed, comparing it to a revolt of the mice against the cats. Such had become, in the hands of James, the thunderbolts of Elizabeth. But, with unusual alacrity, the king told the commons that, if they would vote him money, he would apply it to a war with Spain; and, as he was well aware that the commons had no confidence in him, he graciously told them that the money voted might be given over to a committee of parliament, to be managed and paid out by them.

The commons took him at his word, and a joint address from both houses, with an offer to support him in the war with their persons and fortunes, was presented to him by Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury—a strange choice, both because it was unseemly that a churchman should deliver a message leading to war and blood, and because the archbishop had sworn with the lords of the council to the Spanish treaty. But Abbot had taken that oath most unwillingly, and it was probably with an expression of joy or even of triumph that he congratulated the king on his having become sensible of

the insincerity of the Spaniards, for James interrupted him by saying, "Hold! you insinuate what I have never spoken. Buckingham hath made you a relation on which you are to judge; but I never yet declared my mind upon it."²

Five days after this message, the question of supplies came on in the commons. The king asked for £700,000 to begin the war, and for £150,000 per annum to pay his debts. These demands made the commons falter in their warlike note: but Buckingham and the prince hinted that a smaller sum would be accepted; and, without noticing the king's debts, they voted three subsidies and three fifteenths, making about £300,000, which was all to be raised within a year, to be applied to the war, and to be put into the hands of treasurers appointed by themselves, who were to issue money on the warrant of the council of war, and on no other orders. The king then declared by proclamation, that the treaties with Spain were at an end. In their bigotry the lower house forgot their old jealousy of proclamations, and resolved to petition the king for another proclamation against the Catholics; but the lords objected to this course, and, in the end, a joint petition from both houses, with some of the sting taken out of it, was presented, praying the king to enforce the penal statutes. James again called God to witness that it was his intention so to do; his determination never to permit of any indulgence or toleration; and Prince Charles also swore that, if it should please God to bestow upon him any lady that was Popish, that she should have no further liberty but for her own family, and no advantage to the recusants at home.³ All missionaries were ordered by proclamation to leave England under the penalty of death; the judges and magistrates were instructed to act vigorously; and the lord-mayor of London was especially admonished to arrest all such persons as went to hear mass in the houses of the foreign ambassadors. The commons drew up a list of Catholics holding places under government, and unanimously petitioned for their removal; but these placemen were saved for the present by the interference of the lords. Patents and monopolies, and the bitter recollection of the manner in which parliament had been dissolved, still rankled in the hearts of the commons, and in their committee of grievances they pronounced some of the patents illegal, and reserved others for future examination. The king, much nettled, told them that he too had his grievances to complain of—that they, the commons, had encroached on his prerogative and condemned patents that were very useful, and had suffered themselves to be led by the lawyers, who were the greatest

¹ In the *Hardwicke Papers*, there is a curious letter from Buckingham to his "Dear dad and gossip," urging him to war. It is quite in the popular strain.

² *Journals of the Lords.*

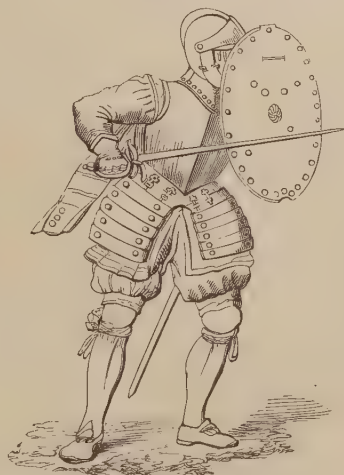
³ *Journals.*

grievances of all. But the commons were bent upon striking a blow in higher quarters; they had taken their measures for impeaching Cranfield, now Earl of Middlesex, the lord-treasurer of England, and master of the court of wards, for deficiency, bribery, and oppression. This lord-treasurer was one of the creatures of Buckingham, who had intrigued against him during his absence in Spain, and on his return he was less successful than Bishop Williams, the lord-keeper, in making his peace with the incensed favourite by vile prostrations and abjurations. Buckingham, moreover, in starting as a fiery Protestant and patriot, had cultivated a good understanding with some of the leaders of the opposition or country party. Now these men wanted a victim—not that the treasurer was not guilty—and Buckingham gladly gave him up. The king would fain have protected his servant, and he lost his temper both with Buckingham and Charles for favouring the impeachment; he told the duke that he was a fool, and was making a rod for his own breech, and the prince that he would live to have his bellyful of impeachments.¹ Nor did he stop here; he wrote to tell the commons that the lord-treasurer had not, as they supposed, advised the dissolution of the last parliament, but, on the contrary, had begged on his knees for its continuance; he covered or palliated the treasurer's offences to the lords: but all this was of no avail, and Middlesex, being only allowed three days to prepare his defence, was convicted by the unanimous vote of the peers, condemned to pay a fine of about £5000, to be imprisoned during pleasure, and to be for ever excluded from his seat in parliament, and from the verge of the court.² The country party had also intended to impeach the lord-keeper, Williams, but the supple prelate was protected by Buckingham, to whom, during the session, he rendered a most important piece of secret service.

While James trembled, and talked of the blessedness of peace, his son and the duke, in his name and with the concurrence of parliament, attended to the raising of troops and the concluding of alliances against the house of Austria, for the humbling of Spain, and for the recovery of the Palatinate. "This spring gave birth to four brave regiments of foot (a new apparition in the English horizon), 1500 in a regiment, which were raised and transported into Holland, under four gallant colonels, the Earls of Oxford, Southampton, and Essex, and Lord Willoughby."³ The Dutch were already at war with the Spaniards,

who had invaded their territory under the command of the great Italian general Spinola.⁴

A fearful tragedy, enacted on a small island in the Eastern Ocean, should have seemed likely to make this Dutch alliance unpopular with the English people. Ever since the conclusion of the long truce at the Hague, the Dutch had been colonizing and trading on a most extensive scale in the seas of India and China. Among other islands they possessed Amboyna, one of the Molucca or Spice Islands, which they had taken from the Portuguese. They pretended not only an absolute sovereignty over this island—part of which continued to be occupied for some years by independent natives—but also an exclusive right to the spice trade in all that archipelago. Their friends and allies the English soon became desirous of sharing in this profitable traffic; they sent some ships to obtain cloves from the natives, and in 1612 the East India Company formed a little settlement at Cambello, in Amboyna, from which they were forced to retire two years after. In 1619 a treaty was concluded in London, by which the English thought themselves entitled to share in the trade; but the Dutch settlers and the local government were jealous in the extreme, and they had recently seized Captain Gabriel Towerson and nine Englishmen, with nine poor



FOOT SOLDIER WITH RONDBACHE, A.D. 1625.
From Meyrick's *Ancient Armour*.

Japanese, and one Portuguese, had charged them with a conspiracy to surprise the garrison and expel the Dutch from Amboyna, had tortured

¹ Clarendon. ² Journals; Rushworth. ³ Arthur Wilson.

⁴ "James, though an able man, was a weak monarch. His quickness of apprehension and soundness of judgment were marred by his credulity and partialities, his childish fears and habit of vacillation. Eminently qualified to advise as a counsellor, he wanted the spirit and resolution to act as a sovereign.

His discourse teemed with maxims of political wisdom—his conduct frequently bore the impress of political imbecility. If, in the language of his flatterers, he was the British Solomon, in the opinion of less interested observers, he merited the appellation given to him by the Duke of Sully, that of 'the wisest fool in Europe.'"—Lingard, *History of England*, James I., chap. iii.

them till they confessed what was an impossibility or a flitting dream of madness,¹ and had then cut off their heads or strangled them.

The news of this atrocious proceeding reached

England just at the moment that Buckingham was preparing to assist the Dutch in their own country. The English court made formal remonstrances; the States apologized and promised



MUSKETEER AND PIKEMAN OF THE PERIOD.—From Meyrick's *Ancient Armour*.

redress; and the "massacre of Amboyna," as it was called by the people, was lost sight of for a time. Though it was the high notion of Buckingham to make this a war of religion, it was found necessary to include in the league the Catholic states of France, Savoy, and Venice, who were led on by their jealousy of the house of Austria. After the Dutch, the Protestant powers that contracted were Denmark, Sweden, and some of the German states, who all required subsidies in English money. The first object to be achieved was the expulsion of the Spaniards from the Netherlands, and of the Spaniards, Austrians, and Bavarians from the Palatinate. The result of the campaign, as far as the English were engaged, may be told in a few words of shame and disgrace. The 6000 men already in Holland acted as auxiliaries to the Dutch army commanded by Prince Maurice of Orange, who soon felt himself overmatched by Spinola. The Italian took Breda before the prince's eyes.

Maurice moved upon the castle of Antwerp, which he was informed had been left with a weak garrison; and he was so confident of taking it, that he would have none but the Dutch with him. Here also he failed. "And so, with some few little bickerings of small parties of horse, betwixt two entrenched armies, the whole summer was shuffled away;" and, winter approaching, Prince Maurice retired to winter-quarters. The prince died at the Hague: the Earl of Southampton and other English officers returned home to England. During the summer, Count Mansfeldt, one of the former heroes of the Palatinate war, was employed in raising mercenaries on the Continent, and in the autumn he embarked from Zealand to procure English money and English troops which had been promised him. The ship which bore him was wrecked; the English captain and crew were drowned: but Mansfeldt, with some of his followers, escaped in the long boat and got safe to England. There was at least one person here who wished the waves had swallowed him—and this was King James, who for some time would not admit the adventurer to an audience. But, in the end, Mansfeldt obtained the promise of £20,000 per month, and of the command of 12,000 Englishmen, who were to be levied by press. These pressed men when raised were fitter to march through Coventry than to retrieve

¹ "There were not twenty Englishmen, nor above thirty Japanese, in the whole island, with whom they were said to machinate this conspiracy, and the castle had in it two hundred Dutch soldiers, and eight ships riding before it well manned, whereof two were above 1200 tons a-piece; besides, the Dutch had two other castles in the same island; and what probability could there be (if the plot were as plain as their malicious tongues could make it) that so weak a force should attempt upon so many, having men enough in the ships and castles to have devoured the attempters?"—*Wilson*.

the somewhat tarnished honour of the British arms. No time was allowed to train and discipline them; they were marched to Dover (where several of them were hanged), and then hurried on board ship. The court had negotiated for their passage through a part of France, but when they appeared off Calais they were refused a landing. Mansfeldt thence led them to the island of Zealand, where the Dutch were scarcely more willing to receive them than the French had been. When, at last, Mansfeldt reached the Rhine and the border of the Palatinate, he found that more than one-half of his army was gone, and that it would be impossible for him to undertake any offensive operations.

While these events were in progress, nay, even before the warlike note was sounded, and before the Spanish match was actually broken off, a new matrimonial treaty was set on foot with France for the hand of Louis' sister, Henrietta Maria. Some time before, Lord Herbert of Cheshire, the resident ambassador, was assured by the favourite De Luynes, that if there were any overture made for such a match, it should be received with all honour and affection. An overture *was* made; and it was thought fit, for the concluding of the match, that the Earl of Carlisle and Lord Kensington—created on the occasion Earl of Holland—should be sent as ambassadors extraordinary to France.¹ It was in this embassy that Hay displayed all his pomp and extravagance; but though a sensualist and a solemn fop, the Scottish Earl of Carlisle was destitute neither of abilities nor spirit. But he had to measure himself against one of the most wonderful of men—the incomparably crafty and resolute Cardinal Richelieu, who had now established a sort of dictatorship over both the court and the nation, and who was at once a ruthless tyrant and a benefactor to France. Richelieu, who was most eager to defeat Charles's Spanish match, was all obsequiousness till it was absolutely broken off, and then he "stood upon his tip-toes," resolving not to abate a jot of the articles of religion, and of liberty to the Catholics of England, which had been agreed upon with Spain. This was excessively inconvenient to King James and Prince Charles, who only six months before had both *solemnly vowed* that they would never tolerate the Papists. In fact, when the proposal was made, they were permitting a fresh persecution of the recusants. James, however, signed a private paper, promising favour to the Catholics, without which the pope would not grant the dispensation.² Carlisle presented this document, and endeavoured to convince Richelieu

and his colleagues that it was security enough. "But," say they, "we did sing a song to the deaf, for they would not endure to hear of it." "In the next place," continue these diplomatists, "we offered the same to be signed by his highness (Prince Charles) and a secretary of state, wherein we pretended to come home to their own asking; but this would not serve the turn neither." Carlisle made a good stand, and would have bartered a toleration in England for French troops to be sent into the Palatinate. He repeated words which they had used at the first opening of the negotiation—"Give us priests," said the cardinal, "and we will give you colonels." "Give us pomp and ceremony to content the pope," said another, "and we will throw ourselves wholly in your interests." "Yes," said the chancellor, "we will espouse all your interests as if they were our own." They confessed to these expressions, but pretended that they had already done enough in joining the league. Carlisle made several good struggles, but he was badly supported. Secretary Conway, whose instructions and despatches seem to have been dictated entirely by Charles and Buckingham, became very obscure or ambiguous.³ After some negotiation, Richelieu consented to the *écrit secret*, as it was styled in French diplomacy, and Carlisle dropped the question of the French army for the Palatinate. The secret promise imported that James would permit all his Roman Catholic subjects to enjoy greater franchise and freedom of religion than they would have enjoyed in virtue of any articles of the Spanish treaty of marriage. This paper was duly signed in November, by James, by Charles, and by a secretary of state; and a copy of the engagement was signed by Carlisle and Holland. The marriage treaty was signed and ratified by the solemn oaths of King James and King Louis. But even after this the French ministers raised a fresh objection. They represented that the secret promise was conceived in general or vague terms, and they demanded that James should specify the favours he intended. Carlisle was indignant, and recommended a resistance to this demand, but James and his son feared to try the temper of Richelieu and the queen-mother, and they submitted to the specification of the three following articles:—1. That all Catholics in prison for their religion since the rising of parliament should be set free. 2. That all fines levied on them since that period should be repaid. 3. That, for the future, they might freely exercise their own worship in private. There was another incident of a very different kind, which occurred during the latter part of these negotiations, to the great alarm of James. The Huguenots, or "those of the religion," as

¹ *Life of Lord Herbert.*

² Lord Nithsdale, a Catholic, was sent to Rome to make promises and compliments to the pope, in the name of King James and his son.

³ *Hardwicke State Papers.*

they were called in France, had received harsh treatment from Louis; Soubise, who was now at their head, and who at one time had maintained very friendly relations with some members of the English government, seized upon the island of Rhé, near Rochelle, fortified it, fitted out some ships, and proclaimed that he would not lay down his arms till he obtained a better security

for the observation of the public faith and the edicts granting toleration to French Protestants. Carlisle declared this proceeding to be unadvised, unseasonable, shameful; the French court agreed to believe that the English Protestants had nothing to do with the movement; and the lively Henrietta Maria prepared for her removal to England. Her portion was fixed at 800,000



THE PALACE OF THEOBALDS.¹—From a picture by Vinkenboone, in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge.

crowns—a small sum compared with the dower which had been promised with the infant.

But James did not live to see the arrival either of the money or of the long-sought daughter-in-law. His health had long been breaking under the united influences of anxiety, fear, full-feeding, and continual use of sweet wines; and he returned to Theobalds from his last hunting party with a disease which the doctors called a tertian ague. But it should appear that he had also the worst kind of gout upon him. He had always entertained a great aversion to medicine and physicians, but at this extremity all the court doctors were called in. While they were in attendance, Buckingham's mother presented herself with an infallible remedy, in the shape of a plaster and a posset, which she had procured from one Remington, a quack living in Essex, where, it was said, he had cured many agues. It should appear that the plaster was applied and the drink given contrary to the advice of the

physicians. They may have produced irritation and done mischief; but we cannot believe that they were the cause of the death of James, or even intended to hasten his end. On the fourteenth day of his illness, being Sunday, the 27th of March,² he sent before day-break for the prince, who rose out of his bed and went to him in his night-gown. The king seemed to have some earnest thing to say to him, and so endeavoured to raise himself upon his pillow; but his spirits were so spent that he had not strength to make his words audible. He lingered for a few hours, and then "went to his last rest, upon the day of rest, presently after sermon was done."³ James was in his fifty-ninth year, and he had been twenty-two years King of England. As soon as the breath was out of his body the privy council, or all the members of it that were at Theobalds, assembled, and in less than a quarter of an hour King Charles was proclaimed at Theobalds court-gate by Sir Edward Zouch, knight-marshal.

¹ The palace of Theobalds was situated a little north of the road to Ware, about twelve miles from London. The estate was purchased by Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, in 1563; and he appears to have immediately commenced building this magnificent residence, which he must have finished before 1571. He had subsequently to enlarge it on account of the visits of Queen Elizabeth, of which he received ten or twelve at Theobalds, costing him from £2000 to £3000 each, an enormous sum in those days. After the death of Lord Burghley, in 1598, his son Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, and lord-treasurer under James I., succeeded to the estate, and having here entertained the king at two splendid banquets, his

majesty took a fancy to the house, and shortly afterwards induced the earl to exchange it for Hatfield. He gave up possession in 1607, and it continued to be James's favourite residence till the time of his death, after which it became the residence of his son Charles I. In 1650, by order of parliament, the greater part was levelled with the ground for the sake of the materials; but the room in which James I. died, with some other apartments, was standing in 1765, at which time, having passed through various hands, it had been purchased by Mr. Prescott (in 1763), who cleared away the entire remains to make room for building new houses.

² That is, the 8th of April, *v. s.*

³ Howell.

CHAPTER VI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1625—1627.

CHARLES I.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1625—DEATH, A.D. 1649.

Accession of Charles I.—His marriage with Henrietta Maria—Her arrival in England—Her train of Popish priests—Charles applies to parliament for money—Their restricted supply—Their applications for religious reforms—Discontent at Charles's proceedings in the war of the French Huguenots—Money refused for the prosecution of the war—Bold remonstrance of parliament—Its dissolution—Unsuccessful expedition against Spain—Buckingham's proceedings to precipitate a war with France—His insolent conduct to Queen Henrietta—Charles revives the old statutes against Papists—His coronation—Opening of parliament—Its proceedings in the reform of abuses—Charles interferes—Opposition of the commons to his interference—They impeach the Duke of Buckingham—Charles quarrels with the House of Lords—Accusations of the Earl of Bristol against the Duke of Buckingham—The duke's trial—The proceedings interrupted by the king—He confers additional honours on Buckingham—Parliament dissolved—Despotic measures of Charles to raise money—Discontent occasioned by them—His proceedings defended from the pulpit—Puritanism thereby increased—Charles drives the queen's priests out of the kingdom—Complaints of the French court in consequence—Answer of the English council—War against France commenced—Buckingham's expedition for the relief of Rochelle—His attempts on the island of Rhé—His unwise and inefficient proceedings—His ruinous retreat—His welcome from Charles at his return to England.



On the afternoon of Monday, the 28th of March, Charles took coach at Theobalds with the Duke of Buckingham, and came to Whitehall. On the same day he was proclaimed at Whitehall-gate and in Cheapside, in the midst of a sad shower of rain; and the weather was thought suitable to the condition in which he found the kingdom.

A few days after, the plague broke out in Whitechapel, whence it extended its ravages to every part of London. It was said to be even a worse plague than that which raged at the time of his father's coronation. Charles re-appointed the council and the officers of government, making scarcely any change. Buckingham stood forward more powerful and vainglorious than ever. There was, however, some change for the better at court; the fools, and buffoons, and other familiars of James were dismissed, the courtiers were required to be attentive to religion, and modest and quiet in their demeanour, and they generally became, if not more moral, far more decorous. In a few days after the accession, it was reported of the new sovereign that he was zealous for God's truth, a diligent frequenter of

the church, and an attentive listener to prayers and sermons; that he intended to pay all his father's, mother's, and brother's debts; and that, by disparking most of his remote parks and chases, to reform the court of unnecessary charges, and to drive from it all recusant Papists. On the 30th of March, three days after his father's death, Charles ratified, as king, the treaty with France; and on the 1st of May the marriage

ceremony was performed at Paris—the Duke of Chevreuse, a member of the house of Guise, acting as Charles's proxy. Buckingham was appointed to bring the bride to England, and he proceeded with an immense retinue to Paris, where he dazzled all eyes with his splendour. This man's gallantry was not checked by the national shyness of Englishmen; for he had scarcely set foot in the French court, when he declared love to the young queen, Anne of Austria. The Cardinal Richelieu made all the haste he decently



CHARLES I.—After Vandyke.

could to get him back to England, and, after eight days, Buckingham left Paris, with Henrietta Maria. They travelled very slowly, or stopped very frequently; for though they began their journey on the 23d of May, they did not reach Dover till the 12th of June in the

evening. That night the young queen slept in Dover Castle. On the morrow morning Charles, who had slept at Canterbury, rode to Dover to receive his wife. They met in the castle: the bride knelt down at his feet, and would have kissed his hand, but the king took her up in his arms and kissed her with many kisses. The royal couple proceeded together to Canterbury, on the following day to Rochester, the day after to Gravesend, and, on the 16th, there being a very great shower, the king and queen, in the royal barge, passed through London bridge to Whitehall. Notwithstanding the rain and the plague, the Londoners crowded the river and its banks to get a sight of the bride, whose appearance and cheerful manners gave them much satisfaction. Stories were soon circulated of her wit, and freedom from bigotry. It was said (and the thing was considered very important) that she had eaten pheasant and venison on a fast-day, notwithstanding the remonstrance of her confessor, and that, upon being asked if she could abide a Huguenot, she replied, "Why not?—was not my father one?" In short, before she had been four-and-twenty hours at Whitehall, it was joyfully announced that she had already given some good signs of hope that she might ere long become a very good Protestant. But in a few days these bright hopes seemed to fade; and people began to count the great number of priests she had brought over in her train, and to murmur at the idolatry of the mass being again set up in the palaces of their kings. She had twenty-nine priests, fourteen of them Theatines,¹ and fifteen seculars, besides a bishop, a young man under thirty years of age. On Sundays and saints' days mass was celebrated in the queen's closet at Whitehall, Charles giving strict orders that no English man or woman should come near the place during the celebration. The priests were very importunate to have a large chapel finished at St. James's, but the king was very slow in gratifying them in this particular. If the French princess had been the most excellent and amiable of women, these circumstances would have rendered her odious in the eyes of the nation; but Henrietta Maria, though lively and pleasant, when pleased, was *not* the most amiable of women: she was self-willed, obstinate, haughty, and overbearing, and began to show her temper, even in public, before

she had been a fortnight in England.² Meanwhile, the plague grew worse and worse. In the eyes of the Puritans the inference was obvious—the land was scourged for relapsing into idolatry.

Charles had issued writs for a parliament to meet on the 17th of May; but in consequence of two prorogations, it did not assemble till the 10th of June, the very day after his arrival at Whitehall with his queen. Though not yet crowned, he wore the crown on his head. The young king (he was in his twenty-fifth year) was no orator, and he had the defect of stammering; but the words of his first address were plain and sensible. Instead of trying the patience of the houses with long, rambling, pedantic speeches, he went at once to the point. He wanted money, and he told them so. In fact, the debts which his father had left amounted to £700,000; he had already contracted considerable debts of his own; and the money voted for the war was long since swallowed up. He did not hint at a peace;³ he said, on the contrary, that the war must be pushed with vigour, and here minded them that they themselves had voted a recourse to arms, and, therefore, the war being their own work, the dishonour would lie upon them, if it were not followed up with spirit from a want of the necessary supplies. But though still inclined to hostilities with Spain and the Catholics, the commons knew by this time that the war had been most miserably conducted. They now hated and suspected Buckingham, whose popularity bloomed and died almost as fast as a flower; and they required from the new king, who had already declared against concession, some pledges of an extensive reform. In this temper they limited their votes to two subsidies (about £140,000), and the duties of tonnage and poundage, *not for life*, as had been practised for two centuries, but for one year. They were also distressed by the anomalous position of the king—the head of the Protestant league, the chief of a war of religion, or what they at least meant should be such—and yet suffering mass to be celebrated in his own house, and his court to swarm with Papists and priests. They presented a "a pious petition" to his majesty, conjuring him to put into immediate execution all the penal statutes against Catholics and missionaries. Charles had promised, had signed, and sealed, and solemnly sworn, in his matri-

¹ An order founded at Rome in 1524, by John Peter Caraffa, afterwards Pope Paul IV., then Archbishop of Chieti, or Theate, in the province of Abruzzi, in the kingdom of Naples.

² Meade, in one of his epistles, gives the following passage from a letter written by his court-frequenting friend, Mr. Morcland:—

"The queen, howsoever, very little of stature, is yet of a pleasing countenance (*if she be pleased*), but full of spirit and vigour; and seems of more than ordinary resolution. With one

frown, divers of us being at Whitehall to see her (being at dinner, and the room somewhat over-heated with the fire and company), she drove us all out of the chamber. I suppose none but a queen could have cast such a scowl."

³ Although troops had been sent to Holland and the Rhine, no war had been declared against any one either at Charles's accession or at the dissolution of the late parliament. If Charles had not been more eager for war than for peace, he might easily have negotiated.

monial treaty with France, to do no such thing; but he durst not avow this engagement, and he returned a gracious answer to the petition of the commons. In another matter, however, he was less timid and complying. One of his chaplains, Dr. Montague, the editor of his father's works, was a decided champion of those tenets for and by which Laud afterwards set the kingdom in a blaze. He taught and wrote that there was a monstrous difference between the doctrines of Calvin and the Puritans and those entertained by the Anglican church, and that in many points the Established church agreed more closely with that of Rome than with that of Geneva. Two Puritan ministers drew up an information against the doctor's heresy, to be laid before parliament. Montague thereupon published a tract, which was called "An Appeal to Cæsar," and dedicated to King Charles. Many who read the tract pronounced the author to be a Papist in disguise, and one that, under the encouragement of the court, was attempting gradually to re-introduce the old religion. The commons drew up articles against the doctor, declaring him to have "maintained and confirmed some doctrine contrary to the articles agreed by the archbishops and bishops, and the whole clergy, in the year 1562; and by his so doing, to have broke the laws and statutes of this realm." They took him into custody, and commanded him to appear at the bar of their house. The king represented that it was for him, and not for them, to take cognizance of the conduct of his chaplains; but the commons replied that they were competent to visit such offences in a chaplain or in any other servant of the court; and they would not let the doctor go till he had given bail in £2000 for his re-appearance.¹ Charles had expressed indignation at the vote of supplies, and the lords threw out the tonnage and poundage part of the bill, because the grant of these duties was not for life. Lord Conway, the chief secretary, was pressing the commons for more money, when the plague became so alarming that many members absented themselves, and the king adjourned the parliament to the 1st of August, appointing it to meet, not at Westminster, but at Oxford.²

Previously to the calling a parliament, Charles, of his own authority, had issued warrants for levying troops for the Palatinate; and, having no money, had exacted that the charges of "coat and conduct" should be borne by the people, who were, in return, to receive a promise of repayment from his exchequer. This gave rise to great discontents, but the king continued the practice during the recess; and other circumstan-

ces meanwhile occurred still further to bring his government into disrepute. Soubise and the Huguenots still kept possession of Rochelle and the island of Rhé, and the fleet was so powerful at sea that the French Catholics could not meet it. In virtue of the recent alliance, Cardinal Richelieu applied to the English for assistance against the French Protestants. Charles and Buckingham complied; but, to deceive the people, it was given out that the armament was intended, not against Rochelle, but against the city of Genoa, which was in alliance with the house of Austria. Ever since Buckingham had been lord-admiral, the navy had been woefully neglected, in consequence of which the seas were infested by pirates, and the trade of the country frequently molested. The only man-of-war in a state fit to put to sea was the *Vanguard*; but the French ministry was urgent, and so seven merchant vessels of the largest size were pressed into the king's service. Buckingham provided the little fleet with stores and ammunition as he best could. The fleet stood across the Channel; but, when off Dieppe, they learned from the Duke of Montmorency, the Lord-admiral of France, that they were expected to take on board French sailors and soldiers, and then to proceed to fight against the Protestants of Rochelle. Captains and men instantly refused, drew up a protest or petition, and forced Pennington, the commander of the little fleet, to sail back to the Downs. Pennington himself then begged to be excused going on such a service; and presently the Duke of Rohan, Soubise, and the other Huguenot chiefs, who had got a hint of what was intended, despatched an envoy to London, to implore the king not to employ his forces against his Protestant brethren. The envoy had good words and hopes from Charles, but Buckingham told him that the king, his master, had pledged his word, and that the ships must and should go. The captains and owners of the merchant vessels, however, represented that they had been hired and impressed for the King of England's service, and they could not be passed into the hands of the French without higher orders and a new agreement. Hereupon Buckingham posted down to Rochester with the French ambassador, who undertook to charter the merchants' ships for King Louis. But, in spite of the high and absolute tone of the favourite, merchants, captains, and men were alike averse to the service. In the beginning of July, Secretary Conway wrote a letter in King Charles's name to Vice-admiral Pennington, telling him that his master had left the command of the ships to the French king, and that he, Pennington, should take on board at Dieppe as many men as the French pleased, and that this letter was to be his warrant. A trick was put upon

¹ Montague was rewarded for his sufferings by an increase of the royal favour; and the man that the commons had denounced soon received a bishopric!

² Rushworth; *Parl. Hist.*

the sailors—they were told again that they were to go to Genoa—and they once more sailed to Dieppe, Pennington having another letter, written by Charles himself, which charged and commanded him, without delay, to put his majesty's ship the *Vanguard* into the hands of the French, and to require the commanders of the seven merchant ships, in his majesty's name, to do the same, nay, in case of backwardness, to use forcible means, even to sinking, to compel them. As soon as he reached Dieppe, Pennington delivered up the *Vanguard*, and acquainted the rest of the captains with the king's commands. Again, they all refused to obey. When they prepared to heave anchor, Pennington fired into them from the man-of-war, and compelled them to stay, all but the brave Sir Ferdinand Gorge, in the *Neptune*—"more brave in running away from this abominable action than charging in the midst of an enemy." The Frenchmen were embarked, and Pennington led them to Rochelle; but to make the Englishmen fight under such circumstances was beyond his power. They deserted, and joined the Huguenots, or returned home. The siege of Rochelle was abandoned, and Charles drew upon himself an almost crushing weight of odium without being of any use to Louis.¹

On the 1st of August the parliament met in the good city of Oxford. Charles summoned both houses to attend him in the hall of Christ Church, and there asked for more money to carry on the war.² A day or two after, it was seen that, notwithstanding this demand, and the earnest representations of ministers, the commons would not vote any more subsidies, or change their previous decision about tonnage and poundage. They, in fact, applied themselves to the redress of grievances, foremost among which they placed the non-enforcement of the penal statutes against Papists. Old Coke, more bold and impressive from his great age, denounced new invented offices and useless officers, which cost much money, and ought to be abolished; the multiplicity of great offices in one man—meaning, of course, Buckingham; the prodigality of the court and household; and the paying of certain pensions, which ought to be stopped until the king was out of debt. Other members denounced with as much vehemence, if not eloquence, the now common practice of selling the offices of government. By this time the Earl of Bristol had explained to many his own conduct and the conduct of Buckingham at Madrid; and an inquiry was proposed into the mal-administration of the favourite as lord-admiral, and his having brought

the country into a war merely from personal spite against the Spanish favourite Olivares. The tone of the house was bold and resolute. The learned Sir Robert Cotton, after applauding the "constant wisdom" of the house, as shown in their censure of that ill-advised minister for trenching upon their ancient liberties, told them that, notwithstanding those walls could not conceal from the ears of captious, guilty, and revengeful men without, the councils and debates within, he would express his honest thoughts, and show the crimes for which parliament had impeached other minions in elder times. He proceeded to give a history of royal favourites, from the Spensers and Gavestons of Edward II. to the Somerset and Buckingham of the present age, and showed how the latter was the worst of the two. Buckingham, at the desire of the king, presented an account of the navy, and a denial of having acted through personal feelings in the quarrel with Spain. His tone was mild and gentle—almost pathetic in speaking of his loss of the commons' favour—but when he alluded to the Earl of Bristol, he could not conceal his deadly hatred. When they had sat nine days, the commons were told from the king that his business required a speedy despatch; that the plague might touch them, and that he desired a present answer about his supplies; that if they would not give such answer without loss of time, he would take more care of their health than they themselves seemed disposed to take, and shift for himself as he could. They were debating upon the subject of a supply, but were not inclined to be very liberal without some tender of redress, when this threat of dissolution reached their ears. A most animated debate ensued, and they appointed a committee to prepare their answer. This proved to be a spirited but respectful declaration, putting forward abuses, but not refusing fresh supplies. They told his majesty that they were abundantly comforted by his majesty's late gracious answer touching their religion, and his message for the care of their health, and they solemnly vowed and protested before God and the world, with one heart and voice, that they would ever continue most loyal and obedient servants. But, they added, "We will, in a convenient time, and in a parliamentary way, freely and dutifully do our utmost endeavours to discover and reform the abuses and grievances of this realm and state, and in like sort to afford all necessary supply to his most excellent majesty upon his present occasions and designs: most humbly beseeching our said dear and dread sovereign, in his princely wisdom and goodness, to rest assured of the true and hearty affections of his poor commons; and to esteem the same to be (as we conceive it is indeed) the greatest worldly reputation and secu

¹ Rymer; Cabala; Rushworth; Clarendon Papers; Les Larmes de l'Angleterre.

² The commons said, with some reason, that they hardly knew whom they were at war with. There had been no declaration!

city that a just king can have; and to account all such as slanderers of the people's affections, and enemies to the commonwealth, that shall dare say the contrary." This declaration was passed as the sense of the house, but they had not had time to present it when they were suddenly summoned to the lords, to hear the king's commission for dissolving the parliament. Thus inauspiciously ended, on the 12th of August, the first parliament under Charles.

During this Oxford session of twelve days he of course obtained not a farthing; but he fancied that he could take money from the pockets of his subjects in right of his prerogative without consent of parliament; and the hare-brained Buckingham, who had been the instigator of the hasty dissolution, cheered him with prospects of great wealth to be obtained by the plunder of Spain. Writs under the privy seal were issued to the nobility, gentry, and clergy, calling upon them to lend money to his majesty; and wherever any reluctance was encountered, threats of vengeance were employed; the duties of tonnage and poundage were levied though the bill had not passed; the salaries of the servants of government were left in arrears; the amusements and even the daily table¹ at court were trencched upon in order to save money for the fitting out of an expedition, which, according to the calculation of the favourite, would pay cent. per cent. By these means an army of 10,000 men was collected on the western coast, ships of war were fitted out, and merchant vessels engaged as transports, and armed. Not a word was said about the destination of these forces—Buckingham's blow was to fall by surprise.² The States of Holland contributed a squadron of sixteen sail; the English fleet counted eighty sail. The command of both fleet and army was given to Sir Edward Cecil, now created Lord Wimbledon, a general who had served with very bad success in the Palatinate and the Low Countries. This appointment of a mere landsman surprised and vexed the seamen, who looked upon Wimbledon with contempt. It belonged properly to Sir Robert Mansel, Vice-admiral of England, and an experienced sailor, in case the high-admiral himself went not; but Buckingham, for selfish motives, made the odd choice, and then persisted in it. The fleet set sail in the month of October. In the Bay of Biscay the ships were damaged and in part scattered by a storm. One vessel (the *Long Robin*) foundered with 170 men on board. This was but the beginning of misfortune. The confusion of orders was such, that the officers and soldiers

scarcely knew whom to command or whom to obey. When he got in sight of the Spanish shores, Wimbledon called a council of war, the usual and dangerous resource of incompetent commanders. His instructions, like those given to the great Drake in former times, were, to intercept the Plate ships from America, to scour the Spanish coast, and destroy the shipping in the ports. But where should he begin? In the council of war some recommended one point, some another; in the end, it was determined to make for Cadiz Bay. But while they were consulting, the Spaniards got notice of their approach, and prepared to receive them. Moreover, Wimbledon allowed seven large and rich Spanish ships to escape him, and sail into the bay, where they afterward (when he had effected his landing) did him great mischief with their ordnance. A sudden attack on the shipping at Cadiz and Port Santa Maria could hardly have failed even now, but the land admiral preferred taking ships by land—perhaps he meant to take and plunder Cadiz, as Essex had done—and disembarking his troops, he took the paltry fort of Puntal. Then he moved towards the bridge which connects the Isla de Leon with the continent, to cut off the communication. No enemy was seen on this short march; but in the wine-cellars of the country, which were broken open and plundered, a foe was found which has ever been more dangerous to undisciplined English troops than bullets and pikes. The men got drunk, and became unmanageable. Lord Wimbledon, as the best thing he could do, led them back to the ships, leaving some hundreds of stragglers to fall under the knives of the enraged peasantry. There still remained the hope of intercepting the Plate fleet, but an infectious disease broke out in Lord Delaware's ship, and in consequence of an insane order given by Wimbledon, that the sick should be distributed into the healthy ships, the malady was spread exceedingly. After beating about for eighteen days with a dreadful mortality on board, and without a glimpse of the fleet from the New World, Wimbledon resolved to carry his dishonoured flag home again, "which was done in a confused manner, and without any observance of sea orders." With the troops and crews dreadfully reduced, with sickness in every ship, and without a single prize of the least value, Wimbledon arrived at Plymouth, to be hissed and hooted by the indignant people. This sorry and unsuccessful return of an expedition which had cost him so much was a grievous blow to Charles.

As Buckingham's plan for enriching his master with the produce of the Spaniards' mines of Mexico and Peru had thus failed, the favourite undertook to go over to the Dutch, and raise money by pawning the crown jewels and plate;

¹ Charles found himself obliged to borrow £3000, to procure provisions for his table, from the corporations of Salisbury and Southampton.

² Howell, however, says that the secret was badly kept, as all state secrets were in those days.

and to the Hague he went, taking with him those articles and the Earl of Holland, who is said to have governed him as much as he governed the king. He raised some £300,000 among the money-lenders; drew closer the treaty of alliance with the States; and negotiated with other Protestant powers, which sent their agents to treat with him. From the Hague he would have proceeded to Paris, but his amorous impudence had given much disgust there, and Richelieu informed him that his return to that capital could not be suffered. This message, added to some preceding circumstance almost entirely personal to Buckingham, had the effect of giving an entirely new direction to the policy of England. In his wrath, Buckingham would at once have undone what he had done only a few months before. His friend Holland and Sir Dudley Carleton, who went to Paris in his stead, were instructed to demand the immediate restitution of the English ships which had been lent to Louis, and to tell that king that he ought to make peace with his Protestant subjects, with whom they, the ambassadors, were to open a secret correspondence, giving them assurance that the King of England would assist them, and asking them what force they could raise in case of Charles's declaring war against Louis. For the present, Richelieu was enabled to conjure the storm, but he was obliged to submit to several indignities and breaches of treaty on the part of the English court.

Apart from any consideration of religion, Charles had conceived a violent dislike of the Frenchmen and priests that had come over with his young wife; and, if the truth is told of them, they must have been a most intriguing and troublesome crew. Henrietta Maria, naturally enough, took the part of her countrymen and ghostly comforters, and this led to frequent quarrels with her husband. Charles reported all his conjugal troubles to Buckingham, and Buckingham did all he could to provoke fresh ones. The favourite was not only jealous of the influence of the young queen, but also disgusted with her whole nation; and he was still further incensed against her by some accidental, or probably in-

tentional slights, which she put upon his intriguing and insolent mother. One day the unmanly minion entered her apartment in a great passion, and, after some rude expostulation, told her she should repent it. Her majesty answering with some quickness, he told her insolently that there had been queens in England who had lost their heads. On the 20th of November Charles wrote from Hampton Court to inform Steenie that he had fully made up his mind to cashier all the Monsers (Messieurs), and send them back to France. On the same day, however, when his passion cooled, he wrote another letter to the favourite, telling him that the thing must be done with management and delicacy. "You must, therefore," says Charles, "advertise my mother-in-law that I must remove all those instruments that are the causes of unkindness between her daughter and me, few or none of the servants being free of this fault in one kind or other."¹ The favourite was then on the Continent, and had not as yet received the interdict



HENRIETTA MARIA, Queen of Charles I.—After Vandyke.

of the cardinal. He was thinking of a gay visit to Paris, and therefore, as it appears, he begged his master to be patient under his domestic grievances. Some time after, Charles writes to him that his "wife begins to mend her manners." "I know not," adds his majesty, "how long it will continue, for they say it is by advice."² When Buckingham returned, full of rage, from the Continent, violent quarrels began anew on this score. It was thought that the queen's servants would refuse to take the oath of allegiance, and it was tendered to them as a means of getting rid of them, but

they all took it except the priests.

Notwithstanding his open declaration to the council that he abhorred the name of parliament, Charles saw that he must inevitably meet that body again, and that soon. Whatever sums had been borrowed abroad by Buckingham, or extorted at home under the privy seal, were absorbed by arrears, and all things were at a standstill for want of money. In his own complaints against the French attendants we do not find any great stress laid upon their religion, but he knew

¹ *Hardwicke State Papers.*

² *Ibid.*

very well that their faith and open practice of it were their real crimes in the eyes of his people. Leaving, however, the French for the present, he sought to gratify the intolerance of the commons and the people by persecuting and annoying the English-born Catholics, in doing which he broke the treaty of matrimony, to which he had so solemnly sworn. No doubt he was the more ready to revive the old statutes against recusants, because they offered a source of revenue in the shape of fines and forfeits. He issued orders to his Protestant magistrates to hunt up the game, and he appointed a commission to levy fines on the Catholics: he commanded, by proclamations, the immediate return of all English children and youths that were studying in Catholic seminaries on the Continent, and the instant departure out of England of all priests and missionaries. He also resolved, by the advice of his council, to disarm all the Popish lords. In the execution of this order, which implied an odious searching of men's houses, great care was taken to give no offence to the family and connections of the favourite, who, mother and all, were known or suspected Catholics.¹ But upon other noble families who had no such relationship with the favourite, the blow fell with unmitigated severity. The magistrates, their spies, and emissaries searched castles and manor-houses as if there had been a new Gunpowder Plot; and many an irritating scene occurred, not without a mixture of the ridiculous and farcical. The French court remonstrated upon this fresh persecution, and reminded Charles of his treaty and his oath; but this only piqued him, without effecting any change in favour of the recusants.

Having thus done something for popularity, the king devised how he might clear the House of Commons of some of its most obnoxious members, and he hit upon an artifice which was singularly transparent and bungling. Persons acting as sheriffs could not sit in parliament, and, therefore, when the judges presented the list of sheriffs for the ensuing year, he struck out seven names, and wrote in their places those of Sir Edward Coke, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Robert Phillips, Sir Grey Palmer, Sir William Fleetwood, and Mr. Edward Alford, seven members who had given him the most trouble in the late parliament, and who were all resolute in their intention of impeaching the favourite.²

The opening of the session was A.D. 1626. fixed for the 6th of February. The king was to have been crowned at Christmas, but

for several reasons—we believe the want of money may have been the principal—that ceremony was not performed till the 2d of February. There were several things too striking to be omitted, which occurred in the ceremonial of this great Thursday. The queen, as a Catholic, was neither crowned nor present in the Abbey. They offered to have a place fitted up for her, but she preferred occupying a window of a room at the palace gate, whence she might see them go and return without witnessing the religious ceremonies, which she had been taught to consider as heretical and damnable. It is mentioned by a careful relater of small things, that while her majesty stood at the window looking on the procession, her French ladies were frisking and dancing in the room. An important part was played in the Abbey by Laud, now Bishop of St. David's, prebendary of Westminster, and on the highroad to greater promotions, being much distinguished and favoured both by Buckingham and Charles. Buckingham was lord-constable for the day: in ascending the steps to the throne he took the right hand of the king, and offered his left to his majesty, who, putting it by with his right hand, helped up the duke, saying to him, with a smiling countenance, "I have as much need to help you, as you to assist me." When the archbishop presented Charles, bare-headed, to the people, the people preserved a dead silence, and not one word followed the primate's adjuration for the usual applauding welcome, till my Lord Arundel, the earl-marshal, told them they should cry out "God save King Charles!" upon which there followed a little shouting. The unction—the anointing of the king's naked shoulders, arms, hands, and head—things most abominable in the eyes of the Puritans, and ridiculous in the eyes of many other men—were all done behind a traverse or screen, and were performed by Archbishop Abbot, who, notwithstanding the absolution he had obtained from King James, was still suspected as being uncanonical and irregular, from his accidental killing of a man while hunting. Laud made several alterations in the usual service, and composed an entirely new prayer, which went to establish a closer union than ever between king and bishops. "It was," says a courtly knight, "one of the most punctual coronations since the Conquest." This it may have been, but it was assuredly one of the dulllest or the least honoured by the spontaneous joy of the nation. The fact is, Charles's sayings had gone abroad, and he was suspected in politics, in religion, and in everything else.

¹ Letter to Buckingham, in *Hardwicke Papers*.

² The great lawyer, after vexing the government with other legal points, maintained that, though a sheriff could not be returned for his shire, he might yet sit for some other shire or

borough; and Coke actually got himself elected for the county of Norfolk. He did not, however, take his seat, though he was permitted to enjoy the other privileges of a member of parliament.

Four days after his coronation he opened the session of parliament¹ with a very short speech, telling them he was no orator; but desired to be known by his actions, not by his words, and referring them to the lord-keeper, who would explain the business for which he had called them together. Bishop Williams, the man that was a diocese in himself—the ready-witted Williams, who had saved Buckingham at a crisis, who had rendered many secret services—was no longer lord-keeper. He had quarrelled with the favourite at or immediately after the Oxford session; he had ventured to tell him “that he was engaged with the Earl of Pembroke to labour in the redress of the people’s grievances, and was resolved to stand upon his own legs”—and of course the bishop had fallen. The present lord-keeper was Sir Thomas Coventry, the son of a



SIR THOMAS COVENTRY.—After a portrait by Jansen.

judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and a thorough-bred lawyer, who had gone through the grades of recorder of London, solicitor-general, and king’s attorney. But if he knew law better than Bishop Williams, he was equally ready to stretch the royal prerogative as far as ever that base time-server had done. In his opening speech, to which the king had especially referred them, Coventry spoke of the “incomparable distance between the supreme height and majesty of a mighty monarch and the submissive awe and lowliness of loyal subjects.” But the commons had never been less disposed to listen to such language or submit to such pretensions. They had again met with a resolute will to can-

vass grievances and to punish the favourite of majesty; and dividing themselves into sections, and appointing standing committees, they proceeded to work fearlessly. Guided by the force without, by the zealous feelings of the people, and following in many particular instances their own inward conviction, they began again with the question of religion, and insisted on sharpening still more the legal sword against Papists.

In the very first week of the session, a speech was made “somewhat eagerly, aiming at but not naming the duke; but it was not applauded, nor seemingly liked by the house.”² But this discouragement was merely given to some over-hasty orator—they were preparing a regular attack, and wished not for petty skirmishes. Their committee of grievances drew up an account of sixteen capital abuses, all fatal to the liberties of the people. Among these were the old curse of purveyance, and the new practice of levying the duties of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament; monopolies; great prodigality and malversation on the part of the ministry. They traced all these evils, all the disgraces sustained by the English flag by land and sea, and all other wrongs and misfortunes, to the “great delinquent.” The king, anticipating their resolves, sent a message to the commons, in which he chose to overlook the precedents of Bacon and Middlesex, and the notorious fact that he himself, as Prince of Wales, had joined Buckingham in procuring Middlesex’s impeachment. “I must let you know,” said he, “that I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned amongst you, much less such as are of eminent place and near unto me. I see you especially aim at the Duke of Buckingham. I wonder what hath so altered your affection towards him. I do well remember his favour with you in the last parliament of my father’s time. . . . What he hath done since to alter and change your minds, I wot not. . . . I wish you would hasten my supply, or else it will be worse for yourselves; for, if any ill happen, I shall be the last shall feel it.”

But the commons maintained that it was “the ancient, constant, and undoubted right and usage of parliaments to question and complain of all persons of what degree soever, found dangerous to the commonwealth in abusing the power and trust committed to them by the sovereign:” they stopped the question of supplies—they proceeded more vigorously than before against the favourite; and, not having as yet got ready their direct testimony, they voted, almost by acclamation, that common fame was a good ground of proceeding, either by inquiry or presenting the complaint to the king or lords. Instead of taking warning, Charles sent down the lord-keeper to

¹ It is said that, at the opening of the session, one-half of the members of the House of Commons had not arrived from the country.

² Meade.

rate them for their presumption, and to require the punishment of two members who had given him offence by insolent discourses in the house—to tell them that it was his majesty's express and final commandment that they should yield obedience and cease their unparliamentary inquisition. There were some few court members who entertained the constitutional heresy that parliaments existed only by sufferance, and that they were things that might be made or unmade at the will of the sovereign. Sir Dudley Carleton, who, as a diplomatist, had travelled a great deal in the despotic states of the Continent, drew a frightful but scarcely exaggerated picture of the misery of the people there. He could scarcely have found a better argument in favour of the determined struggle the commons were making to check that despotism which was established elsewhere, and was the cause of the people's misery and abjectness; but, with an obliquity of vision scarcely conceivable in a well-educated gentleman, he saw in it an argument for the court. "He cautioned them not to make the king out of love with parliaments, by encroaching on his prerogative; for in his messages he had told them that he must then use new councils. In all Christian kingdoms there were parliaments anciently, till the monarchs, seeing their turbulent spirits, stood upon their prerogatives, and overthrew them all except with us. In foreign countries the people look not like ours, with store of flesh on their backs, but like ghosts, being nothing but skin and bones, with some thin cover to their nakedness, and wearing wooden shoes on their feet—a misery beyond expression, and that we are yet free from; and let us not lose the repute of a free-born nation by our turbulence in parliament."¹ And that there might be no possibility of a mistake as to the king's real sentiment, or his absolute way of expressing it, Charles himself again addressed them, bidding them remember that parliaments were altogether in his power for their calling, sitting, or dissolution, and that therefore as he should find the fruits of them good or evil, they were to be or not to be. The commons thereupon retired to deliberate, and they locked the doors of the house, and placed the key in the hands of the speaker, Sir Heneage Finch. This unusual measure created a panic in the court, and Charles himself proposed and obtained a conference between the two houses. In that meeting the favourite attempted to explain away the passages in the royal speeches and messages, and to justify his own conduct. He told them, moreover, that the king was willing to submit to the consideration of a *secret* committee of both houses, those defects of his estate which were not fit for

the eyes of a multitude. But the commons would not be moved from their original purpose; and, after the Easter recess, they impeached the favourite at the bar of the House of Lords. Buckingham, however, was attacked in that assembly by the peers themselves, before the commons brought up their impeachment. As if seized by a vertigo, Charles, not content with exasperating one branch of the legislature, engaged in a mad quarrel with the other. The Earl of Arundel, the marshal, had given some offence to Buckingham, and his son, Lord Maltravers, had privately married a daughter of the Duke of Lennox without obtaining the royal consent. Leaving the young lord, Charles fell upon the father, and, by royal warrant, Arundel was shut up in the Tower. This seemed to the contrivers of it a masterly stroke; for Arundel, besides his own vote in the House of Lords, held five or six proxies. But the lords presently took up the business, and, after a formal examination of precedents, they resolved "that no lord of parliament, the parliament sitting, or within the usual times of privilege of parliament, is to be imprisoned or restrained without sentence or order of the house, unless it be for treason or felony, or for refusing to give surety for the peace." They then sent an address to the king, respectfully calling for the immediate liberation of the Earl of Arundel. Charles returned an evasive answer: the lords sent him another address. The king deputed the attorney-general to explain the royal prerogative; but the lords would not yield, and they came to a resolution to suspend all other business. At last the king yielded in a very ungracious manner—Arundel was set at liberty, and he took his seat, amidst the triumphant shouts and cheers of the house. After another struggle, the court sustained a further humiliating defeat in the same high quarter, and another and a more deadly enemy of the favourite took his seat in the lords. The Earl of Bristol, since his return from Spain, had never ceased petitioning that he might be heard in his defence and allowed to come to London. Now that he saw a strong opposition party organized in the House of Lords, which had so long been so very submissive and slavish, he sent up to claim from his peers his indisputable right. Buckingham would have preferred meeting the devil; but, upon deliberation, it was deemed expedient to comply in outward appearance. A writ of summons was issued to call the earl up to parliament; but this was accompanied by a letter privately written, and charging him, as he feared the king's displeasure, to keep away. Bristol sent the letter to the House of Lords, inclosed in one of his own, soliciting their advice, and demanding permission to accuse, in his place, the favourite. Upon this the king and Buckingham

¹ Rushworth.

sent down the attorney-general, who, the very next day, charged Bristol at their lordship's bar with high treason. But the lords could not help understanding this manœuvre, and they voted that the one charge should be heard after the other—that Bristol should make his accusation, and that the counter-accusation should neither prevent nor prejudice his evidence.¹

Bristol drove to the House of Lords in a kind of triumph, with eight horses to his coach; but my lord Duke of Buckingham went much more modestly than was his wont, in an old coach, with only some three footmen and no retinue. When he entered upon his accusation, Bristol charged the favourite with plotting with Gondomar to get the Prince of Wales into Spain for the purpose of converting him to Popery previously to his marriage there; with having conformed to Popish rites himself, and led an immoral and depraved life while in that country as a companion of the prince and the guest of the Spanish monarch; with having broken off the treaty of marriage out of private resentment and spite at the Spanish government, which had expressed its desire to have no more negotiating with so dissolute and dangerous a man; and with his abusing and deceiving King James and both houses of parliament on his return from Spain with a feigned and false narration.² On the other hand, Heath, the attorney-general, charged Bristol with having persuaded the prince to change his religion in order to marry the infant—a with having endeavoured to force that marriage upon his highness by delivering the procurator, and with having presented to the House of Lords a petition full of scandal and highly insulting to his majesty. The lords agreed that these charges against the earl should be heard first. Bristol asked the attorney-general who was the prosecuting witness? Heath replied, that the prosecution was commanded by the king, and that some of the charges had been dictated by his majesty. Upon this avowal Bristol said, "that he would not contend with his sovereign, but that it might be of dangerous consequence if the king should be accuser, judge, witness, and have the confiscation."³ The king ought in decency to have been quiet; but he could not trust the lords, being apprehensive of their impartiality. He sent the Lord-keeper Coventry, a principal agent and the legal adviser in this dilemma, to tell them that he himself, of his own knowledge, could exculpate the Duke of Buckingham; that Bristol, in impeaching the

narrative of the Spanish match which the duke had made to parliament, touched him, who, as Prince of Wales, had vouched for the truth of that narrative; and that he trusted confidently that they would not equal the duke and the earl by a proceeding *pari passu*. The peers had the wisdom and spirit to disregard this message, upon which the king attempted to remove, by his arbitrary will, the case of Bristol from the House of Lords to the Court of King's Bench; but here again he was foiled by the peers, who firmly maintained their privileges. The lords consulted the judges upon the two following points:—Whether the king could be a witness in a case of treason? Whether, in Bristol's case, he could be a witness, admitting the treason done with his privity? The timid judges required a short time to deliberate: the king sent them a message and command to give no answer to the questions, seeing that he knew not what consequences might ensue to the prejudice of the rights of his crown, which he would not suffer to be diminished in his time. Bristol answered every particular of the charges brought against him with great spirit and perspicuity; his answer, which appears to have given general satisfaction to the lords, was entered on the journals.⁴

It was deemed expedient, or perhaps absolutely necessary, that Buckingham should stand the fire of the commons before he met the charges of Bristol. The lower house, by the beginning of the month of May, had appointed eight managers, with sixteen assistants, to confer with the lords on the impeachment, and had voted, by a large majority, that the lords should be moved to commit the Duke of Buckingham to the Tower. On the 8th of May the impeachment was carried up to the peers. It was divided into thirteen separate charges, the chief of which were, that Buckingham had bought for money the posts of high-admiral and warden of the Cinque-ports; had invested himself with several of the highest offices of the state, which had not before been held by one individual; had culpably neglected the guarding of the seas, and suffered the trade of the country to fall to ruin; had illegally detained, for his private profit, a French ship, and so provoked the French king to make reprisals on English merchants; had extorted £10,000 from the East India Company; had put a squadron of English ships into the hands of the French king to be employed against the Protestants of Rochelle; had sold places of judicature; had procured honours and wealth for his poor kindred; had committed malversation in the treasury; and had presumed to apply a plaster and give a drink to the late king on his deathbed against the orders of the physicians.

¹ Journals.

² Bristol also brought articles against Secretary Conway, now Lord Conway, whom he fairly represented as the creature of Buckingham. Conway maintained, that if he had done wrong it was in obedience to orders—that he had never done anything without the king's express command.

³ Whitelock.

⁴ Rushworth; Whitelock.

The eight managers for the commons were Sir Dudley Digges, Sir John Eliot, Serjeant Glanville, Selden, Whitelock, Pym, Herbert, and Wandesford. Digges spoke the prologue. After comparing the parliament to the universe, the lords to the fixed stars, the commons to the lower world, the king to the glorious sun, he called Buckingham a comet—a prodigious comet—against whom and his irregular ways, there were legal articles of charge to be delivered to their lordships. He then entered upon the articles of the impeachment; and, when he had done, Glanville, Selden, and Pym spoke in detail upon the several charges. Sir John Eliot delivered the epilogue to the impeachment. He compared the inward character of the duke's mind to the beast called by the ancients "*stellionatus*;"¹ a beast so blurred, so spotted, so full of foul lines, that they knew not what to make of it. "You have seen his power," continued the orator, "and some I fear have felt it. You have known his practice, and heard the effects. . . . I can hardly find him a parallel; none so like him as Sejanus, thus described by Tacitus, *audax, sui obtegens, in alios criminator, iuxta adulator et superbus*. . . . For his pride and flattery it is noted of Sejanus that he did *clientes suos provincis adornare*: doth not this man the like? Ask England, Scotland, and Ireland, and they will tell you. My lords, I have done; you see the man: by him came all the evils; in him we find the cause; in him we expect the remedies; and to this we met your lordships in conference." During these vehement speeches Buckingham jeered and fleered, showing that he had more confidence in the power of the king to protect than in that of the parliament to punish him. Sir Dudley Digges, or Serjeant Glanville, was so provoked by his insolence, that, turning to the duke, he exclaimed, "My lord, do you jeer me?—are these things to be jeered at? My lord, I can show you when a man of a greater blood than your lordship, as high in place and power, and as deep in the favour of the king as you, hath been hanged for as small a crime as the least of these articles contain."² Sir John Eliot's quotations from Tacitus stung to the quick. For Buckingham to be a Sejanus the king must be a Tiberius—the inference was inevitable; and Charles, besides, knew that, in the charge about the plaster and the posset, it was meant that the late king had met with foul play—a horrible, and, as we believe, an unfounded suspicion, which obtained among the people both before and long after this impeachment. He resolved to take vengeance on Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges; two

days after they were called out of the house, as if the king had sent for them, and were carried to the Tower by water, it being given out that their arrest was for high treason. As soon as the news was carried into the house, there was a cry of "Rise! rise! rise!" which Mr. Pym, not well understanding, stood up, and began to insinuate an exhortation to patience and wisdom. Whereunto one Walters replied that he seemed to mistake the voice of the house, which, as he understood, had no other meaning but that it was time to rise and go to dinner. Charles, in the meanwhile, hurried to the House of Lords in a fury, not merely to complain of the insult offered to himself, but also to interpose his ægis between Buckingham and his accusers. "I have thought fit," said he, "to punish some insolent speeches lately spoken. I have been too remiss, hitherto, in punishing such speeches as concern myself; not that I was greedy of their monies, but that Buckingham, through his importunity, would not suffer me to take notice of them, lest he might be thought to have set me on, that he might come the forwarder to his trial. And to approve his innocency as touching the matters against him, I myself can be a witness to clear him in every one of them." While the king delivered this speech to the lords, Buckingham, who ought to have been in the Tower, or at the least in custody of the Black Rod, stood confidently by his side. But, again, they were both foiled by the high spirit of the commons, who debated with closed doors on the violation of their privileges, and came to the resolution to stay all business till satisfaction were given. In a few days Charles was fain to release both Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Eliot, who returned to their seats in the house.³

Just at this moment the chancellorship of the university of Cambridge fell vacant; and Charles resolved that the high honour—as it was esteemed—should be conferred on the favourite, who was lying under two impeachments and branded by the people. The statutes and rights of the university were set at defiance, and at his majesty's command Buckingham was named chancellor in the most irregular and unseemly manner. This was everywhere set down as a new proof of the king's settled intention to rule despotically in all matters. The honour or title (for honour it was not) did no good to Buckingham and a deal of harm to his master.

The favourite had now been allowed some time to prepare his defence to the commons' impeachment, in doing which he had the assistance of Sir Nicholas Hyde. On the 8th of June, a week after his Cambridge election, he rose in the lords with grace and modesty, and began his

¹ The name of the animal alluded to is *stellio*; from which seems to have been formed the legal term *stellionatus*, meaning any nondescript or undefined crime.

² *Meade*.

³ *Journals; Rushworth; Parl. Hist.*

reply. He affirmed that some of the accusations against him were grossly exaggerated; that others were altogether groundless: but his great argument was, that he was only the servant of royalty—that all that he had done had been done in obedience either to the late or to the present king. He pleaded an anticipatory pardon, which had been granted him by Charles on the 10th of February, or four days after the opening of the present parliament. He said, however, that it was his earnest wish to go through a regular trial. But, on the very next day, the king addressed the following message to the speaker of the commons:—"We hold it necessary, by these our letters, to give them this our last and final admonition, and to let them know that we shall account all further delays and excuses to be express denials; and therefore we will and require you to signify unto them that we do expect that they do forthwith bring in their bill of subsidy to be passed without delay or *condition*, so as it may fully pass the house by the end of next week at furthest; which, if they do not, it will force us to take other resolutions." The commons, who had been all along resolute that a reform of abuses and the dismissal of Buckingham should precede their bill of subsidy, drew up a declaration which they meant to present to the king in a body; but, while the business was still under discussion, they were suddenly summoned to attend his majesty in the House of Lords. Knowing what this signified, they took their declaration, which had been hastily drawn up, with them. Instead of the king, they found his commissioners for the dissolution of parliament. The speaker held up his paper and proclaimed its contents, the most important of which was a humble petition to his majesty for the removal of the favourite from access to his royal presence. The lords, foreseeing much mischief, implored Charles for a short delay: his answer was, "No, not for a minute."¹ Thus ended, on the 15th of June, 1626, his second parliament.

Before they retired to their homes, to await in patience to see what the assumed Divine right would do for the king, without their vote of supplies, the commons took care to disperse their declaration or remonstrance. The paper was calculated to make a deep impression on the popular mind. The king replied by a counter-declaration, an excusable measure, though his paper contained many equivocations and some falsehoods; but not resting here, he, by a proclamation, commanded all persons having a copy or notes of the commons' paper to burn the same, under pain of his indignation. Immediately after the dissolution the Earl of Arundel was confined in his own house, and the Earl of Bristol was

sent to the Tower. In the meantime, to raise money a warrant was issued under the great seal for levying duties on all imports and exports; the trade in fines for religion was revived with more vigour than ever: a commission was appointed to inquire into the arrears due by the Catholics, to compound with them for immediate payments, and to secure regular returns of this odious kind of revenue; another commission was appointed to manage the extensive crown lands, and to improve in various ways the rents derived from them; fresh privy seals for loans were issued to the nobility, gentry, and merchants; and a demand for £120,000 was made upon the city of London. Moreover, London and the seaport towns were commanded to furnish ships for the defence of the coast and the protection of commerce in the narrow seas; and the lord-lieutenants of counties were ordered to muster troops to be ready to meet insurrection at home or invasion from abroad. But all these minor resources of despotism were insufficient to supply the vacuum in the royal treasury, and Charles presently proceeded to the extreme measure of a forced loan on a grand scale. The members of the Protestant alliance had reaped nothing but disgrace and loss from their connection with him, and his unfortunate brother-in-law the Palatine. His uncle, the King of Denmark, was completely routed on the 27th of August, and driven behind the Elbe by the Imperialists under Count Tilly; and not only the cause of the Palatine, but also that of Protestantism in Germany, seemed desperate. The council impudently pretended that parliament was not called together at this crisis only because the urgency of the case would not allow time for their assembling and deliberating; and, therefore, a general loan was exacted, and each individual was called upon to contribute according to his rating in the last subsidy. Commissioners were let loose upon the land with books and registers, and most tyrannical instructions, of the king's and the council's making. The money, it was said, would all be paid back by the king to his loving subjects out of the next subsidies voted by parliament; but people knew not when the king and parliament would agree, and they had already ample grounds for doubting the veracity and good faith of Charles and Buckingham, who still seemed one and indivisible. Many who had refused to contribute to the loan were visited by all the vengeance of absolutism: the rich were imprisoned—the poorer sorts sent to serve in the army or navy; nor would Charles in any one instance step between the severity of his agents and their victims. In the list of the sufferers are the illustrious names of Sir John Eliot and Mr. John Hampden.² Sir

¹ Rushworth; *Parl. Hist.*

² Rushworth; *Whitelock.*

Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, who began his political career as a reformer and patriot, was also imprisoned. The poor—the victims too obscure to be named—suffered most; but their wrongs equally with those of the greater patriots helped to swell the detestation of despotism, and to purchase the liberties which we now enjoy. In several towns the tradespeople made a bold resistance. Any opposition or lukewarmness on the part of a crown officer or any servant of government insured his disgrace and dismissal. Sir Randolph Crew, the chief-justice of the King's Bench, was removed for "showing no zeal, and his place was given to Sir Nicholas Hyde, who had assisted Buckingham in his defence."¹ We believe that there were not many sufferers of this class. The lawyers and judges, however, subservient as they were, were patriots compared to the bishops and the High Church party. Laud, whom Charles had translated on the 20th of June, 1626, from the see of St. David's to that of Bath and Wells, drew up a set of instructions, in the king's name, to the clergy, who were enjoined to preach the merits of lending or giving money without authority of parliament, and to make those merits appear as essential to salvation. To remove any doubt as to his approbation of a confederacy or league of church and state against parliament and the people, Laud expressly avowed it in the preamble to these instructions.² Forthwith the pulpits resounded with this exchequer preaching, and the Established clergy tried to outstrip one another in a race whose goal was marked by a mitre. Dr. Roger Mainwaring, one of the king's chaplains, delivered two sermons highly against the power of parliament before the king and court at Whitehall, proclaiming, and attempting to prove by texts of Scripture, that the sovereign was not bound to keep and observe the laws of the realm; that parliament was an inferior sort of council; that the royal will was enough for the imposing of taxes; and that any disobedience or refusal to pay money for his use would assuredly be punished in the next world. Robert Sibthorp, vicar of Brackley, who was tired of the obscure life of a country parson, and longing after promotion, went, if possible, beyond Dr. Mainwaring. In an assize sermon, preached at Northampton, upon the text—"Render, therefore, to all their dues"³—he told the people that, even if the prince, the anointed of the Lord, should command a thing contrary to the laws of God or of nature, still the subjects were bound to submit to the punishment, only praying secretly that Heaven might turn the prince from the error of his

ways, but offering no resistance, no railing, no reviling—nothing but a passive obedience. Not satisfied with merely preaching this sermon, Sibthorp determined to print it under the title of "Apostolic Obedience." Here a license was necessary, and an application was made for one to the primate. Abbot, notwithstanding the king's orders, absolutely refused to grant the license, or declare that the precious stuff was orthodox. Hereupon Abbot was suspended, and confined to a country-house in Kent; his functions were intrusted to a commission; and Laud, who was one of the commissioners, licensed the sermon. This rising churchman, who, if we may believe Abbot and others, was "the only inward counsellor" with Buckingham, received the new promotion of dean of the chapel royal. Dr. Roger Mainwaring, like Montague, got a bishopric; Sibthorp was not quite so fortunate—for he could obtain only a chaplainship in ordinary to his majesty, a stall in Peterborough, and the rectory of Burton-Latimer, in Northamptonshire.⁴ For twenty years the High Church party had been labouring hard for despotism, but their system only drove people faster into the ranks of their opponents, the Puritans; and these last proceedings tended wonderfully to convince men's minds that the bishops, and priests, deacons, and other ministers, were the creatures of the court; the instinctive enemies of all who cherished the ancient liberties of the land, and who contemplated the extension of those liberties and their establishment upon a broader and sounder foundation. Thus many men of mark, who had no love for the more rigid notions of the Puritans, and no decided aversion to the creed and ceremonies of the church by law established, arrayed themselves against the whole hierarchy, and prepared to make the Puritan ardour a sharp sword against civil tyranny.

In the meantime, while clouds were gathering abroad, Charles had nothing but storms in his own house. These latter he attributed entirely, not to his wife's natural temper, but to the influence of the French people about her. At last, seeing that they would not be gone unless they were forced away, and being less delicate than formerly about the French court, he came to an unalterable decision. One fine summer afternoon he passed, apparently without being announced, into the queen's side of the house, "and, finding some Frenchmen, her servants, unreverently dancing and curvetting in her presence, took her by the hand and led her into his

¹ *Rushworth*. Whitelock says the chief-justice, not favouring the loan, was put out of his place.

² *Heylin's Life of Laud*.

³ Rom. xiii. 7.

⁴ *Rushworth*; *Heylin*. That honest Puritan, old Andrew Marvell, says of Mainwaring and Sibthorp, "They were exceedingly pragmatical, intolerably ambitious, and so desperately proud, that scarcely any gentleman might come near the tail of their mules."—Wood, *Athena Ozonienses*.

lodgings, locking the door after him, and shutting out all save only the queen. Presently upon this, my Lord Conway called forth the French bishop and others of that clergy into St. James's Park, where he told them the king's pleasure was, all her majesty's servants of that nation, men and women, young and old, should depart the kingdom; together with the reasons that enforced his majesty so to do. The bishop stood much upon it, that, being in the nature of an ambassador, he could not go unless the king his master should command him; but he was told again, that the king his master had nothing to do here in England, and that if he were unwilling to go, England would find force enough to convey him hence.¹ Having brought the bishop to reason, my Lord Conway, accompanied by Mr. Treasurer and Mr. Comptroller, went into the queen's apartments, and told all the French that were there that it was his majesty's pleasure they should all depart thence to Somerset House, there to remain away from the queen till further orders. "The women howled and lamented as if they had been going to execution, but all in vain, for the yeomen of the guard, by that lord's appointment, thrust them and all their country-folks out of the queen's lodgings, and locked the doors after them. It is said also the queen, when she understood the design, grew very impatient, and broke the glass windows with her fist; but since, I hear, her rage is appeased, and the king and she, since they went together to Nonsuch, have been very jocund together. The same day, the French being all at Somerset House, the king (as I have heard some to affirm) went thither and made a speech to them to this purpose;—that he hoped the good king, his brother of France, would not take amiss what he had done; for the French, he said, had occasioned many jars and discontents between the queen and him; such, indeed, as longer were insufferable. He prayed them, therefore, to pardon him, if he sought his own ease and safety; and said, moreover, that he had given order to his treasurer to reward every one of them for their year's service. So the next morning, being Tuesday, there was distributed among them £11,000 in money, and about £20,000 worth of jewels."² Two of the queen's women-servants—her nurse, and one that had used to dress her—and some dozen others of the inferior sort, as cooks, bakers, &c., were allowed to remain: all the rest were shipped at Dover a week after. It appears that Buckingham executed the high commission, which

was not unattended with difficulty, of getting them out of London; for on the 7th of August the king, who was at Oaking, wrote entirely with his own royal hand the following letter: "Steenie, I have received your letter by Dick Græme; this is my answer. I command you to send all the French away to-morrow out of the town. If you can, by fair means (but stick not long in disputing), otherwise force them away, driving away like so many wild beasts until ye have shipped them; and so the devil go with them. Let me hear no answer, but of the performance of my command. So I rest, &c."³ Some time before the scene at Whitehall, four new ladies of the queen's bed-chamber, all English, had been sworn. The first of these was the Duchess of Buckingham. Charles immediately despatched Sir Dudley Carleton to Paris, to explain away and justify his breach of the marriage treaty. Louis, his mother, Maria de' Medici, his minister Richelieu, all gave Carleton a very cold reception. There was even a talk of avenging the wrongs of Henrietta Maria by a recourse to arms: but Richelieu had already wars enough on his hands; and in the month of September they sent the gallant, witty, splendid, and profligate Marshal de Bassompierre to England, as special ambassador, to set it all right. The marshal was very courteously received by Buckingham, the Earl of Dorset, and other courtiers.

The French court complained, through its ambassador, as well of the general infraction of the promises made by Charles and his father of a full toleration, as of the treatment of the queen and her domestics; and it had also requested his majesty the King of Great Britain to ordain a better and more moderate usage of his subjects professing the Catholic apostolical Roman religion. The English council, at the very moment when the Catholics were being disarmed, fined, imprisoned, and made to compound with the sacrifice of their property for the privilege, not to profess their religion openly, but to *live* in England, insisted that there was no persecution, no infraction of the treaty upon that point. They boasted that his present majesty had made no new laws against the Catholics, and that he had not allowed one drop of blood to be spilt, either of Jesuit, priest, or other Roman Catholic, since his accession. They could not deny that Charles and his father had allowed the French court to interfere in the religion and government of the nation; they admitted all the articles of the marriage-treaty, which had been confirmed by Charles since his accession, but they pretended that all the religious part of that treaty was simply a matter of form to satisfy the Roman Catholic party of France, and the pope, who might other-

¹ Letter from John Pory to Meade, in *Ellis*.

² Letter from John Pory to Meade. The amount actually given was not so great by £8328. The list of the individuals and of the sums severally received by them is preserved in one of the Harleian MSS., and is given by Sir H. Ellis.

³ Sir H. Ellis, *Collection of Letters*.

wise have withheld the necessary dispensation. When statesmen could make treaties and speak of them a few months after in this manner, national agreements were no better than so much dirty paper. The English council then turned the tables upon the French, who had not been more honest, but who had taken good care not to commit themselves, as the English court had done, by signing treaties and specific clauses. It was alleged that King Louis had solemnly promised, as a sequel to the marriage of his sister, to convert his alliance with England into an alliance offensive and defensive—to co-operate with arms and money for the recovery of the Palatinate—to allow Count Mansfeldt to land at Calais, with free permission on all occasions to march, take up quarters in France, or re-embark—and to assist Mansfeldt, the King of Denmark, and the Protestant princes of Germany; and the council maintained that none of these promises had been kept, and that hence numerous disasters had befallen the friends, relations, and allies of King Charles. They also accused Louis of not conforming to the articles he had entered into with the Huguenots, and particularly those of Rochelle, who had consented to accept them by the friendly interposition of King Charles; and they asserted that his majesty considered himself bound, not only by the prayers of the party interested and the confidence they reposed in him, but also by the feelings and opinions of the world at large, to importune his brother-in-law to observe this compact with his Protestant subjects. On the other great point the council admitted that it was expressly promised in the treaty of marriage that Madame Henrietta Maria and all her household should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and that all her servants and officers should be French Roman Catholics, selected by his most Christian majesty; but they insisted that neither the letter nor the spirit of the agreement had been violated, for, though the French had been sent back, it was not as Catholics, but as offenders who had disturbed the affairs of the kingdom and the domestic government of his majesty's house. They then asserted, as proofs, several flagrant cases, of which the following are the most important:—1. That the bishop and his priests had created factions and dissensions—excited fear and mistrust in the Protestants—encouraged the Catholics, and even instigated the disaffected in parliament. 2. That some of the French had lent their names to others for the purpose of taking houses in the fields, where, under their protection, priests had their retreat and performed their masses, &c. 3. That they had converted the queen's own lodgings into a place of rendezvous for Jesuits and fugitives, and a place of security for the persons, pro-

perty, and papers of such as had violated the laws. 4. That they had laboured to create in the gentle mind of the queen a repugnance to all that his majesty desired or ordered, even to what he did for the honour of his dignity, and for the comfort and establishment of his household, and had avowedly fomented discords between their majesties as a thing essential to the welfare of their church. 5. That they had subjected the person of the queen to the rules of, as it were, monastic obedience, in order to oblige her to do many base and servile acts, which were not only unworthy of the majesty of a queen, but also very dangerous to her health. 6. That they had abused the influence which they had acquired over the tenderness and religious mind of her majesty, so far as to lead her a long way on foot, through a park, the gates of which had been expressly ordered by the Count de Tilliers to be kept open, to go in devotion to a place (Tyburn), where it had been the custom to execute the most infamous malefactors and criminals of all sorts, exposed on the entrance of a high road; an act not only of shame and mockery towards the queen, but of reproach and calumny of the king's predecessors of glorious memory, as accusing them of tyranny in having put to death innocent persons, whom these people look upon as martyrs; although, on the contrary, not one of them had been executed on account of religion, but for high treason. 7. That King Charles having borne with them long, and admonished them in the vain hope of amendment, and being most anxious to preserve a good understanding and friendship with his dear brother, he had commissioned the Duke of Buckingham to go from Holland into France, to give full information in these matters, conceiving the duke, who had contributed so much to the accomplishment of the marriage, to be the most proper agent; but that this journey had been prevented by the intimation which was given to the duke that the King of France was averse to it. Bassompierre defended, as best he could, and without any scrupulous adherence to truth, the political conduct of his own court; and he then spoke for the expelled French attendants, palliating or denying altogether the charges brought against them. With respect to the procession to Tyburn and the prayers offered there, he told the council he knew very well that they themselves did not believe that story which they wished to make other people believe. It was true, he said, that the Queen of Great Britain, by permission of the king her husband, kept her jubilee in the chapel of the fathers of the oratory at St. James's; and after her devotions, which terminated with vespers, she went in the cool of the evening to promenade in St. James's Park, and thence to Hyde Park, as she had often

done before, but that she did not go in procession, nor say any prayers, nor kneel, nor approach the gibbet within fifty paces. But, not satisfied with his denial, he offered to justify the fact, or rather that part of it which related to praying for those who had suffered at Tyburn, if it had taken place, upon the plea that such prayers were acts of Christian piety and humanity, and that they in no wise called in question the justice that had sentenced the malefactors. In the end of all, Charles conceded that his wife should have one French bishop and twelve French priests (none of them to be Jesuits), two French ladies of the bed-chamber, and three French *femmes de chambre*, a laundress, a clear-starcher, two physicians, an apothecary, a surgeon, a lord-chamberlain, an equerry, a secretary, a gentleman usher, three valets, cooks at discretion, two chapels, ten musicians, a burying-ground, and the particular glory of giving freedom to a certain number of English priests detained in prison. Bassompierre left London with sixteen English priests included in his numerous retinue. Buckingham followed him on his road to talk about his own expedition to Paris, but the marshal now persuaded him to break off or delay that journey. As soon as Bassompierre arrived at Paris, he found (what he knew very well before) that the coming of the Duke of Buckingham was not agreeable; and the queen herself desired him to write and let him know that he should desist from it.¹

It has been generally admitted by historians—and we see slight ground for questioning the received opinion—that from this moment Buckingham, who had been heard to swear that he would go into France again in spite of King Louis—as an enemy, if they would not admit him as a friend—determined at all hazards to force a war with France upon his master, who had not the means of honourably supporting the war in which he was already engaged with Spain. It is true that there had been many previous causes of difference between the two courts—that there had been seizures of ships and merchandise on both sides. But it was not till this critical juncture that Charles gave Soubise a royal commission to levy men and ships under pretext of their being employed against Spain.²

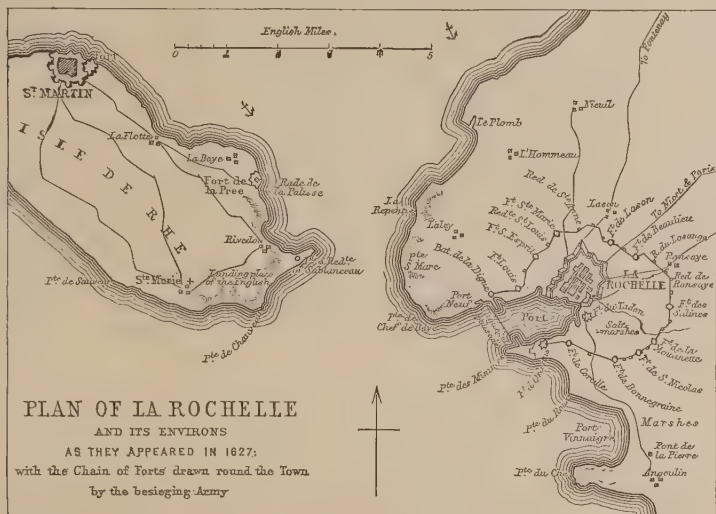
The relief of the Rochellers—the support of the Huguenot Protestant cause in France—had ever been an object near to the hearts of the English people; and it is pretty safe to conjecture that, among the motives that drove Charles and the favourite into this rash war was a glimmering of hope that they might thereby recover the short popularity they had enjoyed during the last parliament of King James. By the month

of May (1627) they had collected a fleet of 100 sail, giving out that it was intended to chastise the Spaniards and retrieve the honour lost on the Isla de Leon. Buckingham, who, it appears, attributed that failure to the circumstance of his not having personally commanded, resolved to go with the present expedition as high-admiral and generalissimo. This self-confident, vain-glorious man had no knowledge or experience of the art of war: he had never seen a gun fired except on parade or in a salute, and his high presumption made him despise the advice and guidance of others. But, as if this were not enough to insure fresh defeat and disgrace, he went to sea without any concert or understanding with those with whom he was to act. Leaving Portsmouth on the 27th of June, with his 100 ships and 7000 land troops, who knew not whither they were going, he came to anchor off Rochelle on the 11th of July. There he expected to be received with open arms, but the Rochellers refused to admit him into their town, and advised him to go and make himself master of the isle of Rhé, in the neighbourhood. On the following day he landed a part of his army under the fire of his ships, and defeated a small French force commanded by Thoiras, the governor of the island. Buckingham then wasted four or five days in landing the rest of his troops, or in doing nothing. Thoiras employed this precious time in conveying all the wine and provisions from the town of St. Martin into the strong fortress, and in improving the defences of the castle. When Buckingham moved, instead of taking the fort of La Prée, which then might easily have been done, he turned it and left it in his rear. He poured his troops into the bare and empty town of St. Martin; but the citadel, strongly placed on a rock, filled the minds of those who knew something about war with serious apprehensions. Buckingham, who had expected to take it by a *coup-de-main*, now resolved upon a regular siege, the preparations for which were much criticized. On the 14th of August Charles wrote to felicitate (rather prematurely) the favourite upon his taking of Rhé—to promise him more men—more provisions—more money—and to tell him to prosecute the war, and “by no means to be the first motioner of a treaty . . . but if the French court should offer, then to hearken, but not to believe too hastily.”³ In the same letter the king spoke of a manifesto, which Buckingham had prepared, to rouse all the French Protestants to arms. “I would wish you,” he says, “to alter one point in it, that, whereas ye seem to make the cause of religion the only reason that made me take arms, I would only leave you declare it the chief cause; you have no need to name any

¹ *Ambassades de Bassompierre.*² *Rymer.*³ *Hardwicke State Papers.*

other." The manifesto, when it went forth to the Huguenots, seconded by Soubise, his brother, the Duke of Rohan, and their stirring agents, produced a much greater effect than Buckingham's great guns were doing. In the south of France the Protestants rose almost to a man, and the Rochellers, for the last time, openly raised the standard of revolt. Towards the end of August—for days and weeks went on without

any impression being made upon the citadel—an attempt was made, or was said to have been made, upon the life of Buckingham by a French Papist or Jesuit, with a thick three-edged knife.¹ Notwithstanding Charles's praise that the duke was "a proficient in the trade of war which he had so happily begun," every part of the service was conducted wildly and at random. Even the fleet, which remained to prevent the landing of



any French reinforcements upon the island, did its duty so badly that, on the 28th of September, a French flotilla broke through and re-victualled the garrison of St. Martin, which must otherwise have surrendered for want of provisions. The army was quite ready to lay the whole blame upon the navy, and to be gone; and the colonels of regiments signed a paper which recommended the abandonment of the siege. Buckingham knew not whether he should go or stay, changing his mind several times a-day. On the 1st of August the king wrote to apologize for his slowness, the cause whereof was the hardness of getting mariners and the slow proceedings of the commissioners of the navy; but he assured the duke that his friend the Earl of Holland should soon be with him; and he thanked him for his stout heart in not leaving the siege and coming home. Holland landed on the island of Rhé

on the 27th of October, with 1500 men; and the Rochellers sent a reinforcement of 600 or 700. On the 6th of November the duke, who had not made a single breach, led his men to storm the hard rocks and walls of the citadel, where they were repulsed with loss at all points. He then turned to retreat to his ships; but this was no longer an easy operation. Marshal Schomberg, with a considerable French army, had thrown himself between the duke and the fleet, and had put a strong corps and artillery into the fort of La Prée, which Buckingham had left in his rear. There was also to cross a narrow causeway, flanked on both sides with marshes and salt-pits, and now swept by Schomberg with a cross fire. Not a single precaution had been taken, and nothing but the native courage of the men and their leader (for Buckingham himself was personally brave) prevented a surrender at discre-

¹ *Hardwicke State Papers*. The very most was made of this incident, as if to endear the favourite to all good Protestants. As soon as he came home covered with disgrace, a narrative was published in a quarto pamphlet; and to make the thing more striking to vulgar minds, there was given in it a woodcut representing the identical thick three-edged knife,

² The plan of La Rochelle, given above, is derived from the following authorities:—"Plan de la Ville et des Environs de La Rochelle, ensemble des Ports, Redoubts, et Lignes, &c. . . . que

le Roy y a fait faire pour l'environner. Dessigné par le commandement de sa Mte. par le Sr. du Carlo, Ingenieur et Geographe ordinaire de sa Mte., Ao. 1628." "Carte particulière des Costes de Poitou, Anis, et de la Rochelle, &c. Paris, 1627."

³ *Hardwicke Papers*. Charles tells Buckingham that he fears lest "some rascal may cast doubts in the army, as if I neglected you, which I imagine is likely enough to fall out, since some villains here stick not to divulge it." These hard terms, rascal, villain, &c., are constantly flowing from the royal pen.

tion, or an absolute destruction. The English rushed like bull-dogs upon the causeway; and when they got beyond it, notwithstanding their frightful loss, they turned their faces towards the French, formed in good order, and offered them battle. But Schomberg, too glad to see them gone, declined the contest, and permitted them to re-embark without offering them further molestation. The precious fruits of this expedition were the loss of half the English troops that had been engaged in it, and the speedy ruin of the Rochellers and French Protestants. The duke, still loath to leave the French shore, and seeing no hope of doing anything near Rochelle, where an immense army was concentrating under the command of Louis' brother, Gaston, Duke of Orleans, conceived some very notable project upon that old jewel of the English crown, the city of Calais; and his master had written to tell him that he much approved of that design, and would see him provided in all things necessary for the execution of it with all diligence; "and for secrecy," added Charles, "I shall speak of it to no living soul but to Jack Epslie, whom I

have sent for."¹ But when the favourite counted his losses, he thought it better to give up this enterprise and return straight to England, where, as his master told him, he could not come sooner than welcome. And, in effect, when he arrived at the end of November, with a disgraced flag and a murmuring fleet, Charles received him with an increase rather than a diminution of affection and confidence, at which people lifted up their hands; and some said that assuredly nothing but death would part the king and this minister. The nation was now sorely hurt in its pride, and thus made the more sensible to the illegal attacks on its purse. "The refusers," as those were called who resisted the loan, had been brought up to London and imprisoned by scores. When they claimed their liberty by *habeas corpus*, they were told that they were detained by the king's especial commandment. Selden and the other constitutional lawyers referred to Magna Charta and its thirty-times-repeated confirmation by different sovereigns; and their discourses sent the people to study the ancient charters and rights of the nation.

CHAPTER VII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1628—1629.

CHARLES I.

Charles summons his parliament—He proceeds to raise money before it assembles—Indignation at this unconstitutional measure—Formidable array against him in the House of Commons—His menacing speech to them—Their independent conduct—Their resolutions passed about the liberty of the subject—Their "Petition of Right"—Indirect reply of Charles to the petition—He threatens to prorogue parliament—Resentment of the commons in consequence—Their debate—Their attacks on the Duke of Buckingham—The lords join them in applying for an answer to the Petition of Right—Charles assents to the petition—He abruptly prorogues parliament—Rochelle closely invested—Continuing dislike of the nation against Buckingham—He resolves to attempt the relief of Rochelle—He is assassinated at Portsmouth—Account of Felton the assassin—Conduct of Charles on hearing of the duke's death—Funeral of Buckingham—Trial and execution of Felton—Capture of Rochelle—Meeting of parliament—Their indignation at the infringements of the Petition of Right—The king summons the lords and commons to Whitehall—His address to them—He defends his proceedings in enforcing tonnage and poundage—Resolutions of the commons in defence of conscience and property—Charles demands a settlement of tonnage and poundage—The parliament withhold their answer—They demand the redress of religious grievances—First appearance of Oliver Cromwell in parliament—Attacks on Bishop Laud and Arminianism—The house commanded by the king to adjourn—The members continue their proceedings—They detain the speaker in the chair—Articles resolved by the house—Charles dissolves this his third parliament—The chief recusants sent to the Tower—The king's arbitrary designs against them checked—Their refusal to submit—Their trial and sentence—Oppressive proceedings against Richard Chambers.



UCH was the state of affairs at home when Charles was persuaded, much against his own feelings, to summon a parliament, in order to obtain the means of renewing, with better success, the war abroad.

The writs were issued on the 29th of January for a parliament to meet on the 17th of March;

but they had scarcely gone forth when the king appointed commissioners to collect war-money from the different counties, and inform the people that if they paid dutifully the sums required of them he would meet the parliament, if not, he would think of some more speedy way. Upon

¹ *Hardwicke Papers.* This Jack Epslie was a confidential messenger, much employed by Buckingham.

this mad proceeding there arose a universal cry of disappointment and anger: the commissioners stood aghast, and Charles made haste to revoke the commission by a proclamation, wherein he promised to rely on the love of his people as expressed by parliament. But this revocation could not undo the mischief which had been so rashly done; and, pinched by his necessities, Charles in a few days proceeded to impose some new duties on merchandise of his own authority. Both ministers and judges seem to have feared impeachment: the judges had the honesty to declare that the duties were illegal; and here again the king retraced his steps, and called in his orders.¹ At this time Charles had an unusual number of troops at his command, and a project was entertained, and even settled in all its details, for the bringing over some thousands of foreign mercenaries. Hence arose a greater excitement than ever, and a resolution to return the most patriotic or democratic members to the House of Commons. The people of Westminster elected Bradshaw, a brewer, and Maurice, a grocer; other places followed their example in rejecting the men that had betrayed either timidity or subserviency to the court. When the commons met, on the 17th of March, their house was crowded, and their aggregate wealth was said to be three times greater than that of the House of Lords—such had been the fruits of commerce and industry—such the rise of the third estate, which had now the power as well as the right of asserting its due influence. It was also observed that many of the popular members were followed up to London by a train of well-doing, hardy freeholders, far more numerous than the train of any of the peers. Shortly before their assembling, Charles (as boons and great graces) liberated seventy-eight gentlemen who were in prison for refusing to contribute to his forced loan, opened the gates of the Tower to the Earl of Bristol, and restored Archbishop Abbot to the exercise of his authority. But such was the temper of Charles, that he could not make an opening speech to go in tune with the times. “I have called you together,” said he, “judging a parliament to be the ancient, the speediest, and the best way, to give such supply as to secure ourselves and save our friends from imminent ruin. Every man must now do according to his conscience; wherefore if you, which God forbid, should not do your duties in contributing what this state at this time needs, I must, in discharge of my conscience, use those other means which God has put into my hands to save that which the follies of other men may otherwise hazard to lose. Take not this as a threatening (I scorn to threaten any but my equals), but as an admonition from him that,

both out of nature and duty, hath most care of your preservation and prosperities.”²

The commons had not met to threaten; they were cool and collected, and did not even lose temper at this irritating speech, or the more biting harangue of the lord-keeper, who told them that the king had chosen a parliamentary way to obtain supplies, not as the only way, but as the fittest; not because he was destitute of other means, but because this was most agreeable to the goodness of his own most gracious disposition. “If this be deferred,” cried this precious politician, “necessity and the sword may make way for others. Remember his majesty’s admonition; I say remember it!” Here was threatening enough; but the house maintained its composure, and, without invective or much delay, resolved to grant five subsidies, and agreed that the whole should be paid within the year; but they also resolved that the king should not have this money until he formally recognized some of the most sacred rights of the people, and gave a solemn pledge for the redress of grievances. “It will in us be wrong done to ourselves, to our posterity, to our consciences, if we forego this just claim and pretension,” said Sir Francis Seymour. Coke, more vigorous than ever, because more patriotic, invoked the ancient laws, and made several effective speeches against forced loans and irregular imprisonments. Other members spoke well and at large upon the recent abuses of billeting soldiers, raising money by loans, by benevolences, and privy seals; “and, what was too fresh in memory, the imprisonment of certain gentlemen, who refused to lend, and, afterwards bringing their *habeas corpus*, were, nevertheless, remanded to prison.”³ In vain one court member bade them take heed of distrusting the king, who was young and vigorous, and did these and the like things out of necessity; in vain another spoke of the king’s goodness being *next only to that of God*; the commons would not be moved a hair’s breadth from their purpose. “Let us work while we have time,” cried Coke; “I am absolutely for giving supply to his majesty, but yet with some caution. Let us not flatter ourselves. Who will give subsidies if the king may impose what he will? I know he is a religious king, free from personal vices; but he deals with other men’s hands, and sees with other men’s eyes.” On the 8th day of May the commons passed the following resolutions, without a dissentient voice:—“1. That no freeman ought to be committed, or detained in prison, or otherwise restrained, by command of the king, or the privy council, or any other; unless some cause of the commitment, detainer, or restraint, be expressed, for which, by law, he ought to be committed, detained, or re-

¹ Rushworth; Somers’ Tracts; Rymer.² Journals; Parl. Hist.; Rushworth.³ Parl. Hist.

strained. 2. That the writ of *habeas corpus* cannot be denied, but ought to be granted to every man that is committed or detained in prison, or otherwise restrained by the command of the king, the privy council, or any other; he praying the same. 3. That if a freeman be committed or detained in prison, or otherwise restrained, by command of the king, privy council, or any other, no cause of such commitment, &c., being expressed; and the same be returned upon an *habeas corpus* granted for the said party, that then he ought to be delivered or bailed. 4. That the ancient and undoubted right of every freeman is, that he hath a full and absolute property in his goods and estate; and that no tax, tallage, loan, benevolence, or other like charges, ought to be commanded, or levied by the king or his ministers, without common assent of parliament.”¹ The lords were not altogether prepared to second the commons; the king was determined to cling to the prerogatives or abuses of his predecessors; and, above all, to that particular practice by which, at his own will, he sent the subject to a prison, without assigning cause, or bringing him to a fair trial; and, though eager for the five subsidies, which he must have well known he could not get without gratifying the commons, Charles let his intentions appear broadly through a very thin and transparent veil of compliment and cajolery. Buckingham also did infinite mischief to his cause, by an impertinent interference, which was denounced in the commons by Sir John Eliot. Meanwhile the mighty stream rolled onward in its resistless course. After some conferences with the lords, who were as anxious as themselves to put an end at least to arbitrary imprisonment, the commons, on the 28th of May, prayed the king’s assent to the celebrated “PETITION OF RIGHT.” They humbly showed to his majesty that, by the statute made in the reign of King Edward I., commonly called *Statutum de Tallagio non concedendo*, no tallage or aid could be levied by the king without consent of parliament; that, by authority of parliament, holden in the 25th year of King Edward III., it was declared and enacted, that from thenceforth no person should be compelled to make any loans to the king—such loans being against reason and the franchises of the land. “And,” continued the petition, “by other laws of this realm, it is provided, that none should be charged, by any charge or imposition called a benevolence, nor by such like charge; by which the statute before mentioned, and the other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not set by common consent in parliament;

yet, nevertheless, of late divers commissions, directed to sundry commissioners, in several counties, with instructions, have issued, by pretext whereof your people have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money unto your majesty, and many of them, upon their refusal so to do, have had an unlawful oath administered unto them, not warrantable by the laws and statutes of this realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance and give attendance before your privy council, and in other places; and others of them have therefore been imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted; and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people in several counties, by lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, commissioners for musters, justices of peace, and others, by command or direction from your majesty or your privy council, against the laws and free customs of this realm.” Then, invoking *Magna Charta*, the commons declared, that, by that great charter of the liberties of England, it was enacted, that no freeman should suffer in person or property, be imprisoned, outlawed, or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land. “Nevertheless,” they continued, “against the tenor of the said statutes, and other the good laws and statutes of your realm, to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned, without any cause showed; and when, for their deliverance, they were brought before your justices, by your majesty’s writs of *habeas corpus*, there to undergo and receive, as the court should order, and their keepers commanded to certify the causes of their detainer, no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your majesty’s special command, signified by the lords of your privy council; and yet were returned back to several prisons, without being charged with anything, to which they might make answer by due process of law.” They next recited how of late great companies of soldiers and mariners had been dispersed through the counties and billeted in the private houses of the inhabitants, to their great grievance and vexation, and against the laws and customs of this realm. And they then proceeded to make their complaint against martial law, which had been introduced, ostensibly at least, to check the excesses of the troops destined for the continental wars. They told the king, that, by the said great charter and other laws and statutes of this his realm, no man ought to be condemned to death except by the laws established. “Nevertheless,” they added, “of late, divers commissions under your majesty’s great seal have issued forth, by which certain persons have been assigned and appointed commissioners,

¹ Rushworth.

with power and authority to proceed, within the land, according to the justice of martial law, against such soldiers and mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or misdemeanour whatsoever; and, by such summary course or order as is agreeable to martial law, and is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and put to death, according to the law martial; by pretext whereof, some of your majesty's subjects have been, by some of the said commissioners, put to death," &c. In the end, they prayed that all these proceedings and practices should cease, as being contrary to the rights and liberties of the subject, and the laws of the land. Charles, who would fain have avoided committing himself by any direct answer—who was averse to the surrender of the smallest portion of what he considered his prerogative, but who was gasping for the subsidies—returned this answer to the Petition of Right: "The king willeth, that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm; and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrongs or oppressions, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself, in conscience, as well obliged, as of his own prerogative."¹

To have remained satisfied with a stinted and indirect assurance like this would have been the act of imbeciles or cowards. The commons, who felt the righteousness of the cause they had taken in hand, and the consciousness of their own great power, not only were not contented, but were indignant. And Charles added fuel to the flames by sending a message to acquaint them with his intention of proroguing parliament on the 11th of June. This message was delivered on the 5th of June, and on the following day the king repeated it, accompanied with a harsh command not to censure, or enter upon any new business which might lead to the censuring or aspersion of any of the officers of his government. The anger of the commons was expressed in eloquent language, mingled with but scarcely softened by the religious feeling. Several members said that the sinful state of the nation went to defeat the glorious hopes they had entertained. "I perceive," exclaimed Sir Robert Phillips, "that towards God and towards man there is little hope, after our humble and careful endeavours, seeing our sins are many and so great. This message stirs me up; especially when I remember with what moderation we have proceeded." Sir John Eliot continued in the same religious strain:—"Our sins," said he, "are so exceeding great, that

unless we speedily turn to God, God will remove himself farther from us. I doubt a misrepresentation to his majesty hath drawn this mark of his displeasure upon us. I observe in the message, amongst other sad particulars, it is conceived that we were about to lay some aspersions on the government. It is said, also, as if we cast some aspersions on his majesty's ministers: I am confident no minister, how dear soever, can—," Here Finch, the courtly speaker of the house, started up from his chair, and, apprehending that Sir John intended to fall upon the duke, said, with tears in his eyes, "There is a command laid upon me to interrupt any that should go about to lay an aspersion on the ministers of state." Upon this Sir John sat down, and there was silence for a while. Then Sir D. Digges said, "Unless we may speak of these things in parliament, let us arise and begone, or sit still and do nothing." And hereupon there was another deep silence for a while, which was at last broken by Sir N. Rich, who said, "We must now speak, or for ever hold our peace; for us to be silent when king and kingdom are in this calamity is not fit. The question is, whether we shall secure ourselves by silence, yea or no. . . . Let us go to the lords, and show our dangers, that we may then go to the king together with our representation thereof." After some more members had spoken to the same effect, the house resolved itself into a committee, to consider what was fit to be done for the safety of the kingdom, and declared that no man should leave his seat, under pain of being sent to the Tower. But before the speaker left the chair, he desired leave to go forth for half an hour. The permission was granted, and Finch hurried to the king. The heat increased on his departure. Mr. Kirton, taking care to preface his remarks with the assertion that the king was as good a prince as ever reigned, said, "That it was time to find out the enemies of the commonwealth who had so prevailed with him, and then he doubted not but God would send them hearts, hands, and swords to cut all their throats." And he added, that for the speaker to desire to leave the house as he had done was a thing never heard of before, and which he feared was *ominous*. Soon after this outbreak old Coke rose and said, "We have dealt with that duty and moderation that never was the like, after such a violation of the liberties of the subject. Let us take this to heart. In the time of Edward III. had parliament any doubt as to naming men that misled the king? They accused John of Gaunt, the king's son, Lord Latimer, and Lord Nevil, for misadvising the king, and they went to the Tower for it. And now, when there is such a downfall of the state, shall we hold our tongues? . . . And why may

¹ *Journals; Parl. Hist.*

we not name those who are the cause of all our evils? . . . Let us palliate no longer: if we do, God will not prosper us. I think the Duke of Buckingham is the cause, and till the king be informed thereof, we shall never go out with honour, nor sit with honour here. That man is the grievance of grievances; let us set down the causes of all our disasters, and they will all reflect upon him. As for going to the lords, that is not *via regia*—our liberties are now impeached—we are deeply concerned: it is not *via regia*, for the lords are not participant with our liberties. It is not the king but the duke [a great cry of 'Tis he, 'tis he!'] that saith, we require you not to meddle with state government, or the ministers thereof. Did not his majesty, when prince, attend the upper house in our prosecution of Lord-chancellor Bacon, and the Lord-treasurer Middlesex?" This last argument was overwhelming, and Charles had felt the whole force of it before now. Other members accused the duke of treachery and incapacity as high-admiral and general-in-chief—as an encourager and employer of Papists—as an enemy, not only to his



JOHN SELDEN.—From the portrait in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

country, *but to all Christendom*. Selden rose up and proposed a declaration under four heads:—"1. To express the house's dutiful carriage towards his majesty. 2. To tender our liberties that are violated. 3. To present what the purpose of the house was to have dealt in. 4. That that great person (the duke), fearing himself to be questioned, doth interpose and cause this distraction. All this time," continued the learned orator, "all this time we have cast a mantle over what was done last parliament; but now, being driven again to look to that man, let us proceed

with that which was then well begun, and let us renew the charge that was made last parliament against him." At this critical moment, Finch, the speaker, coming in breathless haste from the king, told them that his majesty's commands were, that they should adjourn till the next morning, and that all committees should cease in the meantime. The house quietly adjourned. When they met on the morrow, the speaker endeavoured to excuse his conduct in going to the king, whereby he hoped he had done nothing, nor made any representation to his majesty but what was for the honour and service of the house. "May my tongue," said he, "cleave to the roof of my mouth ere I speak to the disadvantage of any member of this house." After this adjuration he delivered a second message from the king, declaring that his majesty had no intention or meaning of barring them from what had been their right, but only wished to avoid all scandals on his council and actions past, and that his ministers might not be taxed; and that no such particulars should be entered upon as would require a longer time for consideration than what he had prefixed, and still resolved to hold, for the sitting of this parliament. His majesty, moreover, said that he hoped that all Christendom might have to take notice of a "sweet parting" between him and his people, and then he would not be long in having another meeting with them, when they might talk of their grievances at their leisure and convenience. The commons denied any intention of taxing the king, but they reasserted their right of examining his ministers.¹ On the next day they went into committee, and examined Burlemachi, a foreign speculator, who had obtained a warrant under the privy seal, and, as he confessed before the committee, £30,000, for the hiring and bringing over troops of German horse.² One thousand of these mercenaries were already levied and armed, and waiting for transports or the coast of Holland. "The intent of bringing over these German horse," exclaimed one of the members, "is to cut our throats, or else to keep us at their obedience." Mr. Windham said that twelve of the German commanders had already arrived, and had been seen in St. Paul's. Burlemachi, however, asserted that the order for the embarkation of these troops had been counter-

¹ Notice being taken of Mr. Kirtton's speech, "That he hoped they had all hearts, hands, and swords to cut the throats of the enemies to the king and state," that expression being this day called in question, it was resolved, "That therein he had said nothing beyond the bounds of duty and allegiance; and that they all concurred with him therein."—*Journals*.

² In this force one Dalbier was to be employed. Sir John Maynard said that "Dalbier was the only cause of the overthrow of our army at the isle of Rhé, he being an engineer; and boasted that it was his doing that got the French so cheap a victory over the English, and that they might thank him for it: therefore this fellow, being a stranger and a juggler, is deemed an unfit man to be a commander in our kingdom."—*Parl. Hist.*

manded. At the same time the house fell upon a new project of excise, copied apparently after the Dutch excise, and intended to be levied, as heretofore, without consent of parliament. It was confessed by Williamson, clerk of the crown, that this business was actually in the lord-keeper's hands, and under the broad seal.

The lords joined the commons in petitioning the king to give a more explicit answer to the Petition of Right. On the same day at four o'clock, Charles, having come down to the House of Lords, commanded the attendance of the commons, and told them that he had thought that the answer already given was full and satisfactory; but that to avoid all ambiguous interpretations, and to show them that there was no doubleness in his meaning, he was willing to pleasure them as well in words as in substance. "Read your petition," said he, "and you shall have such an answer as I am sure will please you." The petition was then read, and the clerk of parliament gave the royal assent in the usual old Norman form—"*Soit droit fait comme il est desire.*"¹ Then Charles further said, "This, I am sure, is full; yet no more than I meant in my first answer. . . . You neither mean nor can hurt my prerogative. I assure you that my maxim is, that the people's liberties strengthen the king's prerogative, and that the king's prerogative is to defend the people's liberties. You see now, how ready I have showed myself to satisfy your demands, so that I have done my part; wherefore, if this parliament hath not a happy conclusion, the sin is yours—I am free of it." Thus, the Petition of Right, which confirmed some of the most sacred clauses of Magna Charta, became one of the statutes of the realm—one of the great victories obtained over the arbitrary principle, not by blood but by money, or the timely withholding of it. Three days after—on the 10th of June—the king, still further to ingratiate himself, and to hurry the supplies, assured the commons, that he was pleased that their Petition of Right, with his answer, should be not only recorded in both houses of parliament, but also in all the courts of Westminster: and, further, that his pleasure was, that it should be printed for his honour and the content and satisfaction of his people; and that the commons should proceed cheerfully to settle business for the good and reformation of the commonweath. On the 12th of June the commons passed the bill for granting the five subsidies; but, at the same time, they desired to have a copy of the new commission of excise, and demanded that it should be cancelled, as being contrary to the letter and spirit of the Petition of Right. Charles made haste to cancel it, taking care, however, to state that this was done because

the granting of the subsidies had rendered unnecessary that mode of raising money.

After obtaining judgment from the lords upon Dr. Mainwaring, and animadverting on the conduct of Laud in licensing the printing and publishing of unconstitutional sermons, and entertaining designs contrary to the independence and conscience of the people,² the commons fell again upon Buckingham, and voted a long and formidable remonstrance against him, which was presented to the king by the speaker. On that same day the duke complained to the lords of a member of the lower house who had attributed to him a disrespectful speech³ which he had never made; and he moved that the said member should be called upon to justify himself, and his grace heard against him. The lords, considering this complaint, ordered, "That the duke should be left to himself, to do therein as he thought proper." He protested, upon his honour, that he had never had the words imputed to him so much as in his thoughts, and the lords ordered this protestation to be entered on their journals.⁴ The commons took up the tonnage and poundage bill, with the intention of passing it for one year, preceded, however, by a remonstrance against the levying of the duties as Charles had done, without their consent. Before the bill was passed, and while the clerk was reading this remonstrance, they were summoned by the king to attend him in the House of Lords at an early hour. His majesty had come down unexpectedly to the upper house, and neither he nor the lords had had time to robe themselves when the commons appeared with their speaker at their head. However, Charles, unrobed as he was, but seated on the throne, addressed the following speech to the two houses, clinging, as it will be seen, with the most tenacious grasp to his old notions of prerogative:—"It may seem strange," said he, "that I come so suddenly to end this session. Before I give my assent to the bills, I will tell you the cause, though I must avow that I owe the account of my actions to God alone. It is known to every one that, a while ago, the House of Commons gave me a remonstrance, how acceptable every man may judge, and, for the merit of it, I will not call that in question, for I am sure no wise man can justify it. Now, since

² Nellie, Bishop of Winchester, was coupled with Laud, and accused of Arminianism, as a damnable and slave-making heresy.

³ Buckingham's speech, delivered at his own table, was, or was said to be, "Tush! it makes no matter what the commons or parliament doth: for, without my leave and authority, they shall not be able to touch the hair of a dog."

⁴ According to Whitelock, Buckingham also "charged one Melvil, a Scotchman, for saying that he, the duke, intended to put the king upon a war against the commonalty, with the assistance of Scotland and the like, and that Sir Thomas Overbury had poisoned Prince Henry by his instigation."—*Memorials*.

¹ "Let right be done as desired."

I am truly informed that a second remonstrance is preparing for me, to take away the profit of my tonnage and poundage, one of the chief maintenances of my crown, by alleging I have given away my right thereto by my answer to your petition, this is so prejudicial to me, that I am forced to end this session some few hours before I meant, being not willing to receive any more remonstrances to which I must give a harsh answer. And since I see that even the House of Commons begins already to make false constructions of what I granted in your petition, lest it be worse interpreted in the country, I will now make a declaration concerning the true intent thereof. The profession of both houses, in the time of harmonizing this petition, was no way to trench upon my prerogative, saying they had neither intention nor power to hurt it. Therefore it must needs be conceived that I have granted no new, but only confirmed the ancient liberties of my subjects. Yet, to show the clearness of my intentions, that I neither repent nor mean to recede from anything I have promised you, I do here declare myself, that those things which have been done, whereby many have had some cause to expect the liberties of the subjects to be trenched upon, which, indeed, was the first and true ground of the petition, shall not hereafter be drawn into example for your prejudice; and, from time to time, on the word of a king, ye shall not have the like cause to complain. But as for tonnage and poundage, it is a thing I cannot want, and was never intended by you to ask, nor meant by me, I am sure, to grant. To conclude, I command you all that are here to take notice of what I have spoken at this time to be the true intent and meaning of what I granted you in your petition; but especially you, my lords the judges, for to you only, under me, belongs the interpretation of laws; for none of the houses of parliament, either joint or separate (what new doctrine so ever may be raised), have any power either to make or declare a law without my consent." It is undeniable that, by this abrupt prorogation, while so great a matter as tonnage and poundage was still unsettled, the king returned upon his late footsteps, and dissipated what little hopes might have arisen from his tardy assent to the Petition of Right.¹ And it should be borne in mind how frequently Charles pursued the same retrograde course—how constantly he grudged the smallest concession—how eager he was to avail himself of any subterfuge by which he might escape the bonds of his pledged word. It was thus that the nation, which began by doubting his sincerity, ended in disbelieving his most solemn assurances. Charles,

moreover, had another dangerous practice, which was, to hasten to honour the men marked with the reprobation of the House of Commons. Thus, one of his first acts after this prorogation was to translate the obnoxious Laud from the see of Bath and Wells to that of London. Laud testified his gratitude to the court by drawing up a reply to the remonstrance of the commons.

Before Buckingham began his inglorious retreat from Rhé, the city of Rochelle was invested



THE GREAT CLOCK TOWER, ROCHELLE.—From a recent print.

by a royalist army, under the command of the Duke of Angoulême and Buckingham's quondam friend Marshal Bassompierre. Although he had incited them to take up arms, Buckingham sailed away without throwing into the place the corn and provisions which he had promised, and which



THE HOTEL DE VILLE, ROCHELLE.—From a recent print.

the Rochellers greatly needed.² Cardinal Richelieu, who had set his whole soul upon reducing this last stronghold of the French Protestants, made immense preparations for pressing the

¹ Hallam, *Const. Hist.*

² *Les Larmes de l'Angleterre.*

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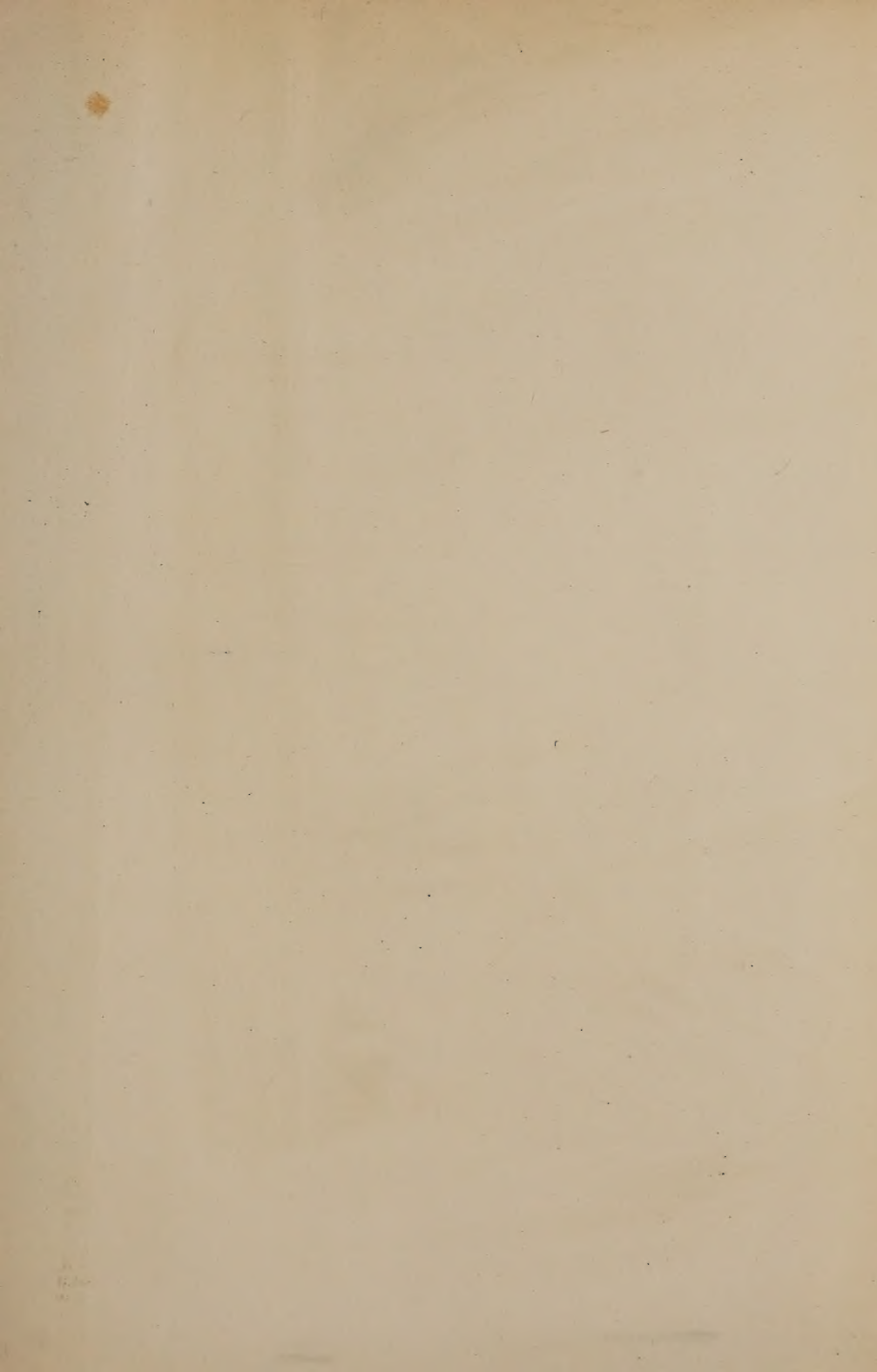
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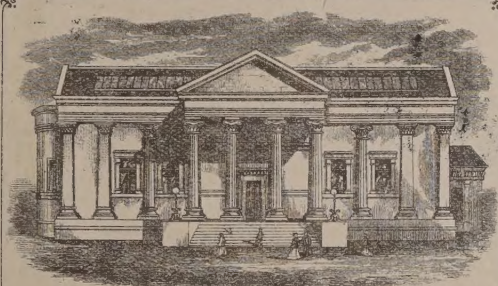
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